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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOLUME XXXIII JANUARY, 1918 NUMBER 1

A FRAGMENT OF AN EARLIER VERSION OF *ANTON REISER*

The first volume of K. Ph. Moritz' *Anton Reiser* appeared in 1785, and while the work was highly esteemed by contemporaries, including Goethe and Schiller, an entire century elapsed before it was made accessible in a critical reprint, edited by Ludwig Geiger.[1] Since then, a number of popular or bibliophile editions have appeared,[2] together with a series of books and articles on *Anton Reiser* and on the life of Moritz. The most important of these is the book of Eybisch,[3] which has a complete bibliography.

In his introduction, Geiger noted the fact that two excerpts from *Anton Reiser* were published in 1784, a year before the appearance of the book itself.[4] These extracts cover pp. 26-47 of Geiger's reprint, and correspond in the main with the later text, aside from two or three additions and a number of minor variants, recorded by Geiger on pp. viii-x. The latter, however, failed to discover a third, and still earlier fragment, which Moritz had published in the October number of the *Berlinische Monatsschrift,* 1783, Vol. II, pp. 357-364.[5] Eybisch, to be sure, cites this title in his biblio-

[1] In *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, No. 23, Heilbronn, 1886.

[2] I may cite the Reclam edition, by Dr. Hans Henning, 1906; the edition of F. B. Hardt, 2 vols., Munich, 1911; the edition of H. Schnabel, Munich, 1912, and that of the *Insel-Verlag* (*Bibliothek der Romane*, 30. Bd.), Leipzig, 1914. The editions of 1911-1914 I have not seen.

[3] Hugo Eybisch, *Anton Reiser, Untersuchungen zur Lebensgeschichte von K. Ph. Moritz und zur Kritik seiner Autobiographie.* (*Probefahrten*, hrsg. von A. Köster, 14. Bd.). Leipzig, 1909.

[4] In the *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, Bd. II, Stück 1, S. 76-95; Stück 2, S. 23-36. This journal, edited by Moritz, is now very rare.

[5] This omission by Geiger is all the more remarkable, as he states, p. xvi, that he has looked through the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, as he incorrectly calls it, for possible notices of *Anton Reiser*.

graphy, but evidently without examining it. The text of the fragment, aside from several palpable misprints noted below, is here reproduced in the exact spelling of the original:

FRAGMENT AUS ANTON REISERS LEBENSGESCHICHTE *

Durch das Lesen war dem jungen Anton nun auf einmal eine neue Welt eröfnet, in deren Genusz er sich für alles Unangenehme in seiner wirklichen Welt einigermaaszen entschädigen konnte. Wenn rund um ihn her nichts[6] als Lermen und Schelten und häuszliche Zwietracht herrschte, oder er sich vergeblich nach einem Gespielen umsah; so eilte er hin zu seinem Buche. Katechismus, Bibel, Gesangbuch, Kalender, und Butter- und Käsepapier, sobald nur etwas darauf gedrukt stand, ward mit der gröszten Begierde von ihm gelesen. Insbesondre aber studirte er fleiszig in dem Kalender; eine alte Base muste ihm das Unverständliche darinn erklären, und nun ging er ganze Stunden lang für sich in der Stube auf und nieder, und meditirte über die Entstehung der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse, und wie es möglich sei, dasz man sie im Veraus berechnen könne. Den Sonnenlauf glaubte er endlich ziemlich einzusehen, über den Mondeslauf aber zerbrach er sich den Kopf vergeblich.—Alles, was Geschichte in der Bibel war, las er vom Anfang bis zu End' durch; und wann eine von den Hauptpersonen, als Moses, Samuel, oder David gestorben war, so konnte er sich Tage lang darüber betrüben, und ihm war dabei zu Muthe, als sei ihm ein Freund abgestorben. So ward er schon früh aus der natürlichen Kinderwelt in eine unnatürliche idealische Welt verdrängt, worin sein Geist für tausend Freuden des Lebens verstimmt wurde, die andre mit voller Seele genieszen können.

Hierzu kam nun noch, dasz ihm im neunten Jahre sein Vater der Madame Guion Schriften in die Hände gab. Diese Madame Guion ist die bekannte Schwärmerin, welche zu des berühmten Fenelons Zeiten in Frankreich lebte, mit dem sie auch einigen Umgang hatte. Sie starb in der Bastille nach einer zehnjährigen Gefangenschaft, und hat sich sonst die ganze Zeit ihres Lebens über mit Bücherschreiben beschäftigt. Nach ihrem Tode fand man ihr Gehirn, wie ausgetroknet. Ihre Schriften machen eine sehr grosze Anzahl von Bänden aus. Antons Vater besasz blosz in der deutschen Uebersetzung an dreiszig Bände davon. Ihre Lehre hat viele Anhänger unter dem Namen der Quietisten und Separatisten gefunden. Sie setzt die höchste Glükseligkeit in eine volkommne Ruhe, in ein völliges Ausgehen aus sich selbst, und Eingehen in ein seliges Nichts, in eine gänzliche Ertödtung aller Eigenheit, und

* Einem psychologischen Roman, oder vielmehr Biographie, woran der Verfasser itzt arbeitet.

[6] The text has: nlchts.

eine reine völlig uninteressirte Liebe zu Gott, blosz um sein selbst willen. Von ihren Anhängern wird sie als eine Heilige der ersten Grösze beinahe göttlich verehrt, und jeder ihrer Aussprüche den Aussprüchen der Bibel gleichgeschätzt.—In P. einem Orte, der wegen seines Gesundbrunnens berühmt ist, lebte damals der Herr v. F. auf seinen Gütern, der das Haupt dieser Sekte in Deutschland geworden war, nachdem er auf seinen Reisen in Frankreich der Madame Guion Schriften kennen gelernt, und liebgewonnen hatte. Mit unermüdetem Fleisz übersetzte dieser Mann die ungeheure Anzahl der Guionschen Schriften ins Deutsche, liesz sie auf seine Kosten drukken, und theilte sie umsonst unter seine Anhänger aus, von denen er auch wieder als ein Heiliger verehrt ward.

Antons Vater war ohne eigentliche Erziehung aufgewachsen, hatte seine erste Frau sehr früh geheirathet, und schon mit dieser uneinig gelebt, sie zuweilen tyrannisch behandelt, und dabei ein ziemlich wildes herumirrendes Leben geführt, wohl zuweilen einige fromme Rührungen gehabt, aber nicht viel darauf geachtet, bis er kurz nach dem Tode seiner Frau plötzlich in sich geht, tiefsinnig wird, sogenannte fromme Leute aufsucht, und zufälliger Weise mit dem Verwalter des Herrn von F., und durch diesen bald darauf mit dem Herrn v. F. selbst bekannt wird. Dieser giebt ihm nach und nach die Guionschen Schriften zu lesen, und er trennt sich nun, wie der Herr v. F. und seine übrigen Anhänger, von Kirche und Abendmahl. Demohngeachtet fiel es ihm ein, wieder zu heirathen, und er ging in dieser Absicht auf ein benachbartes Fräuleinstift, wo er mit Antons Mutter, die bei einer der Stiftsfräulein als Kammermädchen diente, Bekanntschaft machte, und um sie warb. Diese war im dreiszigsten Jahre, und willigte bald in die Heirath ein, das sie nie würde gethan haben, wenn sie die Hölle von Elend vorausgesehen hätte, die ihr im Ehestande drohete. Es schien ihr aber dunkel zu ahnden, indem sie vor dem Altar mit Entsetzen ihre Hand in die seinige legte, als ihr ein Gedanke von der schreklichsten Antipathie durch die Seele fuhr. Sie ganz Weichheit und Zärtlichkeit, voll sanften melancholischen Gefühls, gekränkt durch[7] jede wirkliche und eingebildete Vernachläszigung, beständig süszer Aufmunterung von Liebe und Achtung bedürftig: er ein harter, kalter, trokner, mitleidloser Schwärmer, dessen Auge nie eine Thräne netzte, und der nichts von alle dem geben konnte, noch mochte, was ihr weiches Herz verlangte. So sehr also die Lehre der Madame Guion von der gänzlichen Ertödtung und Vernichtung aller, auch der sanftesten und zärtlichsten Leidenschaften, mit der harten und unempfindlichen Seele ihres Mannes übereinstimmte; so wenig war es ihr möglich, sich jemals mit den Ideen zu verständigen, wogegen sich ihr Herz auflehnte. Dies war der erste Keim zu aller nachherigen ehelichen Zwietracht.

[7] Text: dnrch.

Ihr Mann fing an, ihre Einsichten zu verachten, weil sie die hohen Geheimnisse nicht fassen wollte, die die Madam Guion lehrte. Diese Verachtung erstrekte sich nachher auch auf ihre übrigen Einsichten; und je mehr sie dies empfand, desto stärker muszte nothwendig die eheliche Liebe sich vermindern, und das wechselseitige Miszvergnügen über einander mit jedem Tage zunehmen; wodurch denn auch die nothwendigen wirthschaftlichen Berathschlagungen wegfielen, ein jeder für sich that, was er wollte, und das Hauswesen [8] sehr bald in Verwirrung und Unordnung gerieth.

Antons Mutter hatte eine starke Belesenheit in der Bibel, und eine ziemlich deutliche Erkenntnisz von ihrem Religionssystem; aber dabei blieb es denn auch. Sie wuszte z. B. sehr erbaulich davon zu reden, dasz der Glaube ohne Werke todt sei und dasz der fromme Lutherus diejenigen Maulchristen nenne, die Christum nur mit dem Munde, und nicht mit der That bekennen: demohngeachtet aber fiel ihr selten ein, durch Sanftmuth, durch Geduld, durch Nachgeben in ihrem Ehestande, die Lehre Christi, von der sie so viel sprach, wirklich auszuüben. Aber in ihrem Glauben war sie fest, wie sie meinte, und wuszte, dasz sie eine arme Sünderin sei, und dasz Gott sich ihrer um Christi willen erbarmen werde. In der Bibel las sie wirklich zu ganzen Stunden mit innigem Vergnügen; aber sobald ihr Mann es versuchte, ihr aus den Guionschen Schriften vorzulesen, empfand sie eine Art von melancholischer Bangigkeit, die vermuthlich aus der Vorstellung entstand, sie werde dadurch in dem rechten Glauben irre gemacht werden. Sie suchte [9] sich also davon auf alle Weise loszumachen, und wandte dies oder jenes nothwendige Geschäft vor, um nur nicht länger zuhören zu dürfen. Hiezu kam nun noch, dasz sie vieles von der Kälte, und dem lieblosen Wesen ihres Mannes auf Rechnung der Guionschen Lehren schrieb, die sie nun in ihrem Herzen immer mehr zu verwünschen anfing, und bei dem völligen Ausbruch der ehelichen Zwietracht sie laut verwünschte. So ward der häusliche Frieden und die Ruhe und Wohlfahrt einer Familie Jahre lang durch diese unglüklichen Schriften gestört, die wahrscheinlich einer so wenig, wie der andre, verstehen mochte.

Herr v. F. hatte unter andern die geistliche Lieder der Madam Guion ins Deutsche übersetzt, und Antons Vater, der musikalisch war, paszte ihnen Melodien an, die grösztentheils einen raschen frölichen Gang hatten. Wenn es sich nun fügte, dasz er nach einer langen Trennung einmal wieder nach Hause kam, so liesz sich denn doch die Ehegattin überreden, einige dieser Lieder mitzusingen, wozu er die Zitter spielte. Dies geschah gemeiniglich kurz nach der ersten Freude des Widersehens, und diese Stunden mochten wohl noch die glüklichsten in ihrem Ehestande sein. Anton war dann am frohsten, und stimmte oft, so gut er konnte, in diese

[8] Text: Hausewsen. [9] Text: suchten.

Lieder ein,[10] die ein Zeichen der so seltnen wechselseitigen Harmonie und Uebereinstimmung bei seinen Eltern waren.

Nebst diesen Liedern der Madam Guion gab ihm sein Vater ein Buch von eben der Verfasserin in die Hände, welches [11] eine Anweisung zum innern Gebet enthielt. Hierinn ward denn gezeigt, wie man nach und nach dahin kommen könne, sich im eigentlichen Verstande mit Gott zu unterreden, und dessen göttliche Stimme im Herzen, oder das eigentliche innere Wort deutlich zu vernehmen; indem man nehmlich zuerst, so viel wie möglich, sich von den Sinnen los zu machen, und mit sich selbst und seinen eigenen Gedanken zu beschäftigen suchte, oder meditiren lernte, welches aber auch einst aufhören, und man sich selbst vergessen müsse, ehe man fähig sei, die Stimme Gottes in sich zu vernehmen. Dies ward von Anton mit dem grösztен Eifer befolgt, weil er wirklich begierig war, so etwas Wunderbares, als die Stimme Gottes, in sich zu hören. Er sasz daher halbe Stunden lang mit verschlosznen Augen, um sich von der Sinnlichkeit abzuziehen. Sein Vater that dieses, zum grösztен Leidwesen seiner Mutter, ebenfalls. Auf Anton achtete sie nicht, weil sie ihn noch zu keiner Absicht, die er dabei haben könnte, fähig hielt. Dieser kam nun bald so weit, dasz er glaubte, von den Sinnen ziemlich abgezogen zu sein; und nun fing er an, sich wirklich mit Gott zu unterreden, mit dem er bald auf einen gewissen vertraulichen Fusz umging. Den ganzen Tag über, bei seinen einsamen Spaziergängen, bei seinen Arbeiten, und sogar bei seinen Spielen sprach er mit Gott, zwar immer mit einer Art von Liebe und Zutrauen, aber doch, so wie man ohngefähr mit einem seines Gleichen spricht, mit dem man eben nicht viel Umstände zu machen pflegt; und ihm schien dann wirklich immer, als ob Gott dieses oder jenes antwortete. Freilich ging es nicht so ab, dasz es nicht zuweilen etwas Murren oder Unzufriedenheit sollte gesetzt haben, wenn etwa ein unschuldiges Spielwerk mislang, oder ein Wunsch vereitelt ward. Dann hiesz es oft: " aber mir auch diese Kleinigkeit nicht einmal zu gewähren!" oder: " das hättest Du doch wohl können geschehen lassen, wenn es irgend möglich gewesen wäre!" Und so nahm es sich Anton nicht übel, zuweilen mit Gott zu expostuliren; denn, obgleich davon nichts in der [12] Madam Guion Schriften stand, so glaubte er doch, es gehöre mit zum vertraulichen Umgange.

MORITZ.

Even a casual comparison reveals the fact that the fragment of 1783 does not at all run parallel with the book version of 1785: for example, lines 1-6[a] = p. 13, lines 3-8 of Geiger's text; lines

[10] Text: eln.
[11] Text: welche.
[12] Text: in der der Madam.

6^b-16^a are lacking in G; lines 16^b-20^a = p. 14, l. 19-24; lines 20^b-23 =p. 13, l. 9-12; lines 25^b-27 = p. 1, l. 6-8, with changes; lines 28-31^a = p. 7, l. 11-13; lines 31^b-33^a = p. 7, l. 4-8, changed; ll. 35-38 = p. 6, l. 33-p. 7, l. 2; lines 39-41^a = p. 7, l. 14-16; lines 41^b-43 = p. 1, l. 1, 2. The fragment, therefore, represents an entirely different draft from that which was ultimately published. Its arrangement is logical: first, Anton's learning to read, and what he read, including the writings of Madame Guion; then an account of Madame Guion, developing into a description of her disciples in P., and how Anton's father came to join them; finally the description of the character of the parents, and the life of the family.

Of particular interest are those passages which do not reappear in the later version. Lines 6^b-16^a recount in detail Anton's early reading, and introduce *eine alte Base,* whereas the later version, at another place, refers abruptly to *seine Base,* without previous mention. Many of the suppressed passages add a touch to the description of Anton's parents. From lines 51 f. we learn that the father had married his first wife very early in life, *und schon mit dieser uneinig gelebt, sie zuweilen tyrannisch behandelt.* After her death, the book version records that he became *ein ganz andrer Mensch,* instead of which the fragment says: *er . . . sogenannte fromme Leute aufsucht.* Lines 68-76 give a vivid portrait of the parents: *Es schien ihr aber dunkel zu ahnden, indem sie vor dem Altar mit Entsetzen ihre Hand in die seinige legte, als ihr ein Gedanke von der schreklichsten Antipathie durch die Seele fuhr. Sie ganz Weichheit und Zärtlichkeit, voll sanften melancholischen Gefühls, gekränkt durch jede wirkliche und eingebildete Vernachläszigung, beständig süszer Aufmunterung von Liebe und Achtung bedürftig: er ein harter, kalter, trokner, mitleidloser Schwärmer, dessen Auge nie eine Thräne netzte, und der nichts von alle dem geben konnte, noch mochte, was ihr weiches Herz verlangte.* In the description of their quarrels the additional sentence is found, ll. 89-91: *wodurch denn auch die nothwendigen wirthschaftlichen Berathschlagungen wegfielen, ein jeder für sich that, was er wollte, und das Hauswesen sehr bald in Verwirrung und Unordnung gerieth.* The mother's knowledge of the Bible, and her system of theology, are described in lines 92-102, and her creed is enlarged upon as follows: . . . *und dasz der fromme Lutherus diejenigen Maulchristen nenne, die Christum nur mit dem Munde, und nicht mit der That bekennen: demohn-*

geachtet aber fiel ihr selten ein, durch Sanftmuth, durch Geduld, durch Nachgeben in ihrem Ehestande, die Lehre Christi, von der sie so viel sprach, wirklich auszuüben. Aber in ihrem Glauben war sie fest, wie sie meinte, und wuszte, dasz sie eine arme Sünderin sei, und dasz Gott sich ihrer um Christi willen erbarmen werde. Three lines later, we again meet with the adjective *melancholisch,* and here, as above, it was suppressed in the later version. In lines 108 f. we have the further information concerning the mother: *Sie . . . wandte dies oder jenes nothwendige Geschäft vor, um nur nicht länger zuhören zu dürfen.*

In addition to this supplementary description of the mother's character, we also learn certain facts in her life, which Eybisch, who evidently had not consulted the fragment, has merely conjectured. He states, for example, p. 7: "Vor ihrer Verheiratung mag sie im Kloster Fischbeck bei dem Stiftsfräulein von Halcken gedient haben, die das Kirchenbuch der Garnisongemeinde Hameln als einzige Patin ihres ersten Sohnes aufführt." Compare with this, lines 61-65 of the fragment: Demohngeachtet fiel es ihm ein, wieder zu heirathen, und *er ging in dieser Absicht auf ein benachbartes Fräuleinstift, wo er mit Antons Mutter, die bei einer der Stiftsfräulein als Kammermädchen diente, Bekanntschaft machte, und um sie warb. Diese war im dreiszigsten Jahre,* . . . The last statement, likewise suppressed in the later version, is at variance with Eybisch, whose account would make her 34 years old at the time. His information, to be sure, is taken from a church record, but it is the record of her death: gestorben den 19. September . . . alt: 62 Jahre, 6 Monate. Whether the pastor at Holtorf, when he recorded her death, had more accurate knowledge of the mother's age than the son, is at least open to question, particularly as the earlier records of the family are found in different parishes.

These, and other comparisons that could be made, demonstrate the value of the fragment, not merely as showing the development of the author's technique, but also in connection with the facts of his own life, and that of his parents.

W. KURRELMEYER.

THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW FOR 1590

The "Midsummer Show," which became connected with the Lord Mayor's procession in the XVI century, brought pageantry into the civic ceremony which has kept it—with occasional interruptions—to our day. The first clear instance of this transfer, is that recorded in the *Diary* of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant-tailor of London, in the year 1553.[1]

From then on, the Lord Mayor's Show grew in elaboration, and in 1585 the dramatist George Peele did not scorn to write the speeches for the "triumph."[2] He again wrote the speeches for a civic show in 1588—no copy of which exists.[3] The title-page, as

[1] His *Diary* from 1550 to 1563 has been edited from MS. Cotton Vit. F. v. for the Camden Society by J. G. Nichols. (Camd. Soc. publ. no. 42.) It is referred to by many writers on pageantry, among them Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London* (London, 1908), p. 275; cf. also Clode, *Early History of the Merchant-Taylors' Company* (London, 1888), II, p. 113 f.; Price, *A Descriptive Account of the Guildhall of the City of London: its History and Associations* (London, 1886), p. 92; Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants* (London, 1843), pt. I, p. 244 f.; and J. Nichols's note in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1833 (vol. CIII, II), p. 315 f.

[2] A copy of this—"the earliest of City Pageants"—is in the Bodleian at Oxford (Gough, Lond., 122. 1). It is reprinted in *Harl, Misc.*, X, p. 351 f.; Strype's Stow's *Survey* (1720) II, p. 136 f.; J. Nichols, *Progresses, etc., of Queen Elizabeth*, II, p. 446 f.; and in his *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, IV, p. 496 f.; in Bullen's *Peele*, I, p. 351 f.; Price, *op. cit.*, p. 199 f. Cf. also Fairholt, *op. cit.*, p. 24 (quoting from Dyce's *Peele* (1829) vol. II); Wadmore, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Skinners of London. . . .* (London, 1902), p. 144 f.; Greg, *A List of Masques, Pageants, etc.*, (London, 1902) p. 22; J. G. Nichols, *London Pageants* (London, 1831) p. 100; J. Nichols in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1824, p. 113; Hone, *Ancient Mysteries Described* (London, 1823) p. 249.

The "1581" pageant referred to by Herbert, *History of the Livery Companies* (London, 1834), I, p. 200, is clearly this one; the printer's error is obvious.

[3] See Arber, *The Stationers' Register*, II, p. 504 under 28 October, 1588. Cf. also Fleay, *Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama*, 1559-1642, II, pp. 154 and 402. Fairholt, p. 26, notes that this "device of the pageant" was licensed to be printed by Richard Jones, and that no copy is known to exist; "neither are the titles of any other than this one preserved between the years 1585

we find it in the *Stationers' Register,* reads as follows: "Entred for his [*i. e.,* Richard Jones's] Copie vppon Condicion that it maye be lycenced, *ye device of the Pageant borne before the Righte honorable* MARTYN CALTHROP *lorde maiour of the Cytie of London the 29th daie of October 1588* GEORGE PEELE the Authour. . . . vj d."

A copy of the rare pamphlet describing the civic festival of 1590 may be found in the British Museum.[4] In view of Fairholt's remark (cited in note 3) an outline of this show should be made. The title-page reads: *The Device of the Pageant: Set forth by the Worshipfull Companie of the Fishmongers, for the right honorable* IOHN ALLOT: *established Lord Maior of* LONDON, *and Maior of the Staple for this present yeere of our Lord 1590. By T. Nelson.* London, 1590. (B. L.)

The first speech, "spoken by him that rideth on the Merman," explains that his mount typifies those who

> . . . are strange, & do digres frō reason
> That shun in eating fish and flesh, to keepe both time and season,
> Which fault reformd, our cōmon wealth would florish in such wise,
> As neuer anie did beholde the like with mortall eies.

The "speech spoken by him that rideth on the Vnicorne" is the customary adjuration to the Mayor to rule well and be forever famous. Then "Fame sounding a trumpet" spoke, followed by "The Peace of England"—"Wisedome on one side supporting the State," "Pollicie on the other side supporting the State," "Gods Truth," Plentie, Loialtie, and Concord, Ambition, Commonwealth, Science and Labour, Richard the Second (who spoke two lines, calling on Walworth for help, and promising him what he will as a reward) Jacke Straw, another Commonwealth in the shape of Sir William Walworth who, as he mentions the honors given him by the king, points to them, they being "placed neere

and 1591, though we may reasonably suppose that others were printed." In a note, he refers to Gifford's opinion that Munday contributed several during this period.

Cf. J. Nichols, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1824, (vol. XCIV, II), p. 113 f.; the wording of this article, entitled *London Pageants in the Reign of James I,* bears a striking resemblance to many passages in Fairholt.

[4] BM: C. 83. d. 25. The title is mentioned in Greg, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

about him in the Pageant." It may be remarked that Nelson repeats the error, common enough in these shows, of considering the dagger in the shield of the City of London, Walworth's dagger—bestowed on the City to commemorate the bravery of its Mayor;[5] he notes that Walworth won the Fishmongers their crest ("two armes bearing vp a crowne") and received a crest for himself. The speeches only are given in the pamphlet; the pageant is not described, but is once spoken of in the singular. The fact that in these early pageantic Lord Mayor's shows, there was usually but one pageant, may have influenced the change in the meaning of this word from "pageant-car"—or what today we should call "float"—to a "brilliant spectacle," whether or not there were a pageant in it. To this vague meaning has succeeded the very definite one of our time: an historical folk-play, given by the community, of the community, and for the community. The Parkerian insistence on historical accuracy, marked in England, is unfortunately not always made on this side of the water.

Of the elements found in this 1590 show, history and allegory are the most prominent. There is no Biblical character—though these, as well as the patron saints of the guilds, are sometimes found in the civic pageantry of London. The trade symbolism of the Merman is obvious; he and the Unicorn, with their riders, were probably apart from the pageant, which seems to have been stationary, though it may have progressed through the streets after the mayor had passed, taking up its march behind him. This was common in the seventeenth century shows; and there were moving pageants in the earlier shows, as well as in the festivals

[5] Says Straw in his speech: "Jacke Straw the rebell I present, Wat Tyler was my aide. . . . Yet for our bad ambitious mindes by Walworth we were tamde. . . . He being Maior of London then . . . slew me first. . . ." This suggests the history in modern pageantry; and is as instructive as the contemporary chronicle-history plays, with which the Parkerian pageant of our own day is not unconnected.

Cf. Fairholt, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n. 2: "The pertinacity with which the company cling to the assertion that his (Walworth's) dagger was added to the city arms, a *fact* which so common a book as Hone's Everyday Book can refute, and which Nichols justly styles a vulgar error, is altogether singular. It is the sword of St. Paul, and not the dagger of Walworth, and was placed on the civic shield long before the latter was born."

Walworth was a favorite figure in the civic shows; he appeared in 1616, 1700, 1740, 1884, 1913—to name a few of them.

from which the Lord Mayor's Show derived its pageantry. Richard's cry for help introduces history, and suggests a formless chronicle-play—more expository than *Kynge Johan*—though it deals with but one incident. There is no sign of a plot in the speeches of the allegorical figures; and this is largely due to the circumstances of the presentation.[6]

The seven-page pamphlet ends as follows:

Time
Time serues for all things,
Time runneth fast,
We craue your patience
for the time is past.[7]

Undoubtedly the characters in this pageant were presented by children. This was a common practice in earlier shows, as a glance at earlier records will indicate. In 1556, when Sir Thomas Offley was inaugurated, "Mr. Leere, the schoolmaster of St. Anthony's, received 10 *s* for the children who played at the Pageant."[8] In 1561, when Sir W. Harper began his term of office, the guild paid "to John Tayllour, master of the children of the late monastere of Westminster, for his children that sung and played in the pageant, xxx *s*."[9] The records of the Ironmongers' Company

[6] The "technique" of the Lord Mayor's Show is, of course, that of the procession. No story can be told when the mayor can stop before the pageant only a short time; if the pageant joined the procession after the speeches had been delivered, the persons, like those on a modern "float," became part of a *tableau vivant*. The presence of the allegorical figures, and their relation to the moralities, demand a separate consideration. The allegorical significance given to trade-symbols is a natural development within the field of civic pageantry.

[7] This is not in black-letter as is the rest; is it an epilogue spoken by Time? I am inclined so to regard it; but it may be an epilogue written for the pamphlet, added after the show had been given.

[8] Clode, *op. cit.*, II, p. 269, n. 2: This curious item is added from the Merchant-Tailors' Records: "Paid for Rosewater spent and occupied aboute the children and hym that rode upon the camyll, iiij *s*. ij *d*." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 262 f. for further notes on this pageant, and Machyn's *Diary*, p. 117 f.

[9] The records of the Company, printed by Clode, II, p. 269. The speeches are printed, *ibid.*, p. 267 f.—the account of the preparations begins on p. 262. David, Orpheus, Amphion and Iopas are the chief characters—a compliment to the Harper of London. Another account of this occasion is to be found in Machyn, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

show that in 1566, "At the same p'sent tyme John Tailor, Schoole m^{r} of the children of Westm^{r}, is also agreed w^{t} all for vj. of his children to serve in the foresaid pageant, as well for the speeches as songs; and for his paynes in that behalfe to have the some of xl *s.* and for performance hereof the same John Tailor hath put to his hande the same day and yeare abovesaid."[10] Four boys addressed complimentary speeches to Sir Thomas Rowe in 1568.[11] These are, perhaps, instances enough to show how common the practice was of getting children to take part in the civic pageants.

The rarity of Thomas Nelson's pamphlet warrants a reprinting of the copy in the British Museum, and this the days after the war may see. Our interest in these "triumphs" which have—with surprisingly little interruption—been an annual feature of London life for more than seven hundred years, is not due to their dramatic qualities so much as to the picture of urban life and of folk-entertainment in bygone days which we get from reading the accounts of them. From the middle of the sixteenth century, these

[10] Nicholl, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers, compiled from their own Records and other Authentic Sources of Information* (London, 1866), p. 86. This record is dated 1 October, 1566. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 87 f.: among the accounts is this:

"Item, paide to James Pele, for seven paire of gloves for the children in the pagent, sixpence a pair, iij *s.* vj *d.*" This Peele has been identified as the father of the dramatist; cf. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), II, p. 166; Hazlitt, *Livery Companies of the City of London* (London, 1892), p. 310, n. 1. Nicholl, p. 88, n., says: "He was contemporary with and may have been a relative or elder brother of George Peele. . . . Mr. Dyce, however, makes no mention of him in his biography of the dramatist. . . ." The *DNB* (1895), XLIV, p. 225, names James Peele "citizen and salter of London" as the father of George; he "apparently" had a "younger son James" who was turned out of Christ's Hospital in 1579 with his elder brother (*Ibid.*, *p.* 226). Cf. Bullen's *Peele*, I, xiii, f.

For further accounts of this show, see Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, (London, 1803-07) II, p. 42 f.; Fairholt, *op. cit.*, p. 14 f.; Herbert, *Hist. Liv. Comps.*, II, p. 592.

[11] Cf. Herbert, I, p. 200; Chambers, II, p. 166; Fairholt, p. 20. J. G. Nichols, *London Pageants*, p. 94, quotes John Day's "Order observed by the Lord Mayor," etc., of 1568, which does not mention a pageant in the stricter sense of the word; there was one, however, which included John the Baptist, the patron of the Merchant-Tailors' Company. He appeared "gorgyusly, with goodly speches" in 1553; and with a Grocer in 1554. (See Machyn's *Diary.*)

shows have been pageantic; they reached the height of splendor in the seventeenth century, when such men as Middleton, Dekker, Heywood and even Webster did not find it beneath their dignity to plan a civic celebration with pageant-cars and speeches; in our own day, they returned to a higher level of art in the hands of Mr. Louis N. Parker, "the father of modern pageantry," who designed the shows of 1907 and 1908.[12] In the long line of writers and planners of these pageants occurs the name of Nelson,[13] emerging for a moment from the obscurity of his printing office to stand beside that of Peele, whose third show was written in 1591.

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NOTES ON JOHN TREVISA

A. *The Date of His Death*

The date for Trevisa's death has generally been accepted as 1412. Smith [1] based his claim for 1412 on the Episcopal Registers of Worcester. His statement is: "Reg. Wigorn. This Trevisa dyed the 13th year of King Henry the fourth, whom John Bone-John succeeded in that vicarage, whom this lord [2] made one of his Executors; and proved a false priest to the heir male of his said lord as after I shall touch."

Henry Wharton, the seventeenth century antiquarian and collector, gives the same date. His note, preserved for us in "Codices

[12] The first one, coming two years after the Sherborne Pageant, showed *The Edwards of England:* and the second—"an historical literary pageant"—*The Press, the Poets and the Musicians of England from Chaucer to Milton.* The "Official Programs" or "Orders of Procession" of these two shows are in the Harvard Library, together with most of those from 1884 to date.

[13] See the *DNB* (1894), XL, p. 213; he was a ballad-writer and printer; proceeding B. A. (Clare College, Cantab.) in 1568, he became a member of the Stationers' Company in 1580, and seems to have died shortly after 1592. He printed many short tracts and ballads, some of which, like this Lord Mayor's Show, he wrote himself.

[1] Sir John McLean, *The Lives of The Berkeley's*, by John Smyth of Nibley, 3 vols., 1883, II, p. 22.

[2] Thomas 5th, the 10th Lord of Berkeley (1353-1417).

Whartoniani," is a part of MS. Lambeth 585, preserved in Lambeth Palace. The reference, p. 627, is as follows: "Trevisa obitt. 13 H, 4, et successorem habuit in Vicaria Johan Bone-John. Ex. Regro Wigorn."

Practically all the students of Trevisa from Tanner [3] to Kingsford [4] have given the same date.

The date of his death has been finally settled by the discovery of the entry dealing with the appointment of his successor to the Berkeley Vicarage. The entry is found under the date of *1402,* in Vol. XVII, in the unprinted Bishop's Register [5] of the diocese of Worcester, during the bishopric of R. Clifford 1401-1407. These registers are preserved in Worcester Cathedral. The entry under the year 1402 is as follows (Reg. Clifford. f. 14d):

Berkelegh Vicaria. Vicesimo primo die dicte mensis Maii dictus Vicarius in spiritualibus apud London ad vicariam ecclesie parochialis de Berkelegh Wygornensis diocesie per mortem magistri Johannis Trevisa ultimum vicarium ejusdem vacantem; dominum Johannem Bonjon Presbyterum ad presentationem Religiosorum virorum abbatis et conventus monasterii Sancti Augustini juxta Bristoll admisit ad vicarium perpetuum de corporaliter inibi residendo juxta formam constitutionem dominorum Othonis et Ottoboni quondam sedis apostolici in Anglia legatorum in hac parte editarum juratum instituit canonicem in eadem cum sine juribus et pertinentus universis. Quibus die et loco dictus dominus Johannes. Juravit obediam domino et habuit litteras institutionis ac mandatum ad inducendum directi archiadiacono Gloucestrensis ut est moris.

B. *Trevisa and the Translations*

(1) Vegetius, *De Re Militari,* and (2) Aegidius, *De Regimine Principum* are not mentioned by Pits or Bale. Thomas Tanner (p. 720), the first to speak of them, seems certain that Trevisa was the translator. Note his reasons: "In Cod. Bodl. Digby. 233, est translatio Vegetii *de re militari.* Pr. 'In olde tyme it was the manere.' Haec verisimiliter Trevisae debetur, quia facta erat ad mandatum dom. Tho. Berkeley. A. M. ccccVIII in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum finita. In eodem codice simili manu habetur translatio,

[3] Thomas Tanner, *Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica,* Lond., 1748, p. 720.

[4] C. L. Kingsford, *Dict. of National Biography.*

[5] These registers, for 1350-1420, were carefully examined for me by Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, Whitchurch, Stratford-on-Avon, and the above entry communicated to me in a letter under date Feb. 12th, 1915.

cum eleganti pictura monachi regi librum dantes, Aegidii Romani *de regimine principum*. Pr. ' To hys special, etc. politik sentence that is.' "

(1) *De Re Militari*

Babington,[6] after mentioning the MS. Digby 233 at Bodleian, and saying that the work was composed at the request of Lord Berkeley, and finished in 1408, concludes: "This is reasonably presumed to be executed by Trevisa, as well as a translation of Aegidius Romanus' *De Regimine Principum,* contained in the same volume." Cooke in his Trevisa article in 1876 for Trans. of Bristol & Gloc. Arch. Soc. I, 138 regards it as Trevisa's last work, finished in 1408, four years before his death, at the age of 90. He says: "The translation of Vegetius has been attributed to Hoccleve, from a copy of it in the Bodleian Library being bound up with Hoccleve's "De Regimine Principis." The characteristic dedication, however, at its conclusion, sufficiently proves its true authorship." Cooke gives the dedication thus: "To us alle God Graunt grace of our offendynge, space to our amendynge, and his face to be seen at our endyng. Amen."

Boase and Courtney[7] say: "*De re militari* was composed at Lord Berkeley's request and finished in 1408. It is sometimes said to have been done by Trevisa, but from the account in H. O. Coxe's *Catalogus Mss qui in Collegiis aulisque Oxon. adservantur* (1852) II, 19, of another copy at Magd. Coll. Oxford, the translation would seem to have been executed by Clifton." Coxe in describing MS. xxx Magdalen says: "Latino in Anglicum sermonem versi per Clifton quendam, jussu Thomae domini Berkeley." The name Clif or Cleftoun was first given by Francis Douce. He was followed by Caley,[8] in describing one of the Vegetius MSS. viz. B. M. Lansdoune 285. Macray is of the same opinion.[9] F. Madan, the librarian of Bodley suggests Bannerton in his examination of the Manuscript.[10] Mr. J. H. Wylie gives Walton.[11] The most

[6] Rolls Series of Higden's *Polychronicon*, I, p. lv.

[7] *Bibl. Cornub.*, II, 798.

[8] Caley's *Catalogue of Lansdowne MSS.*

[9] Rev. Wm. D. Macray, *Cat. Cod. MSS. Digby*, 1883, p. 243.

[10] *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.*, IV, 582.

[11] *Hist. of England in the time of Henry the Fourth*, N. London, 1894, II, 273.

recent note on the authorship of this work is by Mr. H. N. MacCracken, in an article entitled "Vegetius in English," written for the Kittredge Anniversary Papers (1913).

Mr. MacCracken gives the various guesses to date, has some remarks about the meaning of the word Trevisa, lists with notes the nine known English MSS. and furthermore compares Trevisa forms from the *Polychronicon* with forms from Vegetius. He says: "So closely does the Vegetius conform in style, dialect, and vocabulary to the acknowledged work of John Trevisa, that it is hard to believe any other had a hand in it. The mystery, under present knowledge, seems insoluble, and may be no clearer when a full comparison of the Vegetius with Trevisa's known work is made, for the writer believes it will only confirm the claim of identity here advanced." So much for the various opinions as to the translations.

Tanner, who led the way in the Trevisa theory, doubtless based his claim on the Digby Colophon which runs thus:

Here endeth þe book þat Clerkes Clepun in latyne Vigesius de re militari þe book of Vigesii of dedus of Knyȝthod þe which book was translated and turned fro latyn in to englesh at þe ordinaunce and byddynge of þe worthi and worschepful lord sire Thomas of Berkeley to gret disport and dalyaunce of lordes and all worthy werryours þat ben appased by wey of age al labour and trauaillyng and to grete informacioun and lernyng of ȝonge lordes and Knyȝttes þat ben lusty and loueþ to here and see and to vse dedus of armes and chiualrye. þe turnynge of þis book into englisch was wreton and endud in vigile of all halwes þe ȝeer of oure lord. a þousand foure hundred and þe eiȝte x° ȝeer of kynge henry þe forþe. To him and to vs alle god graunt grace of our offendynge, space to our amendynge and his face to seen at our endyng. Amen. This is his name þat turned þis book fro latyn into Englische.

Worschepful □ toun "

Other MSS. having this colophon, with slight variations are: Magd. Coll. Oxford 30; Bodley Douce 291; Bodl. Laud. Misc. 416, omits cryptogram; Br. Mus. Royal 18A XII omits crypt.; Br. Mus. Lansdowne 285, omits crypt.

From the closing in Digby, Tanner concludes that Trevisa was the translator. He had concluded his two important translations, viz. *Polychronicon* 1387, and *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, 1398, in a similar way (omitting the author's signature). Both were trans-

lated at the request of Lord Berkeley. Vegetius was finished in 1408. Tanner quotes Wharton, whose statement is based on the Worcester Register, that Trevisa lived until 1412 (see above). Tanner evidently did not consider the signature.

The counts against Trevisa as the translator are:

(1) The newly found date of his death, 1402, instead of the heretofore accepted date, 1412. The colophon tells us that the Vegetius was written and ended in 1408.

(2) Trevisa in no other translation gives his signature in this form. If the signature " □ toun " be his, this work is unique.
|

(3) A careful reading of the Digby MS. 233 revealed none of the well known Trevisa annotations or notes. These occur at every turn in the *Polychronicon.* There are over 100 of them, covering some 600 lines. Except in a few cases they are signed " Trevisa." We find them also in *De Prop. Rerum.* Once he has a noted annotation in the *Gospel of Nicodemus,* twice in *De Regimine Principum,* and even in his short translation of *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum,* he has a most interesting note. Had Trevisa translated Vegetius, we should have expected some of his explanations to appear. The work is fairly long, covering Fols. 183-227; there is excellent material for explanation and comment. A close comparison with the Latin original may reveal notes and comment, unsigned. A few such occur in the *Polychronicon.*

Before the question is finally settled, a full comparison of the Vegetius with Trevisa's known works must be made, and the date 1408 must be explained away.

(2) *De Regimine Principum* of Egidius de Colonna

This prose work of the *Rule of Princes* is found in but one MS. viz., Bodl. Digby 233, covering fols. 1-182 b(2), and immediately followed by Vegetius. Both are written in the same hand.

We have already, in connection with Vegetius, noticed the comments in regard to this work. Cooke and others in the '70s regarded it as Hoccleve's. Boase and Courtney only remark: " This translation is supposed to have been executed by Trevisa." MacCracken regards it as Trevisa's. In naming the MSS. of Vegetius, under Digby, he says: " Follows translation by same author of

'De Regimine Principum.'" Miss Greenwood[12] mentions it in the Trevisa list, but questions it, as well as Vegetius. There is no evidence in the closing sentences that Trevisa wrote it. It ends without any reference to patron, date or author. It reads thus, f. 182 b(2), "And al such doynge þei scholde ordeyne for þe comyn profit and for pees of citeseyns. ffor ȝif þei disiren þe comyn profit and pees of þe citeseyns þei schulle have þat perpetual pees in þe whiche is cheef quiete and reste. þe whiche pees god graunteþ and byhoteþ to his owne trewe seruantes þat is I blessed for everemore. Amen."

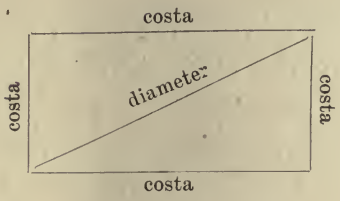
We find, however, evidence of Trevisa's authorship from two interesting annotations or additions.[13] The first is found fol. 143 b (2), Chap. XVI. Just before the entry Aegidius is speaking of the four powers, that "scholde be knowe in rewelyng of a citee. þe prince, þe consaile, þe ȝeldhalle, and þe puple." The work of the prince has been discussed, then he comes to speak of the consaile. He enumerates six things,

> þat falleþ not vnder consaille; first al þyng þat is in mutable and may not chaunge is out of oure consaile. for we taken consaille for to be reweled in owre dedes and nedes. and for to voide euel and for to have good þan þynges þat may not be voided and þynges þat may not be changed falleþ not vnder counsaille, þerfore iii ethicorum, it is Iseid þat of evere lastynge þynges and of þynges þat may not chaunge no man axeþ consaille for no man axeþ consaille of þe dyameter þat may not be Imeete by þe costa neþer oþer thinges þat may not change. Trevisa, for þe menynge hereof it is to wetynge þat in quadrate liche long and brood ben four lynes liche longe and þe foure sides þerof and eche of thilke foure side lynes is Icleped costa, and a lyne Idrawe in lengþe fro þe oo cornere of þe quadrate to anoþer corner in þe oþer side is Icleped dyameter and þat diameter is lenger þan costa and it may not be knowe in nombrane in what proporcioun þe dyameter is longere þan costa.[14]

[12] *Cambridge Hist. of English Literature*, II, 444.

[13] These were found in a hasty survey of the MS. A careful reading and comparison with a Latin MS. may reveal others, unsigned, as in the *Polychronicon*, where a scribe has failed to insert "Trevisa" at the beginning of the note.

[14] Trevisa's note ends with the diagram.



þe seconde also of þynges þat meuen alwey in on manere wise is no coun*s*aille etc.

The second addition, or note, is in Chap. XVII, folio 144 b(1)

ffor as it is Iseide iii° ethicorum þer*e* eche consail be a questio*n*, ȝeet not eche questiou*n* is a counsaile. ffor ȝif consaille is Itake onliche of thinges þat stonde in oure dedes consaille is a questiou*n* not of alle thinge but onliche of doynge and dedes of mankynde Of speculatif thinges and of kynde of thinges and of ev*e*re lastynge thinges may be manye questions but suche questions ben not Icleped co*n*sailes. Treuysa.. cours of sterres and planettes and of o*þ*ere things of ky*n*de þat may not chaunge ben Icleped speculabilia doynge and dedes of mankynde ben Icleped Agibilia.

From Tanner, who writes of this work in connection with Vegetius: "In eodem codice (Digby 233) simili manu habetur translatio—Eorte Trevisa ejus auctor," to MacCracken, all writers, except Cooke who speaks of Hoccleve and Miss Greenwood who questions it, have assigned it to Trevisa without hesitation or doubt, but without giving any reason. Is it because the work is bound up in the same MS. as Vegetius, and written in the same hand? The above Trevisa notes, the only sound evidence of authorship so far adduced, have never before been noted. Perhaps Trevisa's authorship may be more fairly established when a close study of style, structure, etc., is made, and the work is compared with Trevisa's well known translations, *Polychronicon, De Proprietatibus Rerum,* and *Nicodemus.*

In my "Life and the Minor Works of John Trevisa" which is under preparation for the Early English Text Society, I have gone into this matter in greater detail.

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PERIOD OF GREATEST POPULARITY OF VOLTAIRE'S PLAYS ON THE ENGLISH STAGE

In *Shakespeare and Voltaire*,[1] the late Professor Lounsbury cites as one of the causes for the success of Mrs. Montagu's *Essay* attacking Voltaire (1769) a coldness towards him in England reflected in the growing lack of interest in his plays. In making this point Professor Lounsbury analyzes the history of Voltaire as dramatist on the English stage, describing the years from 1729 to 1744 as a period of active appreciation and adaptation, the year 1744 as bringing the turn of the tide, and the years from 1744 to Voltaire's death in 1778 as marked by a 'sudden cessation of interest' in him.

The details of the stage history of Voltaire's plays in England do not support this analysis.

In the first period, from Voltaire's return from exile in 1729 to the publication of the preface to *Mérope* in 1744, Professor Lounsbury holds that 'English playwrights were disposed . . . to lay hands upon anything and everything Voltaire wrote for the theatre, without regard to the way it was received in the land of its birth.' Yet in those years only *Brutus, Zara, Alzira,* and *Mahomet* were presented on the London stage, the first at Drury Lane in the season of 1734-35, the second in York Buildings in the summer of 1735 and at Drury Lane in the season of 1735-36, the third at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the summer of 1736 and at Drury Lane in the season of 1743-44, and the fourth at Drury Lane in the same season, 1743-44.[2] Meanwhile many of Voltaire's plays had no representation in England. The tragedies, *Ériphyle* (1732), *Adélaide du Guesclin* (1734), *La Mort de César* (1735, played 1743), and *Zulime* (1740); the comedies, *Les Originaux* (1732), *L'Échange* (1734), and *L'Enfant Prodigue* (1736); to say nothing of the earlier plays, *Oedipe* (1718), *Artémire* (1720), *Mariamne* (1724), and *L'Indiscret* (1725), did not appear before 1744 on the English stage in any form.

Coming to the publication of the preface to *Mérope* in 1744, Professor Lounsbury says that it marked the turn of the tide to-

[1] New York, 1902, 304 ff.

[2] The dates are from Genest: *Some Account of the English Stage*, Bath, 1832, under the seasons mentioned.

wards a 'cessation of interest' in Voltaire, and that 'the great success of that play upon the French stage did not lead to any speedy reproduction of it upon the English.' It is true that *Mérope* was not performed in London until 1749, but its French success can not be said to have gone unnoticed in England, as John Theobald published a translation of it in 1744 [3] and Aaron Hill completed his adaptation of it in 1745.[4]

Then comes the period from 1744 to Voltaire's death in 1778. In these years, says Professor Lounsbury, 'Voltaire composed . . . about thirty dramatic pieces of all kinds. . . . But of these thirty only a beggarly number were adapted for the London stage. . . .' He then lists seven adaptations.[5] If to this list be added [6] Arthur Murphy's *Alzuma,* a mosaic from several plays of Voltaire (Covent Garden, season 1772-73), Thomas Francklin's adaptation of *Le Duc de Foix,* called *Matilda* (Drury Lane, season 1774-75), Aaron Hill's *Roman Revenge,* a version of *La Mort de César* [7] (played at Bath in the summer of 1753), and Charles Macklin's use of a portion of *Nanine* in *The Man of the World* (Dublin, season 1765-66, Covent Garden, season 1780-81), the catalogue hardly makes up a 'beggarly number' in comparison with the four adaptations played before 1744.

But more significant than the number of the adaptations is their fate in England. Of the seven adaptations after 1744 mentioned by him, Professor Lounsbury says that 'With the exception of *The English Merchant* (*L'Écossaise*), none of these pieces had much success, none outlived their first season.' Yet Genest [8] records performances of *The Orphan of China,* after the first Drury Lane presentation in April, 1759, during the season of 1759-60 at

[3] *Biographia Dramatica,* London, 1812, III, 36.

[4] Aaron Hill, *Works,* London, 1753, II, 307.

[5] Of *L'Orphélin de la Chine, L'Écossaise, Tancrède, Les Scythes, Sémiramis, Oreste, L'Indiscret.*

[6] For evidence for the addition of *Matilda, Roman Revenge,* and *The Man of the World,* see article: "English Adaptations of Voltaire's Plays," *Modern Language Notes,* XXXII, 247. The influence of Voltaire in *Alzuma* is noted in *English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century,* Nettleton, New York, 1914, 237.

[7] Mentioned by Professor Lounsbury under the adaptations before 1744, though not played until 1753.

[8] In sections of *Some Account of the English Stage,* under the listed seasons.

Drury Lane and in Dublin, of 1760-61 at both theatres in Dublin, of 1763-64 at Drury Lane, of 1764-65 at Drury Lane, of 1765-66 at Drury Lane, of 1767-68 at Drury Lane and in Dublin, of 1772-73 at Dublin, of 1777-78 at Covent Garden, of 1794-95 at Drury Lane, and of 1809-10 at Dublin, besides provincial productions. *No One's Enemy But His Own* (*L'Indiscret*), brought out at Covent Garden in 1764, was revived there ten years later, on October 26, 1774. Again, and the point is far more important to the decision as to the period of greatest stage popularity for Voltaire in England, the early adaptations made before 1744 were best appreciated in the later years of the century. In contrast to their presentation during one or two seasons before 1750, they had considerable stage careers after that date. Thus Genest tells of performances of *Zara* at Covent Garden in the season of 1750-51; at Drury Lane in 1753-54; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in 1755-56; at Drury Lane in 1756-57; at Drury Lane in 1757-58; at Drury Lane and Covent Garden in 1758-59; at Drury Lane in 1759-60; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in 1760-61, 1761-62; at Drury Lane in 1762-63, 1763-64, 1764-65, 1765-66, 1766-67; at Drury Lane and Covent Garden in 1767-68, 1768-69; at Drury Lane in 1769-70, 1770-71, 1771-72, 1772-73, 1773-74; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in 1774-75, 1775-76; at Covent Garden in 1777-78; at Drury Lane in 1780-81; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane and Dublin in 1781-82; at Covent Garden and Dublin in 1782-83; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in 1784-85; at Drury Lane in 1785-86; at Covent Garden in 1791-92, 1796-97, 1804-05, 1805-06, and 1812-13. *Alzira,* on the same authority, was played at Covent Garden in the season of 1754-55; at Drury Lane in 1756-57, and at Covent Garden in 1757-58. *Mahomet* was acted at Dublin in the season of 1753-54; at Drury Lane in 1765-66, 1766-67; at Covent Garden in 1767-68, 1768-69, 1771-72; at Drury Lane in 1775-76, 1778-79; at Covent Garden in 1785-86, 1786-87; at Drury Lane in 1794-95; and at Covent Garden in 1796-97. Finally, *Mérope* was played at Drury Lane in the seasons of 1749-50, 1752-53, 1753-54, 1757-58, 1758-59, 1759-60, 1760-61, 1765-66, 1769-70, 1772-73, 1773-74; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in 1776-77; at Drury Lane in 1778-79; at Covent Garden in 1786-87, 1797-98, and 1805-06. To these considerations should be added the popularity (mentioned by Professor Lounsbury) of *The English Merchant,* which

ran at Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and the Haymarket at intervals from 1767 to 1789.

Does it not seem, then, that the stage history of Voltaire's plays in England indicates, not an active period of adaptation before 1744, turning to a 'cessation of interest' thereafter, but rather a period of direct but narrow interest before 1744, growing, after that time, into a broad, perhaps scattering, but certainly vigorous popularity, which reached its climax in the third quarter of the century?

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NOTES ON THOMAS HEYWOOD'S *AGES*

In an admirable article on "The Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature"[1] Professor J. S. P. Tatlock has, among other useful services, set forth in detail the source material for Thomas Heywood's series of classical chronicle histories, the *Golden, Silver, Brazen,* and *Iron Ages.* He corrects the prevailing impression that Heywood relied mainly on Ovid (*cf. e. g.* Schelling: "Thomas Heywood, who on one occasion sat down to write, a copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on his left hand, and translated it into five plays, omitting little and extenuating nothing"[2]) and demonstrates his chief dependence on Caxton's *Recuyell.* In fact, Heywood's following of Caxton is frequently so close and so prolonged as to be positively slavish; *Golden Age* is nothing in the world but a dramatized novel, adhering to its source with a fidelity without parallel, so far as I recall, in Elizabethan drama. *Silver Age* uses Ovid to a considerable extent; *Brazen Age* is least dependent on Caxton and has most frequent recourse to Ovid. *Iron Age* is almost as close to Caxton as is *Golden Age.* It is my purpose in this paper to make certain additions to Prof. Tatlock's list of sources.

In the second act of *Golden Age* Jupiter's seduction of Calisto is, as Tatlock remarks, very close to Caxton. There is, however,

[1] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.* (1915), xxx, 673-770.

[2] *Elizabethan Drama,* I, xxxiv. Cf. also Pearson reprint of Heywood's Plays, I, xx; Introd. to Mermaid Ed., xix.

a decided difference in tone between the prose account and the play in both parts of the episode, the wooing and the rape. The latter has in the play a tone of broad comedy quite lacking in Caxton's sober account, with its medieval conception of an amour as an affair of sighs and tears and long speeches; for the conduct of the scene in broadest vein Heywood needed no suggestion and no model.[3] In the wooing scene there is again the difference between the medieval courtesy of Caxton's situation and Heywood's more spirited presentation of his impetuous, cajoling, arguing Jupiter and sparring, crafty Calisto. The hint for Jupiter's argument against chastity is doubtless to be found in Caxton: "ye be yong and fayr amonge none of yow that so go in to religyon may growe no fruyt of children Aduyse yow wel hit were better that ye abode amonge the worldly peple that enplenyssh the world."[4] But there is some reason to think that for the phrasing of the argument Heywood received suggestions from Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis:*

(a) What is it when you loose your mayden-head,
But make your beauty live, when you be dead,
In your faire issue? . . . . . .
Leave to the world your like for face and stature,
That the next age may praise your gifts of nature.[5]

By law of nature thou art bound to breed,
That thine may live when thou thyself art dead;
And so, in spite of death, thou dost survive,
In that thy likeness still is left alive. *V. and A.*, 171-4.

(b) Men were got to get; you borne others to beare.

Thou wast begot; to get it is thy duty. *V. and A.*, 168.

(c) This flower will wither, not being cropt in time;
Age is too late, then do not loose your prime.

Fair flowers that are not gather'd in their prime
Rot and consume themselves in little time. *V. and A.*, 131-2.

It will not do to insist very strongly upon these resemblances, for the question of possible relationship is complicated by the

[3] Swinburne's suggestion that it is imitated from the twenty-seventh idyl of Theocritus is unnecessary.

[4] *Recuyell*, ed. H. O. Sommer, p. 51.

[5] The Heywood citations are from the Pearson reprint, vol. III, pp. 25-26.

popularity of the motif. The close connection between the *Venus and Adonis* and the first seventeen of Shakespeare's Sonnets, the Procreation group, has been studied in detail,[6] and parallels have been found elsewhere, *e. g.* in *Hero and Leander* and the *Arcadia*. Thus we may compare *a* above with the following:

> How much more praise deserv'd thy beauty's use
> If thou couldst answer, "This fair child of mine
> Shall sum my count and make my old excuse,"
> Proving his beauty by succession thine! Son. 2.
>
> Make thee another self for love of me,
> That beauty still may live in thine or thee. Son. 10.

Various other parallels follow:

(d) Women, faire Queene, are nothing without men:
You are but cyphers, empty roomes to fill,
And till men's figures come, uncounted still.

One is no number; maids are nothing, then,
Without the sweet society of men. *Hero and Leander*, 255-6.

(e) To live a maid, what is't? 'tis to live nothing:
'Tis like a covetous man to hoord up treasure,
Bar'd from your own use, and from others' pleasure.

Then treasure is abus'd,
When misers keep it; being put to loan,
In time it will return us two for one. *H. and L.*, 234-6.

Then, beauteous niggard, why dost thou abuse
The bounteous largess given thee to give?
Profitless usurer, why dost thou use
So great a sum of sums, yet canst not live? Son. 4.

(f) Oh thinke, faire creature, that you had a mother,
One that bore you that you might bear another.

Dear my love, you know
You had a father; let your son say so. Son. 13.

Nature, when you were first borne, vowed you a woman, and as she made you child of a mother, so to do your best to be mother of a child. *Arcadia*, bk. III.[7]

(g) Should all effect the strict life you desire,
The world it selfe should end when we expire.

If all were minded so, the times should cease
And threescore year would make the world away. Son. 11.

[6] Cf. Alden's Variorum edition of the Sonnets.
[7] Cambridge English Classics, p. 379.

Koeppel, who noted certain of these parallels,[8] was on the safe side when he remarked: "Viel gewicht ist diesen übereinstimmungen jedoch nicht beizulegen, derselbe anlass konnte leicht dieselben gedanken erzeugen."[9]

The possibility of any imitation of the sonnets by Heywood is practically obviated by the date of the composition of *Golden Age;* although not printed till 1611, it was probably written 1594-6.[10] That Heywood was one of the "private friends" among whom the "sugred Sonnets" had circulated before 1598, according to Meres, is not probable, since in 1595 he was a young and practically unknown man, at the very beginning of his career. His acquaintance with *Venus and Adonis,* however, can be proved by other means.

The additional evidence is to be found in the Venus and Adonis episode in *Brazen Age.* Of this Tatlock says that it is clearly from the *Metamorphoses,*[11] and Koeppel dismisses it with the following comment: "Der wortlaut seiner kurzen scenen erinnert uns nur selten an das zweifellos auch ihm wohlbekannte, üppige epos Shakespeare's, er hat die gefährliche nähe möglichst gemieden. Eine auffälligere, nicht unbedingt vom stoffe geforderte übereinstimmung bemerken wir nur in der warnung der Venus vor der jagd auf den eber, Sh.'s Venus hatte gesagt: *But if thou needes wilt hunt, be ruled by me; Uncouple at the timorous flying hare, Or at the fox which lives by subtlety* (v. 673 ff.), und so lesen wir auch bei Heywood in ihrer rede: *Hunt thou the beasts that flye, The wanton Squirrell, or the trembling Hare, The crafty Fox: these pastimes fearelesse are* (vol. III, p. 186). Bei der reichlichen überlieferung der schönen sage ist es aber wohl möglich dass auch diese ähnlichkeit auf eine gemeinsame quelle zurückzuführen sein wird."[12] Although Heywood's trio of harmless beasts is obviously closer to Shakespeare's than to Ovid's "fleet hares, or the stag with lofty horns, or the hinds," this similarity, if it stood alone, would furnish no basis for argument that Heywood was conscious-

[8] *a, c,* and *e.*

[9] *Shakespeare's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker,* in Bang's Materialien z. Kunde d. ält. engl. Dr., IX, 16-17.

[10] The evidence is best presented by Tatlock.

[11] X, 519 ff.

[12] *Op. cit.,* p. 20.

ly using *Venus and Adonis* as a model. But here are a number of other parallel passages:

Why doth Adonis flye the Queene of love,
And shun this Ivory girdle of my armes?[13]

I have hemm'd thee here
Within the circuit of this ivory pale. *V. and A.*, 229-30.

To be thus scarft the dreadfull God of warre
Would give me conquered kingdomes.

I have been wooed, as I entreat thee now,
Even by the stern and direful god of war . . . .
Who conquers where he comes in every jar. *V. and A.*, 97-100.

Come, let us tumble on this violet banke,
Pre'thee be wanton; let us toy and play.

Be bold to play, our sport is not in sight;
These blue-vein'd violets whereon we lean. *V. and A.*, 124-5.

Witness this primrose bank whereon I lie. *V. and A.*, 151.

Looke on me, Adon, with a steadfast eye,
That in these Christall glasses I may see
My beauty. . . . .

Look in mine eye-balls, there thy beauty lies. *V. and A.*, 119.

With my white fingers I will clap thy cheeke.

Her other tender hand his fair cheek feels:
His tenderer cheek receives her soft hand's print.
V. and A., 352-3.

Madame, you are not modest.

He saith she is immodest, blames her miss. *V. and A.*, 53.

Thou art not man; yet wert thou made of stone
I have heat to melt thee.

Fie, lifeless picture, cold and senseless stone, . . .
Thing like a man, but of no woman bred!
Thou art no man, though of a man's complexion.
V. and A., 211-15.

I have kisses that can murder unkinde words.

What follows more she murders with a kiss. *V. and A.*, 54.

Alas! my brow's so smooth
It will not beare a wrinkle.

Thou canst not see one wrinkle in my brow. *V. and A.*, 139.

[13] Pearson reprint, III, 184-6.

To support the evidence of these quotations there are other indications that Heywood had recourse to *Venus and Adonis* as well as to the *Metamorphoses*. The first obvious resemblance to Ovid's narrative comes at about line 64: "Hunt thou the beasts that fly;" the following lines are a pretty close rendering of Ovid. There is nothing in the Latin to suggest the first part of the scene, in which the amorous goddess woos the cold Adonis, intent on his hunting. The first sixty lines, then, are either original or were suggested by some source other than Ovid. What more probable source than Shakespeare's widely read poem? How could Heywood have helped falling under its influence, writing as he probably did, while the poem was still enjoying its greatest popularity at the top of that vogue for erotic poetry which marked the last decade of the sixteenth century? In addition to the verbal likenesses cited above, all of which occur in the first sixty lines, there are these specific points of likeness, which are not to be found in Ovid: (a) the strenuous wooing of the goddess with the emphasis upon physical allurements; (b) the reluctance of Adonis and his immaturity; (c) the goddess's premonition and prevision of Adonis's death by the boar: cf. *Brazen Age* 186:

> **That very word (boar) strooke from my heart all joy;**
> **It startled mee: methinkes I see thee dye**
> **By that rude Boare**

with *Venus and Adonis* 661 ff.:

> **And more than so, presenteth to mine eye**
> **The picture of an angry chafing boar,**
> **Under whose sharp fangs on his back doth lie**
> **An image like thyself, all stain'd with gore.**

Now *a* and *b* are the essential features of the Shakesperean development of Ovid's story. Is it likely that Heywood added them independently?

The story of Medea and Jason in *Brazen Age,* which Tatlock attributes to the *Metamorphoses* or *Tristia,* or possibly to V. Flaccus's *Argonauticon,* is most largely indebted to *Metamorphoses.* Medea's account of the origin of the golden fleece, not given in *Met.,* is taken from the *Fasti,* III, 855 ff.; while for the death of Absyrtus Heywood turns to *Tristia,* III, 9. The Mars and Venus episode, attributed by Tatlock to *Metamorphoses,*[14] is in reality

[14] IV, 171 ff.

taken from *Ars Amatoria,* II, 562 ff. (cf. Venus's mocking of Vulcan, her weeping, her vow to repeat openly what she had hitherto done by stealth, Vulcan's acknowledgment that he has acted foolishly, the "moral" of the tale). The latter is longer and closer to the original version in the eighth book of the *Odyssey;* that Heywood used the Latin rather than the Greek is proved by the fact that in details where the two differ he always agrees with Ovid. This episode, skilfully enough developed from Ovid's brief account, with some graceful incidental verse, is the best single illustration of the extremely loose structure of the *Ages.* It has not a shadow of connection with anything that precedes or follows it, is introduced in the middle of a serious narrative solely for the sake of its risqué comedy, and Heywood can find no better excuse for its introduction than his apologetic explanation in the prologue to the act:

> Loath are we, curteous auditors, to cloy
> Your appetites with viands of one taste.

In conclusion, to show the profusion of sources from which Heywood drew his material for the *Ages* and his early acquaintance with classical literature (which may be of importance in connection with the question whether he had a university education) there follows an enumeration of works upon which he actually or probably drew.

Classical: *Iliad.*
Lucian's Ὄνειρος ἢ Ἀλεκτρυών.
Aeneid.
Ovid's *Metamorphoses, Fasti, Tristia, Ars Amatoria, Heroides.*
Plautus's *Amphitruo.*

English: Caxton's *Recuyell.*
Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis.*
Peele's *Arraignment of Paris.*
Greene's *Euphues his Censure to Philautus.*
The revenge play type.[15]

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[15] Cf. my article, "A New Specimen of the Revenge Play," *Modern Philology* (awaiting publication).

FOUR LETTERS OF RACINE

Four of Racine's letters, privately owned in England, have remained either unnoticed or unauthenticated by his editors. Their existence in the possession of Alfred Morrison was noted by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts [1] as early as 1883, some years before Mesnard's definitive edition of Racine. By writing to the Commission, I learned that the Morrison manuscripts are now at Sotheby's and will shortly be offered there for sale. It is to be hoped that when this happens the purchaser will allow the letters to be examined and their authenticity finally determined. In the uncertainty, however, of this event, especially if they continue to be overlooked by Romance scholars, I wish to call attention to the existence of these letters and to the information that can now be had with regard to them.

Three of them receive scant notice from the Commission. The first is dated April 30th, 1691, "au Camps [Camp] deuant Mans [Mons]." It may have been addressed to Boileau, to whom Racine wrote from this place on the third of the same month.[2] If the date is correct, it shows that Racine lingered at the camp after the capture of the town on the 8th and the King's departure for Versailles four days later. The other two are addressed to Racine's sister, Mlle Rivière, at La Ferté-Milon. One was sent from Versailles "ce 22 Feurier," the other from Paris "ce jour des Cendres." The term *Mademoiselle* could, of course, be applied at this time to a married woman of the middle class. It is regularly used by Racine in addressing his sister after her marriage, although he writes to his wife as Madame.[3] As Racine's sister was not married till June 1676, the letters must have been written between that year and 1699, date of the poet's death. They may, perhaps, have been despatched in the winter of 1697, for no other letters addressed to her between January and May of that year are extant, although Racine writes in the latter month as if she then received letters

[1] *Ninth Report*, Part II, p. 462, London, 1883.

[2] P. Mesnard, *Œuvres de J. Racine* (Grands Écrivains edition). Paris, Hachette, 1870, VII, 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, VII, 31.

from him quite frequently, using the phrase [4] " quoique vous n'ayez pas eu de mes nouvelles depuis quinze jours."

The remaining letter, addressed to " Madame Racine, rue des Maçons, proche la Sorbonne, à Paris," is quoted as follows:

" Au quesnoy le 16e May 1692. Je vous escrivis hier de Catteau Cambresis. Nous sommes arriuez á [à] nos quartiers du Quesnoy où j'ay á [à] peine le temps de vous escrire vn mot, et comme je vous le mandois nous parton[s] demain de Valenciennes pour le Camps [Camp] de Géuries pres de Mons où est le rendez-vous des armées de Flandre. Les [dames] qu'on laisse icy ont tesenoigné [tesmoigné] desirer de suivre le Roy au Camp, ce qui a beaucoup diverty Sa Majesté. Nous serons encore a quinze lieues de Namur ou [où] nous arriverons vraysembla[ble]ment le 25 de ce mois. On vient d'amene[r] au Roy deux manières de paisans qui estoient sortis de Mons avec des lettres de l'ennemy qui y a des intelligences. Ces lettres portent que la Ville de Namur peut tenir plusieurs mois contre les forces du Roy. Mais cela n'est nullement vraysemblable, et la Campagne ne sera point longue. Escriuez a [à] vostre Frere touchent [touchant] vostre fermier. Adieu mon cher cœur, embrasse tes enfans pour moy, et donne moy souuent des nouuelles de nostre fils. Qu'il travaille et se mette en estat de viure en honneste homme. Adieu, à demain—Racine."

The facts stated in this letter are confirmed by the author's correspondence and by the journal of Dangeau. The letter written to Mme Racine from Cateau-Cambresis states [5] that next day Racine will be at Le Quesnoy, the ladies of the court will be left there, and the following day he will be at the camp near Mons. Dangeau tells [6] of the King's dining near Le Quesnoy on the 16th and promising the ladies to take them to Mons and show them his army. On May 17th he states that Louis has chosen a site for his camp at " Givry sur la Trouille à deux lieues de Mons," from which place Racine, who spells it " Gévries," writes [7] to Boileau on May 21st. On the 31st he dated a letter [8] from the " camp devant Namur," which town, according to his prediction, held out only till June 5th, its Château till June 30th. What he writes to his wife about her farmer and her children resembles closely expressions in his letter [9] of May 15th. Similar phrases are found in other letters of

[4] *Ibid.*, VII, 172. [5] *Ibid.*, VII, 29.
[6] *Journal*, cited by Mesnard, *op. cit.*, VII, 32, 33.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII, 33. [8] *Ibid.*, VII, 39. [9] *Ibid.*, VII, 29, 31.

Racine.[10] There would seem to be no reason, therefore, to doubt the authenticity of this document, but Mesnard, misled, as I believe, by an abbreviated copy of it, would have it otherwise.

In 1844 Aimé-Martin[11] published a letter from Racine to his wife which runs as follows:

"Au Quesnoy, le 16 mars.

'Je vous écrivis hier de Cateau-Cambrésis; nous sommes arrivés à nos quartiers, et, comme je vous le mandois, nous partons demain pour le camp devant Mons.

'Les dames qu'on laisse ici ont témoigné le desir de suivre le roi au camp; ce qui a beaucoup réjoui Sa Majesté. On vient d'amener au roi deux manières de paysans, qui étoient sortis de Mons avec des lettres de l'ennemi. Ces lettres portent que la ville peut tenir plusieurs mois contre les forces du roi, mais cela est peu vraisemblable, et la campagne ne sera point longue.

'Écrivez à votre frère touchant votre fermier. Adieu, mon cher cœur; embrasse tes enfants pour moi, et donne-moi souvent des nouvelles de notre fils. Qu'il travaille et se mette en état de vivre et honnête homme. Adieu, à demain."

Mesnard[12] cites this letter only to attempt to prove it a forgery. He argues that the date is incorrect, as Mons was not besieged till after March 16th, 1691, and that no ladies from the court followed the Mons campaign. But these objections do not hold with regard to the Morrison copy of the letter, for there it is not a question of the siege of Mons in 1691, but of Namur in May, 1692. Mesnard is suspicious of "donne-moi souvent des nouvelles de notre fils" because in his letter of May 15th Racine had written, "écris-moi souvent ou lui," but this is surely not a serious argument against the authenticity of the letter. He also points out three cases of resemblance in style between this and other letters of Racine, suggesting that the letter published by Aimé-Martin is a series of phrases imitated from these other letters. Such resemblances are, however, no proof of forgery. It is unnecessary to point out that a man frequently uses the same form of expression when repeating an idea. Such phrases tend, as a matter of fact, to confirm a letter's authenticity.

[10] *Ibid.*, VII, 18, "deux manières de paysans," "ces lettres portoient que la place ne pouvoit plus tenir"; 31, "adieu, mon cher cœur"; 125, "se mettre en état de vivre en honnête homme."

[11] *Œuvres complètes de J. Racine*, Paris, Lefèvre, 1844, VI, 415.

[12] *Op. cit.*, VII, 32.

So convinced was Mesnard, however, of the spurious nature of the document that, when he read [13] in a catalogue of 1854 that there would be offered for sale an autograph letter from Racine to his wife, dated "Au Quesnoy, le 16 mai 1692" and containing the phrases, "Nous partons demain pour le camp de Gévries, près de Mons, où est le rendez-vous des armées de Flandre" and "Namur ne peut tenir contre les forces du Roi," he took it to be merely a new copy "adroitement corrigée" of the supposed forgery published by Aimé-Martin. The letter thus referred to in this catalogue of the Chassiron sale he apparently did not see. It is highly probable that it is the copy which subsequently crossed the Channel, for the phrases quoted closely resemble passages in the Morrison letter.

As I have already said, an examination of the manuscripts will show whether they are written in Racine's hand. Until such an examination is made, we must rely upon the preponderance of our evidence, which points clearly to the genuineness of the letters in the Morrison collection. The document published by Aimé-Martin is an abbreviated and otherwise incorrect copy of one of these.

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REVIEWS

A First Reader in Spanish. By Rudolph Schevill. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1917. viii + 181 pp.

Elementary Spanish-American Reader. Edited with exercises, notes and vocabulary, by Frederick Bliss Luquiens. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. vii + 224 pp.

Spanish Reader of South American History. Edited with notes, exercises and vocabulary, by Edward Watson Supple. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. vii + 375 pp.

Spanish-American Composition Book. By J. Warshaw. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1917. iv + 156 pp.

[13] *Ibid.*, vii, 33.

Lecturas Fáciles con ejercicios. By Lawrence A. Wilkins and Max A. Luria. Boston: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1916. viii + 266 pp.

A Trip to Latin America (In very simple Spanish), with conversation and composition exercises and vocabulary. By Ventura Fuentes and Victor E. François. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1917. vii + 196 pp.

Two tendencies are quite pronounced in practically all of the new texts in Spanish. There is first a generous and general response to the appeal of the Pan-American Congress that we learn something about the countries to the south of us. Every one of the books noticed contains Latin-American material. Four of them present only that, and the other two divide their space between Spain and Spanish America. All of them contain maps of the American republics, and five of them are illustrated by photographs of places and people of interest to the student of South America. The use of this kind of subject-matter should unquestionably be encouraged. When presented with due regard to his present ignorance, this material is of the highest interest to the student, both academically and practically. Its use cannot but help to create a more sympathetic understanding of our neighbors, and will contribute to the Pan-American spirit which it is so desirable to foster. Research will not suffer from it because a greater number of the students, brought to the subject by this interest, will almost inevitably continue their study of Spanish in the advanced courses where the study of the literature of Spain is the subject of instruction.

The second tendency is a decided trend toward a more direct method of instruction. All of the new books are provided with exercises, the aim of which is to secure a practical command of the language. This is as it should be. The chief justification for the study of Spanish on the scale on which it is being carried on in this country today is that it has a practical value. The students who crowd our classes are interested primarily in learning the language as a means of intercourse. They want to learn to read, but chiefly to write and speak Spanish, and we shall fail in our duty if we do not do all in our power to equip them to do so. The writer would not be surprised to see the war, and the special interest in

Spanish to which it has given rise, result in a new emphasis on the practical teaching of all languages in our schools throughout the country. Whether the movement becomes general or not, it obviously devolves upon the teachers of Spanish to meet the new situation by that kind of work.

A First Reader in Spanish by Professor Schevill shows the new tendencies less than any of the other books under consideration. It is made up of 110 pages of poetry and prose, only about twenty pages of the latter dealing with America. The practical work is limited to questions on the first thirty-nine pages of text, and the illustrative matter consists of two maps and a number of woodcuts, most of them having no Spanish interest. The selection of material for early reading is largely a matter of taste, but the writer questions the use of so much that is un-Spanish, and of matter that is as difficult as some included in this book. The notes fail to mention, in the discussion of elementary grammar, points as important as the neuter article, the infinitive with *al,* and the absolute construction with the participle. The clause *"El Alcalde hizo sus observaciones"* is mistranslated in note 77:2. The translation should read "The mayor objected." The vocabulary, too, seems at times inadequate. No suitable translation is given for *acudir* as used in 81:4, of *ajustar* in 81:10, of *andar* 76:24, *digno* 79:3, *guardar* 79:3, *harto* 78:12, *verse* 80:25. Neither the notes nor the vocabulary explain *hubo de sulfurarse* 77:6.

The Elementary Spanish-American Reader by Professor Luquiens offers an excellent selection of historical and descriptive material, together with a number of stories of literary merit. The choice of the material is attributed in the preface to Professor De Vitis. Questions and composition exercises follow each selection, and four maps and fifteen photogravures tend to make the book more attractive. The notes are full, but are not free from error. An obvious slip is the statement in note 4:21, "Before nouns, and in numbers greater than itself, 100 is *cien.*" The statement in note 66:9 regarding the use of *se* as one of two object pronouns in the third person is hardly correct from an historical standpoint. The further statement, "The change is made for the sake of euphony," is not in accord with Bello-Cuervo, 946, N. The translation of *"Al punto mismo que lo vió"* in note 71:23 is incorrect. It should read "The moment he saw him." The suggestion regard-

ing *licenciado,* 76:4, is also incorrect. There is no "humorous intent." The word means here only "discharged prisoner." The sentence should be translated "He had served a term in the San Juan penitentiary." The translation given to explain the use of *tener* in 76:20 is questionable. In this case there is practically no difference between *haber* and *tener.* The postpositive demonstrative noted in 83:9 is neither a pronoun nor irregular. Although not especially noted by the grammarians, examples of demonstratives following the noun occur in Hanssen, § 539, Garner, § 81, Olmsted and Gordon, § 61, N., and the construction is not rare. In the notes to 65:15 and 87:6 the author has confused a practice in Spain and a common usage in South America. According to Dr. Hills (*Spanish Short Stories,* D. C. Heath and Co., 1910, p. 225), *vos* is, in South America, simply "a more formal expression than *tú,* but less formal than *usted.*" Cf. also Lenz, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.* xv, 518. The vocabulary of the book, in so far as examined, is both complete and adequate.

With the aim of helping to "supply the need of suitable classroom texts dealing with South America," Professor E. W. Supple has edited a series of nine historical selections in a *Spanish Reader of South American History.* The text and exercises, eight maps and four illustrations, fill 258 pages. The book seems to be a conscientious and painstaking piece of work, but it is a question whether students in the early years of the course could read these extracts with either pleasure or profit. The long paragraphs, made up of long, involved sentences and offering considerable difficulty in vocabulary, are in themselves repellent, and the subject-matter, however important, is treated in too great detail to prove interesting to persons who have hardly heard of Bolívar or San Martín, and whose notions of South-American geography are only too vague.

It is difficult to see just what Professor J. Warshaw has tried to do in his *Spanish-American Composition Book.* The book is intended for early use, but the material serving as a basis for the exercises is written in an eloquent, rather than an informative style, and is very far from containing the everyday vocabulary that a beginner in Spanish needs to know. The book might do for advanced translation into Spanish, but few teachers will succeed with it in elementary work.

The writer is in hearty accord with the principles, set forth in

the preface, that have determined the nature and form of *Lecturas Fáciles* by L. A. Wilkins and M. A. Luria. If students of Spanish are to acquire Spanish, as distinguished from a knowledge of facts about it, the language of the early reading must be simple enough to render translations in class almost unnecessary, and thus enable teacher and class to devote their whole time and energy to the actual mastery of the selection. It is with this idea that *Lecturas Fáciles* has been made. The writers have aimed to provide reading matter that should be simple without being childish, and that should contain a practical, everyday vocabulary. The subject-matter, which concerns both Spain and Latin America, meets both of these requirements. The selections are easy, and most of them are interesting. As a means of securing that working-over of the material which the "read and translate" method does not afford, and which is undoubtedly the method of teaching language practically that can be most effectively used in our schools, each reading lesson is followed by exercises consisting of a *cuestionario,* verb drills, directions for giving summaries, word studies, sentences for translation into Spanish, and incomplete sentences. The exercises are admirably designed for their purpose, and will undoubtedly give excellent results. The notes are where they should be, at the bottom of the page, and the vocabulary meets all requirements. The book, which is well provided with maps and illustrations, is on the whole an admirable piece of work and will meet the commendation of all teachers who are interested primarily in teaching the language.

Similar to *Lecturas Fáciles,* but evidently designed for earlier use, is *A Trip to South America* by V. Fuentes and V. E. François. The reading matter is wholly original and so simple that the book can be used almost at the beginning of the course. Twenty-eight short chapters give in simple narrative, dialogue, or letter form, brief accounts of the countries and matters of interest in Spanish America. Each chapter is followed by exercises for reworking the material, similar to those of *Lectures Fáciles* but easier, more varied, and requiring less original work.

In the opinion of the writer, these last two books represent the type of text that will be of greatest service in the teaching of Spanish. The writer is not a "direct methodist," but he is convinced that if Spanish teachers are going to retain the hold they

have gained in the last three years, they will have to concern themselves chiefly with practical work. The method of teaching that seems to be taking form in this country is a more or less intensive inductive study of suitable texts. The method is scientific, interesting, and flexible. If our texts are provided with exercises like those used in these two texts, this method can be used as easily as the reading method, by any live teacher. The writer hopes that future editors will provide us with more advanced texts equipped as are these two.

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The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton, (1734-1771), including more than One Hundred Letters now first published, etc. By PAGET TOYNBEE. 2 vols. Oxford, At The Clarendon Press, 1915.

This interesting and beautiful book reflects great credit on both editor and publishers. Binding, paper, print, and illustrations (including portraits and facsimiles) could hardly be more attractive and fitting. There are in all three portraits of Gray, three of Walpole, and one of Ashton. Two of the portraits of Gray serve as frontispieces to the two volumes.

In the Preface the editor informs the reader that "of 248 letters contained in these volumes, 111 are now printed for the first time, namely, eighty-nine by Gray, five by Walpole, nine by West, and eight by Ashton; and twenty-one are now first printed in full, namely, fifteen by Gray, one by Walpole, one by West, and four by Ashton. Of the remaining 116, which have been reprinted from various sources, forty-nine were written by Gray, twenty-nine by Walpole, twenty-nine by West, and nine by Ashton; thus making a total of 153 letters by Gray, thirty-five by Walpole, thirty-nine by West, and twenty-one by Ashton.

The hitherto unpublished letters of Gray, Walpole, and West, it was my good fortune to find, in the course of my inquiries for Walpole letters, in the possession of the late Sir Francis E. Waller, Bart., of Woodcote, Warwick, who not only readily acceded to my request for permission to publish them, but further, with great generosity, placed at my disposal for a prolonged period, for the

purposes of this work, the whole of his valuable collection of Walpole correspondence and other papers preserved at Woodcote. This collection, it may be explained, came, as it were, by direct descent from Walpole himself to the late owner, having been bequeathed to the then head of the family, Sir Mathew Waller, by Walpole's executrix and residuary legatee." [1]

The book is dedicated "To the memory of Captain Sir Francis Ernest Waller, Bart.," and a note at the close of the Preface definitely links the publication of the letters with the war that is now in progress.

The introduction (pp. xvii-xlv) is arranged in twelve sections or paragraphs, dealing with the following subjects in a concise and illuminating manner: The 'Quadruple Alliance'; Their Pseudonyms; Gray at Eton and Cambridge—His alleged early residence at Pembroke; Foreign Tour of Gray and Walpole; The Quarrel between Gray and Walpole—The Part Played by Ashton—Their Reconcilation; Gray in Residence at Cambridge—Publication of his Poems; The Newly Printed Letters of Gray—Walpole's Estimate of the Early Letters—Evidence of his Intention to Publish Them; Horace Walpole—Early Years; Walpole in Parliament—Intercourse with Gray—Strawberry Hill; The Strawberry Hill Press—Walpole's Literary Works—His Indebtedness to Gray—Visits to Paris—Death of Gray; Richard West; Thomas Ashton.

Toynbee has thrown interesting light upon many rather obscure points in the life of Gray. First of all, the new letters seem to establish beyond a doubt the identity of the pseudonyms of the members of the 'Quadruple Alliance.' As has long been known, Gray's name was 'Orosmades' (or 'Orozmades') and West's 'Favonius' or 'Zephyrus.' But the names of Ashton and Walpole have hitherto remained matters of dispute. From several of the early letters of Gray to Walpole there can be no doubt that Walpole was known as 'Celadon' among his close friends at Eton, "presumably after the amorous shepherd of that name in D'Urfé's pastoral romance of *Astrée,* or perhaps after the swain so called in Thomson's *Summer.*" [2] Since the publication of Tovey's *Gray and His Friends* [3] "Ashton has usually been identified with 'Plato,'

[1] Pp. vii-viii.

[2] *Introd.*, p. xviii. But Gosse in *E. M. of L.*, pp. 11, says, "Tydeus is very clearly Walpole himself."

[3] Cambridge, 1890.

but it is more probable that he was 'Almanzor,'"—a character in Dryden's *Conquest of Granada,* in which Ashton probably acted while at Eton.[4] Tovey says on this point[5]: "Ashton was dubbed 'Plato' by his Eton friends; why, I cannot tell, except in as far as he was supposed to have some skill in Greek." "The terms in which Walpole speaks of 'Plato,'" says Toynbee, "are hardly consistent with the intimate relations which are known to have subsisted between him and Ashton. Further, 'Plato' is only once mentioned by Gray (namely, in his letter to Walpole of 24 Dec., 1735), and that only incidentally, in consequence of a reference by West to Walpole's mention of him. 'Almanzor,' on the other hand, as appears from Gray's references to him, was intimate, as was Ashton, both with Walpole and with Gray. 'Almanzor' was at King's, as was Ashton; and was in residence before Walpole went up to Cambridge, as was Ashton. 'Almanzor,' again, is mentioned next after 'Orosmades' by West in his list, and the two are coupled together by Walpole as his two closest Eton friends at Cambridge, as Gray and Ashton undoubtedly were. All the available evidence, therefore, points to the identification of Ashton with 'Almanzor'"[6]

In still another point connected with Gray's early career Toynbee corrects the poet's biographers. "The persistent statement of recent biographers that Gray went for a time first to Pembroke, pending his admission to Peterhouse, has no evidence to support it. In the Peterhouse Admission Book, in which the record of Gray's admission is printed in full, no mention is made of any migration from Pembroke; he is described simply as from Eton. . . . Nor is there any record in the Pembroke Admission Book of his having been entered there, as alleged, in 1734 before his admission to Peterhouse. Gray's early letters to Walpole, dating from April, 1734, . . . are equally silent on the subject.

This legend as to Gray's early residence at Pembroke seems to have originated in a slip on the part of Mitford, the well-known editor of the works of Gray." Mitford, after repeating "almost

[4] Toynbee, *Introd.*, p. xix, and footnote 6.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 2; also p. 80, footnote.

[6] Toynbee, *Introd.*, pp. xix-xx. Northup says (*Essays and Criticisms by Thomas Gray*, Boston, Heath & Co., 1911, Introd., p. xi): "Thomas Ashton was nicknamed 'Plato'." Gosse suggests (*op. cit.*) that "Almanzor is probably Ashton."

verbatim" a passage on Gray's educational advantages from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray,* says in the succeeding paragraph of his *Life of Gray* (1816): "'When Gray removed to Peterhouse (*i. e.* from Eton) Horace Walpole went to King's College in the same University.' In the version of his *Life of Gray,* however, published twenty years later (in 1836) Mitford, apparently by an oversight, made a material alteration in this account. He there states that Gray 'was educated at Eton under the protection of Mr. Antrobus, his maternal uncle, who was at that time assistant to Dr. George, and also a Fellow of Pembroke College at Cambridge, where Gray was admitted as a pensioner in 1734.' Here we have the statement that Gray's uncle was a Fellow, not of Peterhouse (as he was in fact), but of Pembroke, and that Gray was admitted as a pensioner of the latter college. In view of this statement, the 'removal to Peterhouse' in the next sentence naturally acquires a wholly different significance, and implies a removal, not from Eton, as before, but from Pembroke, to Peterhouse."[7]

Toynbee has nothing really new to say about the now famous quarrel between Gray and Walpole, but he is inclined to accept the statement made by Walpole to Mason in a letter of March 2, 1773, at its full face value. "The reconciliation, which took place in November, 1745,[8] seems to have been sincere and complete on Gray's, as well as on Walpole's part." And the large number of letters which Gray sent Walpole between 1746 and the close of his life would not seem to give the slightest ground for the assertion that the two friends "gradually drifted apart" in the closing years of Gray's life.[9] Moreover, judging by the length and character of

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. xxi-xxii. Gosse says, *op. cit.*, p. 8: "In 1734 the 'Quadruple Alliance' broke up. Gray, and probably Ashton, proceeded to Cambridge, where the former was for a short time a pensioner of Pembroke Hall, but went over, on the 3rd of July, as a fellow-commoner to his uncle Antrobus's college Peterhouse." The same statement by Bradshaw (Aldine ed. of Gray's *Poems,* p. xxvii), Tovey (*Cambr. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. x, p. 131), Northup, (*op. cit.*, p. xii).

[8] *Ibid.*, p. xxviii, footnote 38. (ii); cf. letter of Gray to Wharton, Nov. 16, 1745, reprinted by Toynbee, *Introd.*, p. xxix.

[9] Northup, *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. xxiii. With the new letters printed by Toynbee we have 31 letters (instead of "only six") from Gray to Walpole between 1759 and 1771, and 57 from 1746 to 1759.

many of these letters, the correspondence with Walpole must have been definitely stimulating to Gray. Certain letters were written in answer to questions that Walpole asked his friend about manuscripts and rare books which might contain vauable information for the former's *Anecdotes of Painting in England,* and are full of the minutest antiquarian and historical details.[10] But if Walpole merely wished information about some newly acquired picture or other work of art, history or antiquity, Gray replied with equal pains, good-will, and enthusiasm.[11] Between April 1734 and the beginning of 1739 Gray wrote in all 49 letters to Walpole, 24 of which fall in the two years (12 to each year) 1735 and 1736. And all but ten of these forty-nine are published for the first time in Toynbee's two volumes.

If any further evidence were needed to put to rest forever the once popular conception of Gray as an extremely moody and melancholy being from his youth, these early letters furnish that evidence in abundance.[12] They are for the most part bubbling over with life, good spirits, and genuine humor. Virtually all the letters of Gray's younger years, and a great many from the last years of his life suggest that the light, humorous vein has been entirely

[10] See letter No. 215, Sept. 2, 1760, which fills almost 20 printed pages, Toynbee, III, 186-206.

[11] Cf. letters 185-186, Toynbee, III, 132-146, both of which are "now first printed from the originals in Waller Collection."

[12] Even the careful and impartial reading of Gray's later letters in Tovey's edition, does not leave the impression of undue melancholy. Cf. Gosse, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ff. Saintsbury is on the safest critical ground when he says (*The Peace of the Augustans*, London, 1916, p. 240): "That he had fits of melancholy is certain—it would have been strange if a man of his poetic temperament, of weak health, and leading, though entirely by his own choice, a quasi-monastic life, with absolutely no fixed duties or occupations had not had them. But that this melancholy was no *Weltschmerz*, no anticipated Jacopo-Ortism or Obermannishness, that it had little or nothing to do with any feeling that the time was out of joint or that he was out of joint with the time, the present writer has long been convinced. . . . In poetry he may be, and is, and will be here treated as one of the 'disturbers of the Happy Valley'; in prose he is nothing of the kind."

Again, he says (p. 247): "That Gray's melancholy appears in (or rather behind) the letters is perfectly true; but it has perhaps been exaggerated, even by those who have not fallen into the other and Arnoldian exaggeration of his being born out of due time. It is so difficult not to

too much neglected, just as the melancholy strain has been too much emphasized, by the poet's critics and biographers.[13] Gray was by nature a humorist,—as genuine a humorist as Cowper, without the latter's gloomy melancholy. In the letters to his most intimate friends like Walpole, West, and Wharton Gray's wit and humor flow and flash constantly. It seems to have been impossible for him to repress this exuberance of spirits. And this thought suggests, perhaps, one reason,—possibly the main reason,—why Gray "never spoke out" in poetry.[14] Letter-writing was easy for him, we must believe; was apparently his easiest, most natural medium for communicating his real self to his friends. Poetry was, it would seem, not easy for him; he is so frequently stiff, stilted, and labored in both thought and diction; so seldom indeed anything else, even in the most inspired passages of the great Elegy. It must therefore be remembered that he was one of the most voluminous, as well as one of the greatest, letter-writers of the eighteenth century;[15] and whenever he felt the necessity of giving free expression to his thoughts and opinions he generally had recourse to the familiar letter rather than to poetry.

The small number of letters written by Walpole to Gray (only eleven) is in marked contrast to the one hundred and twenty-three

confuse the worker and the work that most people, no doubt, and even some of the elect sometimes, will have the subject, or hero, or whatever he is to be called, of the *Elegy* to be Gray himself. That they had something in common—and not a very little something—it would be folly to deny. . . . But there is a great deal in the *Elegy* man that was not in Gray, and there was a great deal more in Gray that is not in the *Elegy* man."

[13] Cf. Tovey, *op. cit., Pref.* to Vol. I, and *Introd. Essay to Gray and His Friends.*

[14] On this point see especially Tovey, *Gray and His Friends, Introd. Essay*, p. 26 ff.; also *Letters of Thomas Gray*, I, *Preface*, VII ff.; Northup, *op. cit., Introd.*, p. xxii ff. Saintsbury says (*op. cit.*, p. 237) of Arnold's famous "He never spoke out": "He wrote extremely little; he had a most unfortunate habit of leaving what he did write unfinished; and he was undoubtedly influenced, in the character of his work, by a singular conflict of traditions, tastes, and the like. . . . But, as careful and impartial readers of his letters know, he often 'speaks out' in them quite loud and clear. It would be rather interesting to be certain to what extent Mr. Arnold knew them."

[15] The eighty-nine new letters of Toynbee's edition would add much to the actual bulk and real value of Tovey's three thick volumes.

of Gray to Walpole. To the other members of the Quadruple Alliance, Ashton and West, Walpole wrote three and twenty-one letters respectively. But West died in 1742 and the friendship between Ashton and Walpole was broken off about 1750. If one were to judge, then, of the warmth of his friendship for Gray by the number and character of the letters he wrote him, one would be forced to the conclusion that Walpole's interest in the poet was a matter of very secondary importance in his life. And this conclusion receives indirectly added confirmation from a consideration of the hundreds of letters written by Walpole to such really close friends as Sir Horace Mann and Hon. H. S. Conway, most of which fall in the years before Gray's death.[16]

A note written by Walpole, however, on the importance of Gray's letters, "four or five years after Gray's death, on a slip of paper preserved with the originals," might justify the inference that he destroyed and mutilated many of his own and possibly of Gray's youthful epistles: "These first letters from Mr. Gray to Mr. Walpole were written when they were both lads just removed from school to the University, where they and Mr. Ashton had assumed feigned names, and assigned others to their particular acquaintances, that they might correspond with greater freedom. This puerility, excusable at the ages of eighteen and of seventeen, would have been ridiculous at a riper age, and they soon laid it aside. Consequently when Mr. Walpole entrusted these letters to Mr. Mason that he might select such as were proper for publication, all those childish distinctions were struck out, and Mr. Mason made a very judicious selection for the Press. Mr. W. notwithstanding was so partial to those early blossoms of his friend's wit, genius and humour that he could not determine to destroy them—yet as they are too trifling for the public eye, he begs his executor to burn them after reading, or at least after having transcribed such as would be no reflection on the taste and good sense of the writer. H. W." [17]

The letters of these new volumes, as well as those formerly published, make it clear that Gray and Walpole stand a full head and

[16] Five of the eleven letters of Walpole to Gray are printed for the first time by Toynbee. And how many Walpole destroyed of those that came back into his possession, we do not know.

[17] Cf. Toynbee, *Introd.*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii, where a facsimile of the original note is given.

shoulders above Ashton and West as writers of entertaining letters. And Gray's best letters are considerably better than Walpole's best; but Gray could occasionally be very dry and tedious. Walpole was of course a consummate gossip in his letters, but his gossip is often spicy, witty, pleasing and entertaining. And then he knew and wrote about almost every interesting body and thing that lived, moved, and happened during the years of his long life. He could be a close and careful observer. He enjoyed and appreciated both nature and art. In his journey through France and Italy with Gray he also saw—was impressed by—the fine bits of scenery they passed, and commented on them with almost as much enthusiasm as Gray. Walpole in fact, as well as Gray, shows in some of his letters from this first Italian journey a genuine appreciation of grand mountain scenes.[18]

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A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight, by George Lyman Kittredge. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1916. Pp. viii, 323.

The origin and pedigree of this fine old romance seem to be one of the most difficult problems in literary history, but Professor Kittredge's solution will commend itself to the majority of readers as the best yet offered. The study begins, as he says, " with *The Champion's Bargain,* an Irish tale in a carefully elaborated literary form, preserved in a manuscript of about the year 1100. We end with *Gawain and the Green Knight,* an English romance in a carefully elaborated literary form, preserved in a manuscript of about 1400. Those points in which the latter document differs from the former are changes—additions, subtractions, or modifications. The questions are, with regard to each of them: Who made the change—the Englishman or one of his predecessors? and, if one of his predecessors, which one?"

[18] Cf. especially a letter to West, dated Aix, Sept. 30, 1739. *Letters of Horace Walpole,* ed. Cunningham, I, 27; cf. pp. 28 ff.; also Gray's letters to his mother, dated Lyons, Oct. 13, 1739, and to West, Turin, Nov. 16, 1739 in Tovey, I, 38 f. and 43 f. for his descriptions of same incidents.

These questions Professor Kittredge has answered as clearly and fully as may be done. And what renders his results the more valuable and trustworthy is his clear recognition of the fact that details of folk-lore and romance are not fixed and invariable, but that on the contrary they show a constant tendency to drift away from their primary surroundings, "to slide into fresh combinations." He does well to emphasize the fact that the creative instinct of individual genius must be reckoned with in a study like this.

Apart from the pedigree of *Gawain and the Green Knight* itself, certain related topics which are of great interest to students of folk-lore have been dealt with at length. One of the most notable, one about which many curious stories have gathered, is The Decapitation. The same ideas persist from generation to generation. We are told, for instance, that the head of Charles I opened its eyes and looked reproachfully at the executioner. Eighteen centuries earlier the poet Ennius could say of one suddenly beheaded in battle (328 B):

> oscitat in campis caput a ceruice reuolsum
> semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt.

Indeed Ennius seems to have been specially impressed by such phenomena. Witness the trumpeter of 327 B who lost his head so suddenly that the trumpet finished the tune before realizing what had happened:

> cumque caput caderet, carmen tuba sola peregit
> et pereunte uiro raucus sonus aere cucurrit.

All which is more suggestive of Baron Munchausen than of epic. Nevertheless this curious conceit has a long literary tradition. Great poets have not hesitated to echo it with all seriousness.

Professor Kittredge's book has evidently been a labor of love. He has worked with his usual thoroughness and breadth of vision. His results are a welcome and permanent addition to our knowledge of an unusually interesting theme.

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English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653. A study of Matrimony and Family Life in Theory and Practice as revealed by the Literature, Law, and History of the period. By CHILTON LATHAM POWELL. New York, Columbia University Press, 1917.

Dr. Powell has shown in this work that it is possible for the student of English to produce a doctoral dissertation which is interesting to the man of letters and at the same time profitable to members of other professions. Altho, as he says in his preface, he cannot lay claim to actual priority of inquiry in the field under consideration, he is the first who has trained the searchlight of investigation upon "all possible sources of information—history, law, literature, and actual practice," with the result that his book is valuable to the lawyer as well as stimulating to the scholar.

Whereas matrimony as a legal subject has been pretty thoroly investigated by jurists, Dr. Powell has been able to discover many works hitherto entirely overlooked in this connection, and has corrected a good many errors in conclusions of varying importance. His explanation of the origin of the New England statute concerning civil marriage will be of considerable interest for the student of American institutions and laws. This statute he shows to have been merely the New-World application of Old-World Independent beliefs; for Plymouth was settled by followers of one of the most prominent disciples of that sect, and one of the most distinctive planks in its religious platform was the severance of the marriage ceremony from all church control. The persistence of this law down to the present time, as also the rulings of Maryland—whose early proprietors were Roman Catholic—that some religious ceremony was necessary for any legal marriage and the continuance of those rulings to the present, may furnish the psychologist with interesting data as to the permanence of emotional content in intellectual consciousness.

A review of this book should not leave unmentioned the survey of the famous Henry VIII divorce controversy which is contained in Appendix A. Here Dr. Powell has gathered the first complete English bibliography of the proceedings and controversy, and has shown its ramifications to have reached out into almost every country of Europe. When we consider that in one book alone (*Censurae*) "seven continental universities" return their decisions,

interesting material offers itself for some future candidate for the doctoral degree.

Dr. Powell's most important contribution, however, is the literary significance with which he invests his thesis. A year or two from now many scholars may concern themselves with Domestic Relations as the expression of the thought of an age; for the present Dr. Powell is the first to assign the subject a distinct position in the domain of letters. By means of an extensive bibliography, much of it previously unmentioned, he uncovers an amazing amount of textual material on marriage and divorce. That such a body of literature exists in the legal-sounding domain of Domestic Relations, comes as a surprise to us who are accustomed to regard the topic as either a part of the curriculum of first-year law compiled from exhibits in calf-bound tomes of unwieldly size, or as the practice of hushed court rooms. We are accordingly startled to find that the pen of almost every thoughtful Englishman during the period under examination was occupied with questions concerning marriage or divorce.

Such a discovery would be of little real value were not the influence of this writing discernible in other English literature; for, as in natural and other sciences, the isolation of any element is only sought as a means to its further identification in active combination with other elements, so the recognition of any literary factor is of no *à priori* interest apart from its expression in other thought. Examined thus, the interpolation into the Domestic Conduct Book of chapters on marriage and married life is easily understandable; and traces of this discussion are to be found in the Morality, the Interlude, and even the popular Jest Book, with its play upon the very situations over which those old pamphleteers raised such hue and cry.

Dr. Powell might have gone still farther and enveloped his discussion with a yet more living interest. Let us consider such works as the anonymous *A Curtain Lecture* and Braithwait's *Ar't asleepe husbande?* as forerunners of the famous *Mrs. Caudle Lectures,* and we shall see those fifteenth and sixteenth century ideas progressing, tho ever so secretly, thru the ages, for in Douglas Jerrold's witty pages we meet old coin remoulded circulating as currency of a full two centuries later. Nor does the mint become ever wholly debased. Within the last decade the dead and gone

discussion has revived with increased vigor and become modern and quite up to twentieth-century date. In the light of this dissertation, especially the chapter " Contemporary Attitudes Towards Woman," such novels as *Angela's Business, Marriage À La Mode, Perch of The Devil,* Mr. Galsworthy's penetrating social studies, and innumerable other expressions of the feminist movement, emerge as the slow but sure development of old Puritan reform.

Perhaps one of the most interesting uses which Dr. Powell makes of his study is its application as a test of Milton's reasons for writing his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.* It is a sad commentary on human nature that he who has attained the greatest heights of mental and moral grandeur is most eagerly assailed by the majority of mankind if he exhibit ever his vulnerable heel; and Milton's own nephew raised such yelping at the great poet's heels. According to Philips, Milton composed his *Doctrine and Discipline* in a disgruntled frame of mind produced by his young wife's prolonged absence from home. From this original statement, suppositions have arisen of so varying a wildness that some are unfit for publication. The whole of this ingenious fabrication Dr. Powell believes to have been built on no particle of truth. By proving Mr. Philips inaccurate in other matters, even in those of such extreme family intimacy as the dates of the poet's birth, entrance in Cambridge, publication of *Paradise Lost,* and death, he very sensibly suggests that he be not too readily credited in this particular. He further shows that the order of composition for the *Doctrine,* the *Tetrachordon,* and the *Judgement of Martin Bucer* was far different from that assigned by Philips, and establishes a date for the planning of the *Doctrine* that is almost a year in advance of the one given by Milton's nephew. Add to this the poet's own statement in his *Second Defense:* "When the bishops could no longer resist the multitude of their assailants, I had leisure to turn my thoughts to other subjects; to the promotion of real and substantial liberty. . . . When, therefore, I perceived that there were three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life; religious, domestic, and civil; and as I had already written concerning the first, and the magistrates were strenuously active concerning the third, I determined to turn my attention to the second, or domestic species." These facts, taken into consideration with Dr. Powell's complete argument,

which shows the age of Milton and the immediately preceding age to have been rife with discussions of marriage and divorce, sufficiently make clear why the poet should have turned his thoughts in that direction. Dr. Powell's contentions on the whole are well sustained and convincing; and we must hope that future commentators will refrain from their mud-slinging and indecent suppositions as to Milton's marital relations. In style, the book is lucid and attractive; a surprising amount of heavy and technical matter is handled with a degree of ease that admits of no suggestion of the pedant.

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A Middle High German Primer, with Grammar, Notes, and Glossary by JOSEPH WRIGHT. Third Edition. Rewritten and Enlarged. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1917. vi + 213 pp.

The first edition of this primer appeared in 1888, the second ten years later. The edition just publisht represents a work of twice the size and scope of the former editions. As stated in the preface, "the grammatical introduction has been entirely rewritten and expanded to more than twice its original size. The texts have also been nearly doubled by the addition of eighteen poems from Walther von der Vogelweide and selections from Reinmar, Ulrich von Lichtenstein and Wolfram von Eschenbach."

The new edition is the only MHG. reader in English which lays the proper emphasis on linguistics. The MHG. dialects covered by the text ar almost exclusively Upper German, a restriction which can scarcely be condemned in a beginners' text. On the whole, the revision puts this text on a par with Wright's other works on the Germanic dialects, and wil undoubtedly giv it a wide circulation in this country as long as the importation of books from Germany is impossible. As is to be expected of a book written by an Englishman for English schools, there ar some faults from the standpoint of American requirements. Teachers in this country who use MHG. as an exercise in translation into the modern German idiom will be disappointed in the vocabulary, which contains not a single NHG. word. It is doubly disappointing that in chapters on fonology a comparison with NHG. is almost entirely disregarded.

Purporting to be comparativ in its scope, constantly giving parallel OHG. forms, with which the student may be unfamiliar, it yet leaves out of consideration the NHG. which the student does know, and the historical development of which he should lern thru just such a study.

Except for a reference in the preface to the standard works of Paul and Michels, the author refers only to his own *Historical German Grammar* and to his *Old High German Primer,* a rather unscholarly procedure, less reprehensible in a primer, however, than in his *Grammar of the Gothic Language* or his *Historical German Grammar,* where this criticism more aptly applies.

For the most part the material of the primer is arranged in a clear and succinct form. But now and then Wright forgets that his readers ar beginners in linguistics. Is not an unexplained statement like that in § 80, "To this class belong the three aorist presents: *lūchen, sūfan, sūgan*" really Greek to a beginner?

In a number of other points the author's statements lack clearness and accuracy. For instance, objection might be made to his way of giving the hypothetical forms: p. 5 "OHG. *hōren* older **hausjan.*" **Hausjan* can be Gothic but is neither pre-OHG., WGerm. nor Germ. He shows a similar looseness in the use of the terms primitiv Germanic, Germanic, West Germanic, etc. The first two he seems to use interchangeably; cf. § 19 and § 29. It is strange he does not use simply Germanic and above all save space and type by abbreviating it. The section on consonant changes could easily be improved on from the standpoint of clearness. In this the author suddenly shifts from the designation prim.Germanic (cf. his discussion of the vowels) to West Germanic as the source from which he traces the consonant changes. Why he does this is not clear, for it leads him to such enigmatical statements as: § 25 "The voiced explosives *b, d, g,* and the voiced spirants *þ, ȝ* did not undergo the same universal shifting as the voiceless explosives. *þ, ȝ* became *b, g.*" Nowhere is there an explanation of the difference between WGerm. *b* and *þ, g* and *ȝ*. To take the WGerm. as a source of the sound shifts not only complicates matters because the other WGerm. dialects show a different development in most cases from the OHG., but is inconsistent and confusing to a beginner. It would hav been much simpler had he shown the development in OHG. of the Germ. *þ, ð, ȝ* in initial, medial and final positions.

In § 28 he says: "The following sound changes took place in primitive Germanic: every labial + *t* became *ft;* every guttural + *t* became *ht;* every dental + *t* became *ss,* which was simplified to *s* after long vowels." This is inaccurate. It was not a prim. Germ. but a pre-Germ. change. For example, IE. *p* + *t* and *b* + *t* fel together into pre-Germ. *pt,* which became Germ. *ft* probably at the same time that IE. *p* became *f;* so we hav OHG. *nift* from an IE. base **nept-* and OHG. *gascaft* from IE. **skabt-*. So also, IE. *k* + *t* and *g* + *t* became pre-Germ. *kt,* Germ. *ht:* OHG. *naht,* IE. **nokt-* and OHG. *suht,* IE. **sugt-*. But IE. *bh* + *t* became *bdh,* and this, Germ. *bd.* Cf. OS. *libda.* In like manner IE. *gh* + *t* became *gdh,* Germ. *gd,* cf. OS. *hogda.* (Collitz, *Das schwache Präteritum,* pp. 105 ff.) The change of the dental + *t,* which likewise takes place in pre-Germ. time, is found also in Italic and Celtic. The *ss* was simplified to *s* after a long syllable, not merely after a long vowel, as Wright has it. Cf. OHG. *funs.*

In § 3 on the pronunciation of vowels, English *air* as the equivalent of MHG. *æ,* and English *pot* to represent the close MHG. *o* could certainly be improved on. In the explanation of the Germ. long vowels no mention is made of the double origin of OHG. MHG. *ā:* e. g. *dāhte, slāfen,* or of *ū:* e. g. *hūs, dūhte,* § 5, 2; § 11, 2. Nothing is said about the labio-velars, tho they ar used in a number of older forms § 19, § 36, etc. In § 29 the loss of *n* in MHG. *honec* beside OHG. *honang; künec* beside *kuning,* etc., is best explained as dissimilation.

In § 31, 3, the second paragraf, an explanation of why the second and third persons singular wer not geminated like the first person should hav been made.

Wright's claim (§ 44) that the division of nouns into classes according to stems as in OHG. is out of place in a MHG. grammar may be true from a purely MHG. or NHG. point of view. But if he is consistent in his comparativ work, he would classify them in the usual way. His classification is not much easier, and how about the student who continues his work in the other dialects? The statement (§ 68, Note) that MHG. *daz* was weakened to *dez* and then to *z,* which was then attacht to a preceding word, is misleading. Such contracted forms wer certainly not regarded independently and tackt on to expressions, but wer contractions in the frase just as in NHG. or any language, for that matter. *Vliehen* (§ 78) belongs with such verbs as *vliezen, giezen* and not with those showing

grammatical change. *Stān, stēn* and *gān, gēn* ar clast without a word of explanation with the sixth and seventh ablaut series respectivly. The student must necessarily judge the infinitiv forms to be those of strong verbs which, of course, they ar not. The fact that they ar later (§ 95, § 96) conjugated under the anomalous verbs does not clear up the matter, as no explanation is given here either.

The edition has few typografical errors or omissions. I hav noted only the following: § 7 read: *blintaz* for *blindaz;* § 16 Note, next to last line, read: MHG. *iu* for *ie;* § 26 for OHG. *cc* read: *cch* or *ck;* § 90 at end, add: *zucken, zücken;* § 93 under *sol* add at end: subj. *solte* and *sölte;* also read: *mähte* for *mehte* two lines below. In § 97 at end add: imper. *wis, bis; wesen, sīn; weset, sīt.*

The chapter on syntax (three and one-half pages) and the notes (about two pages to 90 pages of text) ar, needless to say, inadequate. In the syntax Wright follows Paul's chapter on syntax very closely, picking out rule and example here and there, but leaving out numerous rules just as important as those he givs.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Note on Dante, *Inferno* viii, 7

In the *Inferno* viii, 7 Dante terms his illustrious guide, 'the sea of all wisdom'—

> Ed io mi volsi al mar di tutto il senno:
> Dissi: etc.

The metaphor is striking but so far as English is concerned it is odd enough to deserve comment. For example, the rendition of it in some of our standard translations of the *Inferno* is in itself a proof that in the same circumstances and to produce the same effect no English poet of high rank would employ it unless he had some special reason. Of course it does not follow that the same is true of Italian. On the contrary, it may be presumed that the metaphor is more or less familiar in modern Italian. I observe

for example that *un mar di sapienza* is one of the figurative phrases quoted in Petròcchi's standard dictionary, *s. v. mare*. Of course the final settlement of this point must be left to those whose knowledge of the language and literature of Italy entitles them to speak with authority. But even though they should tell me that the metaphor was quite common I should still have a right to ask whether there were not a reason for it. And in default of any definite proof to the contrary I should venture upon the following tentative answer:

Every cultivated language is rich with phrases and turns, many of them in common use, which in each case go back to some one definite authority. For example, let us take such a familiar phrase as "a sea of troubles."[1] So far as English is concerned the very existence of it is due to Shakespeare's famous line,

> Or to take arms against a sea of troubles
> And by opposing end them.

So in Italian, however common such an expression as *un mar di sapienza* may be, are we not fairly safe in assuming that it owes its existence ultimately to the very phrase which we are discussing? That this is actually the case is rendered all the more likely by the fact that Dante holds the same commanding position in the history of Italian that Shakespeare does in the history of English.

It seems more than probable then that Dante himself was the first Italian to speak of any one as a *mar di senno*. If so, it would be permissible to conclude that he had some special reason for it. And that this actually was the case is suggested by at least two items of evidence.

The first is negative. In Italian—which in figurative usage generally retains to a remarkable extent the old Latin feeling—the idiomatic traditional metaphor for the idea which Dante wished to express seems to have been, so far as I can discover, either a treasure house or a well-spring, an inexhaustible fount. Dante rejected them both and chose the sea. Why?

The second item is positive. So far as it goes it attempts to

[1] The *phrase* is Shakespearian, not the *metaphor*. The metaphor is as old as Aeschylus. See also Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, II, 1-5. (Skeat's edition). I hope to take up the classical and humanistic tradition of this metaphor in a future note.

tell us why. It is a well known fact that Dante was thoroughly familiar with that strange phenomenon, the medieval tradition of Vergil. Indeed, as was quite natural, he was even to a certain extent dominated by it. In this very passage for example nothing could be more characteristic of that tradition nor a more faithful reflection of it than the extraordinary and exclusive emphasis not on Vergil's genius as a poet and as a creative artist—his real claims to greatness—but on Vergil's attainments as a scholar and philosopher.

On general principles, therefore, we might at least assume as a working hypothesis that the poet's choice of the metaphor under discussion was also suggested by his familiarity with that same tradition. At all events we may observe that Dante was fond of etymologizing. It was characteristic of his age, it was notably characteristic of that very tradition which, as we have just seen, is faithfully reflected in this passage. The medieval exponents of that tradition were notably fond of etymologizing on Vergil's name. In that way they managed to extract not only proofs of his surpassing ability but even the main facts, real or supposed, of his career and personality. I quote one of these which seems to be germane to our discussion. It is an explanation of the origin and true meaning of Vergil's cognomen, Maro.

"Maro," we are informed, "dictus est a mare. Sicut enim mare abundat aqua, ita et ipsi affluebat sapientia plus ceteris poetis." This occurs in a life of the poet in the Codex Gudianus, a Vergilian manuscript of the ninth century (see Heyne-Wagner's *Vergil,* note on the Donatus Life, 22, and Comparetti's *Virgilio nel Medio Evo,* I, p. 195).

Without doubt this precious item of information along with many others of a similar sort was current in the thirteenth century schools, and Dante was of all men the most likely to be familiar with it.

Maro dictus est a mare. Sicut enim mare abundat aqua, ita et ipsi affluebat sapientia plus ceteris poetis.

> Ed io mi volsi al mar di tutto il senno:
> Dissi: etc.

Is the resemblance merely a matter of chance, or is the long-forgotten lucubration of some unknown medieval sciolist ultimately responsible for a striking phrase in one of the greatest poets of the world? In a matter like this I am not in a position to speak with authority. Therefore, to quote the words of the freedman, Niceros, at the conclusion of his famous werewolf story in Petronius, *Viderint alii quid de hoc exopinissent.*

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Elizabethan Plagiarism (?): A Bit of Unappropriated Verse

On page 86 of the recent reprint of the Elizabethan Club copy of the old play, *Common Conditions,* I mention in particular three rather extended manuscript insertions made by an Elizabethan reader. The second and third are rough variants of lines found in the printed text. The first, however, has no such source. As I read it, it runs thus:—

"My hand here houering stands, to writ some prety verse to thee my morning mynd for to delight that wants the Joyes that be for vs—"

In turning over the pages of Nicholas Breton I have come upon nearly the same words in a fragment of verse which the poet entitles *The Toyes of an Idle Head* and prefaces with an interesting explanation (Breton's Works, ed. Grosart, vol. I: *A Flourish vpon Fancie,* etc., p. 35):—

"One sitting in dolefull dumpes by himselfe alone, thinking to haue written some dolorous discourse, was let by occasion: and, so, for want of time, wrote but onely sixe lynes, and left them vnfinished: the verses were these. (I like them, and therefore thought good to place them among other imperfections):

My hand here houering stands,
to write some prety toye,
My mourning mind for to delight,
yt wants all worldly ioye:
And Fancy offereth eke,
fyne toyes for to indite vpon,
To comfort thus my heauy heart,
that is thus woe begon.
But all in vaine: for why?
my minde is so opprest with greefe,
As all the pleasures in this world
can lend me no releefe.

Finis imperfecta."

It will be observed that Breton does not claim the words as his own and that he suggests that the author, 'let by occasion' before he could complete his poem, was the victim of a chance similar to that which Coleridge suffered when the never-enough-to-be-execrated visitor from Porlock interrupted him in the midst of *Kubla Khan.* However this may be, it seems likely that the scribbler in *Common Conditions* got the words from Breton's book, published in 1582, that is some six years after the apparent date of publication of the Elizabethan Club quarto.

To my colleague, Professor Canby, I owe the ingenious suggestion that the two sets of amorous scrawls, of which the passage just referred to is a part, indicate that our copy of *Common Conditions* was employed as a go-between by a pair of Elizabethan lovers. If this be so, a date for the romance may perhaps be found in the

early years of the '80's, when *Common Conditions* was still a fashionable play and the lines quoted by Breton were fresh in readers' memories.

TUCKER BROOKE.

Yale University.

Gulliver's Travels AND THOMAS BROWN

In *Modern Language Notes* of February, 1917, Professor Thompson suggests that the satire at the expense of the scientists and philosophers in the Third Book of *Gulliver's Travels* may have been suggested by passages in Thomas Brown's *Amusements Serious and Comical.* I believe it is possible that another book by Brown gave Swift certain hints for the Fourth Voyage of Gulliver. This book is *The Circe of Signior Giovanni Battista Gelli of the Academy of Florence. Consisting of Ten Dialogues between Ulysses and several Men transform'd into Beasts: Satyrically representing the various Passions of Mankind and the many Infellicities of human Life. Done out of Italian by Mr. Tho. Brown, London, 1702.*

The *Circe* of Gelli, first published in 1549, met with great success and went through so many editions that sixteenth century reprints can today be procured easily and cheaply. I purchased at Florence a few years ago a copy printed at Venice, 1550, for three liri. It was soon brought to England where it appeared as *Circes of J. B. Gello, Florentyne. Translated out of Italyon into Englyshe by H. Iden. J. Cawoode, London, 1557.* Brown, in his preface, says there is need of a new translation and hopes "that Old Standard Wit will be very acceptable in a Modern Dress."

There are many passages in Brown's version that resemble in a general way certain passages in Swift's satire; for example, the attack on physicians (pp. 44-48) and on luxurious living and drunkenness (pp. 37-39. Cf. *A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms,* Chapter VI). But the most striking resemblance is Gelli's Seventh Dialogue, between Ulysses and the Horse. Here we have many of the ideas found in the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms.* Thus the horse is physically superior to man and far above him morally because freed from human passions and vices. Temperance is the virtue of the horse, not of man. A paragraph will show how close is the resemblance between the Italian and the English satirist: *Horse.* "But if I should turn the Tables upon you, it wou'd make your Hair stand on end, perhaps, to think what wicked and abominable Actions you men have been guilty of. Consult your own histories a little, and you will find how much Hatred and Animosity, how many Fewds and Quarrels, how many Treasons and Murders, as well by Sword as by Poyson, which is a most execrable

Barbarity, have ow'd their original to this disorderly Passion (jealousy). I will therefore drop so odious a Subject, and pass to the Pleasures of Eating and Drinking. Now pitch upon what Beasts you please, either wild or tame, and you must own that in this respect we are more moderate than you. I defie you to show me one that at any time either eats or drinks more than Nature requires, or that seeks after any other aliment, than what she ordained, Seed, or Grass, or Flesh, or Fruit: whereas you are so far from being satisfied with one Nourishment, that you eat everything almost, search every corner in the Universe, and ransack the four elements to supply your Luxury. Nay, not content with this, you employ learned Masters in the Mystery of Eating, who try a thousand expensive Tricks to give a greater *haut goust* to your Food, than Nature thought fit to give them. This betrays you into frequent excesses, by which means you destroy the vigour of your Constitution, and either shorten your Days, or entail a sickly vexatious old Age upon your selves. . . . Therefore I leave you to judge, whether we are not much more temperate than you, and whether our Destiny is not far happier than yours, who have the greater share of that Virtue, which takes off the Impediments that hinder us from acting according to Nature."

Hönncher, *Anglia* x, 397-427, and Borkowsky, *Anglia* xv, 345-389, have discussed at length the sources for *Gulliver's Travels*. To their list of books must be added Brown's translation of *Circe*. Certainly the part this book played is inconsiderable when compared with Cyrano de Bergerac's *Voyages Comiques*, yet it is interesting to notice that Italy as well as France contributed to the making of Swift's satire.

Edward Bliss Reed.

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Barlaam and Joasaph

The John G. White Collection of Folk-lore, Oriental and Mediæval Literature, owned by the Cleveland Public Library, has just received an interesting Italian version of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, information about which is solicited from the readers of *Modern Language Notes*.

The fundamental study of this romance was made by E. Kuhn (*Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Classe der K. bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Bd. xx, Abt. 1, 1893). According to Kuhn (p. 61), the Italian texts fall roughly into two classes: a fuller form, whose title begins "Storia," and a briefer, called "Vita." Of the editions of the "Vita" known to Kuhn, the oldest, except for an undated 15th century text in the Trivulzian library, was published by Bindoni at Venice in 1539. The White copy, a "Vita" text,

was issued from the same press, but in 1524. Now the first printed edition of the "Storia" form did not appear till 1734 (there is a copy in the White collection). The Cleveland copy, therefore, appears to be earlier than any other dated Italian edition. (It may be added that Harvard and the Library of Congress possess no Italian edition earlier than the 18th century).

Furthermore, Kuhn says that, though the MSS. of the "Vita" call King Barachias "Alfanos," this name is found in none of the few editions to which he had access. It is used, however, in the White copy.

Into the details of the text there has been no leisure to go; but on the surface the White copy appears to be the oldest dated Italian edition on record, and to be unknown to bibliographers. Perhaps some reader of *Modern Language Notes* will be able to throw further light upon it.

GORDON W. THAYER.

Cleveland Public Library.

BRIEF MENTION

Is there a Poetic View of the World? By C. H. Herford. The British Academy: Warton Lecture on English Poetry, VII. From the *Proceedings of the British Academy,* vol. VII (Oxford University Press, 1917). No one could expect Professor Herford to ask an idle question; and when he may offer an answer to any question, he commands serious attention. Nor is Professor Herford the man to be misunderstood when he puts himself into relation with hackneyed expressions, commonplace questioning, and the makeshifts of minds easily quieted by well-sounding generalizations. His is the type of mind that with philosophic eagerness and sincerity takes hold of old problems as formulas of universal processes of thought, or as expressions of universal experience and, therefore, of certain unalterable values. The chief propensity of another type of mind is to magnify the supervenient variations in the aspect of old problems. A mind of this type tends to disregard history and to over-estimate the effects of new conditions on perdurable principles. It is thus that adventitious 'schools' in the arts emerge from time to time. With ephemera of this sort Professor Herford has nothing to do; he is concerned with what in intellectual and emotional life is true to-day because it was true yesterday and will be true to-morrow. That a summary of this lecture (better named an essay or a treatise) must be helpful is the judgment of Professor Herford himself; he has, accordingly, supplied one, which shall be quoted in full, so that whatever comments may here be offered will be easily kept in proper relation to the whole argument.

"View of the World, or 'World-view,' defined. Distinction of *religious* and *philosophical* World-views. The present essay attempts to define and describe a *poetic* World-view.—I. Character of poetic experience. Types of belief about Man and Nature to which it predisposes. Though rarely detached from religious or philosophical presumptions, it habitually modifies them, and the method here proposed is to study, in some salient examples, the character and direction of these modifications (p. 2).—II. (i) Modifications of *religious* World-views by the poetic inspirations of Personality and Love. Homer. Aeschylus. Dante (p. 6).—III. (ii) Modifications of *philosophical* World-views: (*a*) Materialistic schools. Epicureanism and Lucretius (p. 14).—IV. (*b*) 'Objective idealisms.' Stoic pantheism and Vergil. Wordsworth. Shelley. Philosophic doctrine of 'Nature' in Wordsworth, and in Goethe. Spinoza and Goethe (p. 21).—V. (*c*) 'Subjective idealisms.' 'Mind' in the philosophers and in the poets of the age of Wordsworth. The poets subordinate (1) the rational to the emotional and imaginative factors of soul: Wordsworth, Blake, Shelley, and (2) moral categories to a good 'beyond good and evil.' Of this poetic ethic the most vital constituent is Love; and Love, comprehensively understood, will be an intrinsic element of every World-view won through poetic experience (p. 27)."

In connection with the study of this essay, the reader will find no disadvantage in refreshing his knowledge of Mr. Balfour's discussion of the æsthetic world-outlook (see *Theism and Humanism,* 1915). The contemplative mind, it is argued, finds æsthetic content (tho, according to mood and temperament, the 'æsthetic contemplation' may be of relatively low intensity) in science, history, and philosophy as well as in nature and works of art. This typical expression may be cited: "However people may differ about the benefits to be derived from æsthetic, all are agreed that the benefits are great." Mr. Balfour has no specifically professional relation to the subject; but he has, in high degree, the cultivated and logical mind and the power and felicity of expression that give to his various discourses, introductory and stimulating, acknowledged charm and value. On the contrary, Professor Herford is held to professional accountability; his essay will not be expected to be a parergon, a by-concernment of one primarily engaged in other provinces of thought.

The question asked in the title of this essay is so universally answered affirmatively that, it will be agreed, the more exact form of the title, warranted by the argument of the essay, would be 'What is the Poetic View of the World?' Clearly the universal assent is given not to Scaliger's pedagogic formula, *poetam creare instituimus,* but to the creed *poeta nascitur,* which is of the same category as is the recognition of superior endowments for other arts, or for scientific research, or for philosophic speculation, etc.

Poetry is a supreme art, and in an inclusive sense "art is a species of thought, having its own dialectic, arriving by its own processes at its own conclusions, and through the language of its own forms made capable of communication" (Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914, p. 248). To question, therefore, the possibility of a poetic view of life is to question the existence of the art of poetry; but it will never cease to be of highest importance to clarify and deepen one's sympathetic understanding of the poet's artistic and philosophic methods and purpose. At this point Professor Herford now offers valuable assistance.

He acknowledges his debt to W. Dilthey (*Das Wesen der Philosophie*) for the distinction of a religious, philosophic, and poetic world-view; and defines a *Weltanschauung*, "in its full scope," to be a dominating set of "ideas about life of quite distinct categories." The two well distinguished types, the religious and the philosophic, are, however, not "mutually exclusive in substance and content" (p. 2); as for the third type, the poetic, it is here proposed "to examine whether any typical character or direction can be discovered in the modifications which the data of religious or philosophic beliefs and ideals have undergone in certain commanding poet-natures" (p. 6). A partial view may be given of these two departments of the argument.

Professor Herford would first consider poetry produced under conditions of a "religion still untouched by philosophic reflection," and ventures "to assert that the Homeric epics owe their present form neither to purely religious awe nor merely to conscious and deliberate artistry, but to a poetic apprehension of the world operating upon the data of the savage cults and rituals, animism, totemism and magic" discoverable by gradual decipherment. To borrow a figure from the allied arts, by *contrapposto* he twists 'Homer' on his own axis, and finds his highest significance in a conversion of the best elements of an imperfect religion into a national bible, which "raised the status of man and the ideals of human achievement." Surely the terms of this reasoning are too simple. The religion of the Greeks, by which man was "made at home in the world" (G. Lowes Dickinson, *The Greek View of Life*, 1916), was not in 'Homer' devoid of definite philosophic elements.

Coming to Dante, one enters a complex world with bold outlines drawn by an authoritatively established system of dogmas, a religious world-view to which the poet conformed, but with a poetic difference. There was also a philosophic world-view, rich in its elements of human appeal, and these are wrought into the poet's pattern of man's life and destiny. Dante speaks the language not of the theological dogmatist but "the language of the soul." He puts into words his soul-vision: 'I simply write down what Love within dictates' (p. 10). Purgatory becomes "a temporal colony

of heaven," where "love transforms punishment into glad piety" (J. B. Fletcher, *Dante,* Holt & Co., 1916). Dante aimed to find "the way of spiritual self-help with the aid of philosophy and theology." All the philosophically distinguished types of love are united in an all-governing principle: he is "the greatest of the poets of Love."

Professor Herford's chapter on Lucretius is excellent. Here is an example of a poet interpreting a philosophic theory that is purely materialistic and on its face unpromising for poetic treatment. Epicurus had converted Democritus's theory into a "secular monasticism, secure from fear," with its ears stopped toward poetry, and trampling religion under its foot. Altho Lucretius has "passages enough in his poem where poetic substance and decorative surface seem equally wanting, . . . we can discern under much scholastic obstruction and irrelevance the outlines of a colossal epic of the universe, of which the protagonist is Man, and wanting neither in the heroic exultations nor in the tragic dooms, neither in the melancholy over what passes nor in the triumph over what endures, which go to the making of the greatest epic." Lucretius conquered "a new way in poetry." Of particular significance is his introduction of Venus, the great symbol which "rendered his vehement apprehension of the life of Nature with more veracity than that calculus of atomic movements which he was about to expound." So too the poet's feeling for the Earth as the mother of men is a noteworthy feature of the poem, by which the joys and sorrows of life are deepened. The supreme achievement is the poetic apprehension of a world-view not dreamed of by Democritus and Epicurus.

Professor Herford's conciseness of expression, which allures one into direct quotation, has enabled him to bring within the compass of thirty-one pages the results of minute and prolonged study of various aspects of his subject. J. W. B.

"The man of letters whom I should like to place in the front line of my generation in serious drift, influence, importance, and social insight was Matthew Arnold." This estimate of Lord Morley's must be taken into account by anyone who feels inclined to be swayed by the current disparagement of Victorianism in general and of Arnold in particular. The type of mind that ridicules, patronizes, or ignores the last generation can never be sensitive to the worth of Arnold; nor can the critic who is belletristic and nothing else comprehend him. Fortunately Professor Stuart P. Sherman belongs to neither class; lacking these deficiencies and possessing to a notable degree the poise, the disinterested objectivity, the sense for large issues that his subject demands, he has pro-

duced incomparably the best book on a theme fruitful with ideas that this age needs to ponder (*Matthew Arnold: How to Know Him,* The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917). "Timeliness" is not necessarily a word of commendation, for the opportune is frequently the ephemeral, but in this case it is the decisive merit of a work excellent alike for substance and style. With no trace of over-emphasis and by suggestions rather than overt statement Mr. Sherman brings the reader to realize that in the body of Arnold's ideas there are guidance and sustenance for those who seek them. Mr. Wells has told the world that England erred grievously when she "did not listen to Arnold," charmed he never so wisely. Is she listening now? Will America listen? His words are still of vital importance. In the field of education he has his part with those who, like Professor Shorey, are waging valiant war against the *soi-disant* science that is assaulting the humanities. In political thought he upholds the central position that essays to balance particular and collective tendencies and that without relaxing the reins of individual moral responsibility seeks to create a firm, broad-visioned, and humane State. For those—and how many there are!—who feel, as did Arnold before he found his peace, that

> We are here as on a darkling plain
> Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
> Where ignorant armies clash by night,

amid the welter of speculation, the growth of concern in spiritualistic phenomena, the assaults upon orthodoxy, the quest of "invisible kings," Arnold offers counsel and consolation; and no part of Mr. Sherman's book is better worth while than that dealing with the writings on religion, a portion of Arnold's criticism that has generally been discussed with something of the flippancy with which Arnold himself, perhaps unwisely, hid the intense spiritual-mindedness in which it is steeped. But excelling all other claims to a hearing to-day is the note that sounds persistently through Arnold, the reminder that

> Man hath all which Nature hath, but more
> And in that *more* lie all his hopes of good.

This lesson must be driven home. For even among those who hear the strident arguments of "efficiency" with disgust, the noise of bragging materialism tends to drown out the pleadings of the moral order. But Arnold's voice, the voice of what he represents, is sounding still, serene, but not unimpassioned, summoning the "saving remnant" (whose number must increase with the passage of years, else civilization is indeed lost) upward towards those things that are imperishable and hence divine.—Some such ideas will be suggested to every attentive reader of Mr. Sherman's book.

S. C. C.

La conocida casa editorial Calleja, de Madrid, acaba de inaugurar la Segunda Serie de su Biblioteca. Está dividida en tres grupos. Forman el primero, Grupo A, llamado Antologías, las publicaciones de *Páginas escogidas* de los mejores escritores. Los volúmenes que han aparecido son de autores vivos: Azorín, Antonio Machado, Armando Palacio Valdés. Ellos mismos se han encargado de la selección que va precedida de un Prólogo autobiográfico y autocrítico, y acompañada de ligeros comentarios respecto del libro a que pertenece el trozo escogido. Cuando se trate de páginas de autor fallecido se encargará de tales trabajos un escritor actual de primera fila. Encabeza los volúmenes de este grupo un retrato del autor respectivo. Es realmente interesante conocer la opinión de los autores acerca de sus producciones y atrayente en extremo sorprender ciertos curiosos detalles sobre la gestación de la obra.

Inclúyense en el Grupo B las obras de escritores contemporáneos. Han visto la luz *Los Galeotes,* de los hermanos Quintero, y *La Pata de la Raposa,* de R. Pérez de Ayala. Constituyen el Grupo C los Clásicos. Se han publicado *El Libro de Buen Amor* y *La Celestina.* Se trata de unas ediciones de popularización, con texto íntegro, depurado de acuerdo con los estudios más recientes, y ortografía actual. Sumarias notas explicativas y un Prólogo crítico de firma autorizada. *El Libro de Buen Amor* (ed. Adolfo Reyes) trae un curioso plano del viaje del Arcipreste.

La labór emprendida por la Casa Calleja es merecedora de sinceras alabanzas. Podrá ayudar grandemente a la meritísima difusión de los Clásicos. Todos los esfuerzos en este sentido son dignos de elogio y ayuda. Una garantía de la corrección de las ediciones son las personas encargadas de esta tarea. La presentación pulcra, como no es corriente en España en libros de tal precio. E. B.

English Composition, by C. N. Greenough and F. W. Hersey (The Macmillan Co., 1917), is a carefully-made book, fresh, free from surplusage and formality, and practical. The authors endeavor to minimize rules, particularly negative rules, and to follow in the arrangement of their material the steps of the process of writing. The order of the parts of the book is, therefore, Gathering and Weighing Material, Kinds of Composition, Structure, Diction, Mechanics. Much of the text is in the second person, and one has at times the feeling that it is over-simplified, written down to a freshman level. The use of illustrations in teaching description heightens this impression. Yet the book is not juvenile. It emphasizes, possibly too much, the literary aspects of college writing, and is so rich in allusions to contemporary literature as to be a helpful stimulus toward a mature taste in reading. J. C. F.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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RENAN AND MATTHEW ARNOLD

The influences surrounding a modern man of letters, and particularly an omnivorous reader like Matthew Arnold, are so multifarious that, in most cases, direct borrowings cannot with any assurance be indicated. Certain literary and critical guides, indeed, Arnold himself readily and copiously acknowledged, the chief being Goethe in thought and Sainte-Beuve in critical method, but he never really had what we may call a master, and the presence of any teachings he adopted is revealed rather in a pervasive atmosphere than by any definite marks. Among the contemporary French authors frequently cited by him, one with whom he often expresses intellectual sympathy, but quite as often disagreement, is Ernest Renan, and it seems strange that the relation of the English to the French critic should not have been more strongly emphasized by those who have written of Arnold's career.

To be a poet was Arnold's cherished ambition. In 1861 he writes:

"I must finish off for the present my critical writings between this and forty, and give the next ten years earnestly to poetry. It is my last chance. It is not a bad ten years of one's life for poetry if one resolutely uses it, but it is a time in which, if one does not use it, one dries up and becomes prosaic altogether." [1]

And even as late as 1864 he says:

"One is from time to time seized and irresistibly carried along by a temptation to treat political, or religious, or social matters directly; but after yielding to such a temptation I always feel myself recoiling again, and disposed to touch them only so far as they can be touched through poetry." [2]

Against this inclination he was led by circumstances, including the

[1] *Letters.*—To his mother, Aug. 15, 1861.
[2] *Id.*—To M. E. Grant Duff, May 24, 1864.

political, religious, and social situation, by a counter-current of hereditary instinct tending toward propaganda,[3] and by suggestions derived from his reading, among which not the least significant were those that may be attributed to certain publications of Renan.

Matthew Arnold's first acquaintance with Renan seems to date from the summer of 1859. In December of that year, he writes to his sister, Mrs. Forster:

"I thought the other day that I would tell you of a Frenchman whom I saw in Paris, Ernest Renan, between whose line of endeavor and my own I imagine there is considerable resemblance, that you might have a look at some of his books [4] if you liked. The difference is, perhaps, that he tends to inculcate *morality,* in a high sense of the word, upon the French nation as what they most want, while I tend to inculcate *intelligence,* also in a high sense of the word, upon the English nation as what they most want; but with respect both to morality and intelligence, I think we are singularly at one in our ideas, and also with respect both to the progress and to the established religion of the present day. The best book for you to read, in all ways, is his *Essais de Morale et de Critique,* lately published. I have read few things for a long time with more pleasure than a long essay with which the book concludes—'Sur la poésie des races celtiques.' [5] I have long felt that we owed far more, spiritually and artistically, to the Celtic races than the somewhat coarse Germanic intelligence readily perceived, and been increasingly satisfied at our own semi-Celtic origin, which, as I fancy, gives us the power, if we will use it, of comprehending the nature of both races. Renan pushes the glorification of the Celts too far; but there is a great deal of truth in what he says, and being on the same ground in my next lecture,[6] in which I have to examine the origin of what is called the 'romantic' sentiment about women, which the Germans quite falsely are fond of giving themselves the credit of originating, I read him with the more interest." [7]

We can readily understand the attractiveness for Matthew Arnold of the *Essais de Morale et de Critique.* Here he found the dis-

[3] *Id.*—To Miss Arnold, Aug. 29, 1859.

[4] The only books of general interest that Renan had published at this date were *Etudes d'histoire religieuse,* 1857, and *Essais de Morale et de Critique,* 1859.

[5] Renan had been writing for the *Revue des deux Mondes* at the rate of one article a year since 1851. The essay on Celtic poetry appeared there Feb. 1, 1854. If Arnold had been acquainted with it before 1859, he would not have written to his sister as he did.

[6] On the Troubadours; see *Letters,* To Mrs. Forster, Feb. 16, 1859.

[7] *Letters,* Dec. 24, 1859.

interested spirit of criticism, free from dogmatism and the heat of controversy; here he found Sweetness and Light, not the phrase but the thing itself, urbanity, irony, a delicacy of *nuance* and an intellectual *finesse* that refused to be limited by formulas. Hebraism and Hellenism, again not the words but the ideas, were distinguished as the main currents in European culture. The poetry of life was exalted above the machinery of life. In politics there was no sympathy with the gross and vulgar materialism of the prevailing school, proud of industrial and administrative improvement, which, beneficial though it be, is yet no compensation for spiritual degradation. In religion there was the sense of "that stream of tendency by which all things strive to fulfill the law of their being"; there was faith in the divine and denial of the supernatural; infallible doctrine was rejected, sacred history was treated as in no respect different from profane history, yet religion itself, let the doctrine and symbol be what they may, was glorified as the highest manifestation of the human spirit.

These ideas were not new to Matthew Arnold, nor indeed could any of them be said to have originated with Renan. But we sometimes find, as Sainte-Beuve remarks, an author "qui nous rende nos propres pensées en toute richesse et maturité,"[8] and such an author Arnold found in this Frenchman whom he saw in Paris. The path of Renan had been Hebraic erudition; that of Arnold Hellenic poetry; and Renan had arrived first at full expression of his philosophic and critical thought. In 1859 Arnold's career as a critic lay before him. He had expressed his feelings and reflections in verse, some of his social and religious ideas are scattered through his letters, his literary judgments had begun to take shape in his Oxford lectures[9] and in the Preface to his poems of 1853, but hardly anything that was afterwards characteristic of him as a prose writer had yet achieved definite form. Much of this that afterwards became characteristic of Arnold was indeed entirely alien to Renan, but in many respects the two were, as Arnold wrote, "singularly at one" in their ideas. The influence of the French

[8] "Qu'est-ce qu'un classique?" *Causeries du Lundi*, Vol. III, p. 44.

[9] His inaugural lecture as Professor of Poetry shows not a trace of the sort of thinking common to him and Renan. "On the Modern Element in Literature," *Essays in Criticism*, third series; Boston, The Ball Publishing Company.

writer was to stabilize these ideas and to bring them fully into consciousness.

During the next ten years, at any rate, he began to produce essays on political and religious, as well as literary, subjects, and he rarely published a volume which did not contain some reference to Renan. His books of this sort, like those of the French scholar, sometimes consisted of essays on a variety of topics, collected from the periodicals in which they had previously appeared, and having, instead of a formal unity of subject matter, a more abstract unity of tendency and motive. Each collection was introduced by a preface, in which the authors, each in his own way, dealt with objections raised against their writings at the time of their first publication as magazine articles. These prefaces, indeed, are quite as valuable as the essays themselves.

The first piece of this particular character from the pen of Arnold is the famous preface to the *Essays in Criticism,* published in 1865, which should be compared with that which introduces the *Essais de Morale et de Critique.* The two differ largely in purpose. Renan states his point of view in regard to dogma, morals, criticism, the ideal and materialism; he explains the inclusion of an article written from an earlier standpoint, dwells on the objections to his ideas on the absence of poetry from the exhibition, and speaks particularly of his interest in Celtic poetry. Arnold merely apologizes for a "vivacious" expression concerning a translation of Homer and disavows the responsibility of Oxford for his opinions. Both, however, abound in an ironical treatment of assailants, both uphold idealism against the materialism of the age, and both conclude with an apostrophe exalting, the one the poetic visions of his Celtic ancestors which have nourished his faith in the invisible and conserved the vigor of his soul, the other the beauty and poetic charm of Oxford, queen of romance, who saves us from the bondage of vulgarity. The Preface of Arnold is certainly no copy of that of Renan; it differs from it in too many points, and the apostrophe has a movement and poetic character all its own; yet, ending as both do with an imaginative address to an object of veneration, it is difficult to entertain a doubt that Renan's work of 1859 was in Matthew Arnold's mind when he wrote that celebrated passage in 1865.

In the essays that follow there is little direct resemblance except in the case of one, that "On the Literary Influence of Academies." [10] With its illustrations of the provincial spirit of English literature and the lack of urbanity in contemporary writers, both resulting from the absence of a center of intelligence and good taste, this essay is very different from Renan's *causerie* on Rivet's edition of Pellisson and d'Olivet, yet Renan, as well as Sainte-Beuve, is cited concerning the functions of the Academy, and there are further quotations to illustrate English provincialism from the study on Mahomet in *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*. One page [11] of Renan's critique, however, contains thoughts that are often in Arnold's mind and are expressed both in his paper on Academies and elsewhere,—that excellence in one sort of achievement requires concessions in some other, that the French genius is not the most philosophical or poetic, but the most complete and measured, and that the author will not be a flatterer who caresses the faults of his country; the worst fault of the French, according to Renan, being a certain coquetry which makes them believe that the whole world thinks of them and admires them, even when it is really finding fault.

The most definite obligations of Matthew Arnold to Renan are to be found in the Oxford lectures on Celtic literature,[12] the subject having been largely suggested, as we have seen, by the essay on "La poésie des races celtiques," of which Arnold speaks with such interest in the letter already quoted. The purpose of the lectures is, to be sure, quite different from that of the essay. Renan analyzes the Celtic soul as completely as possible from the literature that remains and from the usages and beliefs of the people, emphasizes the influence of this literature upon Medieval Europe, and constructs an ideal of the Celtic spirit, from which he hopes for some original contribution to the march of modern intelligence. Arnold, on the other hand, selects from Celtic literature only those traits which enable him to trace Celtic characteristics in English poetry.[13]

[10] This essay was first published in the *Cornhill Magazine*, Aug., 1864.

[11] *Essais de Morale et de Critique*, p. 344.

[12] Delivered in 1866 and published that year in the *Cornhill Magazine* for March, April, May, and July; in book form, with a preface and with notes, by Lord Strangford, 1867.

[13] This idea was in his mind when he first read Renan's essay. See his letter, *ante*.

He concludes with a passage in which he belabors the Philistines, while at the same time urging the establishment of a chair of Celtic at Oxford. Notwithstanding this divergence, a considerable number of his points are taken directly from Renan's "beautiful essay on the poetry of the Celtic races," from which he quotes a few phrases, with certain reserves (p. 75). It is not these phrases, however, to which his chief indebtedness is to be ascribed. Among the three qualities which he finds that English literature owes to the Celts—style, melancholy and natural magic—the last two are strongly emphasized by Renan. Moreover, many touches scattered here and there betray the same origin. That there is a Celtic air about chivalry,[14] that the Celts are a *feminine* race, and that they have an intimate feeling for nature and a sense of the infinite, these ideas are of the substance of Renan's essay, but are only casually uttered by the lecturer. Renan, too, makes much of the timidity and embarrassment of the Celts, and Arnold derives from Celtic blood the English characteristic of being "hampered and embarrassed." It is not only these general ideas, however, that Arnold borrowed; there are some details which are identical in the two works. A couplet from Chrétien, for example, which Renan quotes (p. 453) is also given by Arnold [15] (p. 100). Moreover, a long extract from the *Mabinogi* of *Kilhwch and Olwen*, in which various animals are questioned about Mabon, is adduced by Renan

[14] See Arnold's remarks about "romantic" sentiment, *ante*.

[15] Arnold: "The couplet of Chrestien of Troyes about the Welsh:—

. . . Gallois sont tous, par nature,
Plus fous que bêtes en pâture—

is well known, etc."

Renan: "C'est bien à Chrétien de Troyes, par exemple, qui passa sa vie à exploiter pour son propre compte les romans bretons, qu'il appartient de dire:

Les Gallois sont tous par nature
Plus sots que bêtes de pâture."

The context shows that Renan took the couplet from La Villemarqué, *Les Romans de la Table Ronde et les contes des anciens Bretons*, where it is given in the chapter on "Percival-le-Gallois," the reading being

Les Gallois sont tous par nature
Plus sots que bêtes en pâture."

Arnold may have taken the words from La Villemarqué. At any rate, *fous* is a bad misquotation.

as proof that the *Mabinogion* represent a primitive age (p. 398); Matthew Arnold presents the same extract in abbreviated form for the same purpose, saying that it is taken "almost at random" from the tale (p. 41). It may be noted finally that Renan begins his essay with a beautiful passage in which the wild natural features of Brittany are contrasted with the productive fields and orchards of Normandy, the ideal as opposed to vulgar plenty, and that Arnold opens his first lecture by telling of a view he had had the summer before from Llandudno, first looking toward Liverpool with its commonplace boats, and then toward the Welsh coast, filled with mystery, legend, and poetry.[16]

While no other work of Renan influenced Arnold to anything like the same extent as the *Essais de Morale et de Critique,* it is nevertheless no mere coincidence that *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) and *St. Paul and Protestantism* (1870) followed *Questions Contemporaines* (1868) and *St. Paul* (1869) by an interval in each case of about a year. It is true that the essays of Arnold had appeared previously in the *Cornhill Magazine* ("Culture and Anarchy," July, 1867, Jan., Feb., June, July, Aug., 1868; "St. Paul and Protestantism," Oct. and Nov., 1869), that the immediate occasion of the first book is to be found in recent happenings in England, that the second book is a natural outgrowth of the first and indeed foreshadowed in it, being a criticism of the English non-conformists rather than a history, and it is true that in general there is little resemblance between these collections of polemical papers and the corresponding works of Renan; but it is equally true that each of these works of Renan's was in Arnold's mind as he wrote. About two-thirds of *Questions Contemporaines* deals with public instruction, the Institute, the Collège de France and the chair of Hebrew, but the most important essays, those entitled "Philosophie de l'histoire contemporaine" and "L'Avenir religieux des sociétés modernes," which first appeared in the *Revue des deux Mondes* in 1859 and 1860 respectively, are directly in the line of Arnold's thought. In the first Renan seeks to show "what is superficial and insufficient in the society sprung from the Revolution, the dangers

[16] The subject of *Saint Brandan,* a poem which appeared in *Frazer's Magazine* for July, 1860, was possibly called to Arnold's attention by Renan's essay, where the story is given, though with slightly different details (p. 394).

to which it exposes France, the evils to be feared, and the necessity for enlarging the French mind, for opening to it new horizons and for withdrawing it from inveterate errors,—" quite the subject matter of *Culture and Anarchy*. In the second Renan maintains that a religion protected by the state is as little free as a religion oppressed by the state. Writing for England, where he considered state control insufficient, Arnold insists upon the opposite lesson, yet in support of his view he quotes from an essay in Renan's collection, " L'Instruction supérieure en France." [17] In Arnold's preface there is, moreover, a quotation from Renan's preface.[18] *St. Paul and Protestantism,* furthermore, opens with a passage cited from the concluding chapter of Renan's *Saint Paul,* and the whole tenor of the book is in opposition to Renan's judgment that the normal outgrowth of St. Paul's doctrines is protestant dissent. It seems clear, therefore, that both *Culture and Anarchy* and *St. Paul and Protestantism,* the foundation works of Arnold's later social and religious criticism, were directly influenced by the two analogous works of Renan.

It is probable that no important later work of Renan escaped Arnold's attention, but direct influence is not apparent. Indeed, it is hardly to be looked for.[19] After his appointment to the chair

[17] *Culture and Anarchy*, p. 108; *Questions Contemporaines*, p. 73.

[18] Arnold's preface, p. xxi: " A friend of reason and the simple, natural truth of things, M. Renan, says of America, in a book he has recently published, etc." Renan, preface, p. vii.

[19] The famous dictum that poetry is a criticism of life may owe something to a passage in *Etudes d'histoire religieuse*, p. 431:—" L'artiste voit à l'état d'idée pure ce qui apparaît au critique avec ses angles, ses contradictions, ses aspérités. Toute philosophie est nécessairement imparfaite, puisqu'elle aspire à renfermer l'infini dans un cadre limité: comment l'esprit saisirait-il, comment la parole rendrait-elle ce dont l'essence est d'être ineffable? L'art seul est infini; l'art, allant chercher dans l'âme ce qu'il y a de bon et de pur, nous fait atteindre l'indubitable. C'est ainsi que l'art nous apparaît comme le plus haut degré de la critique; on y arrive le jour où, convaincu de l'insuffisance de tous les systèmes, on arrive à la sagesse, c'est-à-dire à voir que chaque formule, soit religieuse, soit philosophique, est attaquable dans son expression matérielle, et que la vérité n'est que la voix de la nature, dégagée de tout symbole scolastique et de tout dogme exclusif." *La tentation du Christ par M. Ary Scheffer.* If the painter's art is the highest religious criticism, why may not poetry in the same way be a criticism of life?

of Hebrew in 1871, Renan tranquilly pursued his studies and his meditations with little regard to any influence he might have on public opinion, while Arnold became more and more a propagandist, attempting "to make reason and the will of God prevail." He might be regarded as the partisan of non-partisanship, the prophet of the dogma of the undogmatic. Righteousness he defined as "harmony with the universal order" but some actions that his friend Renan found, theoretically at least, in harmony with the universal order were not of the sort that he himself classed under the head of righteousness.[20] The inherited ardor of the controversialist grew stronger in the son of Thomas Arnold, while the aging French professor kept asking himself, "What is the use of so much agitation merely to change an old error for a new one." So Arnold became the apostle of culture and Renan mused and dreamed, and worked on his Semitic inscriptions and finished his *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* and his volume on the fourteenth century French rabbis, heedless of any effects they might have on the beliefs or practices of the world.

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THE 'MARCELLUS' THEORY OF THE FIRST QUARTO *HAMLET*

Mr. Henry David Gray has made a dash at the question of the First Quarto of *Hamlet,* with brilliant results; he sets forth a discovery that offers a very simple solution of the problem. This discovery is best given in his own words. "But the First Quarto *Hamlet* furnishes us with a clue which I believe has been hitherto overlooked. A careful comparison of it with the true Shakesperean text will reveal the fact that the pirated quarto was based upon a very corrupt version of the acted play supplied to the publisher by the player who acted the part of Marcellus. With this mere suggestion, I might safely leave the proof to anyone's comparison of the texts and his inevitable deductions from it; but this is my

[20] *Letters,* Vol. II, p. 44: *Discourses in America,* pp. 41 and 55: *Essays in Criticism,* Third Series, p. 168.

'hinseck,' and like the father of Joseph Vance, I insist upon the right to 'crock' it myself."[1] The slight caution expressed in the "I believe" of the first sentence of this extract soon disappears and the tone of assurance grows as the article proceeds. We have this actor set before us in form and feature as he lived; in addition, we come to know a 'hack poet,' who furnished the text where 'Marcellus's' memory failed. To quote again, from the end (p. 179): "But I have had my fair share of deductions from this simple bit of observation. The result of it is simply that it is fairly demonstrable that the Quarto of 1603 was provided from the acting version of *Hamlet* and contains no additional traces of an earlier play."

Before taking up Mr. Gray's proofs it may be well to consider in how far this is *his* 'hinseck.' Mr. W. H. Widgery, in his Harness Prize Essay of 1880[2] had noticed many of the things that attracted Mr. Gray's attention in 1915. He has not, however, indulged in such wealth of deduction, nor has his reconstructive imagination that sureness of touch that characterizes Mr. Gray. A few quotations will be of service, not only to set forth the nature of his observations, but also, perhaps, to supplement Mr. Gray. "The speech of Voltemar in Act II, Sc. ii, is suspiciously correct: he may also have taken the part of the player king, and in him I believe we have the thief who made a copy by stealth of Shakespeare's early play in the general bustle and confusion that took place at James' accession, when my Lord Chamberlain's men became the King's players."[3] "The 'true and perfect Coppie' then being carefully guarded, I believe that Ling got the player who took the part of Voltemar to get a hurried transcript of Shakespeare's older play: that he sent pirates into the theatre[4] to take shorthand notes of the first two acts in order to give this stolen transcript a more colorable likeness to the play running,[5] so that

[1] *Modern Language Review*, x, 174.

[2] *The First Quarto Edition of Hamlet*, 1603, *Two Essays to which the Harness Prize was Awarded*, 1880. By C. H. Herford and W. H. Widgery.

[3] Widgery, p. 138.

[4] Compare Gray, p. 179. "He [the hack poet] may very possibly have been materially aided in his task by attending a performance of the play."

[5] Compare Gray, p. 177. "'Marcellus' as we have seen, was a man of considerable ignorance; but his early entrance in the drama enabled him to furnish copy, which at the start would be fairly acceptable, and this may have made the pirate publisher particularly prone to deal with him."

anybody who picked up the book on the stalls and began to read it might imagine he had Shakespeare's drama." [6] "The scene between Hamlet, Horatio, and Marcellus displays the fewest discrepancies between the Quartos." [7]

We can now consider Mr. Gray's proof. "Marcellus is the only character in the play whose lines are given with approximate accuracy throughout, and the scenes in which he appears are by far the closest to the authentic text. . . . The oft-noted fact that the first act is so much fuller and better than the rest is at once accounted for; as is the increased demand made in the later acts upon the hack poet, of whom I shall have more to say presently. 'Marcellus,' as I may call the actor for convenience, had certain discoverable characteristics which are worth our notice; it is in accord with his other qualities that he should have told the would-be publisher that he could quote or write out the play from start to finish; and every characteristic of Q_1 is explainable by his wretched attempt to do so, supplemented by the hack poet, whose services were soon found to be essential." [8] "Inasmuch as the scenes in which the Players appear are those which contain most of the verbatim reporting, there is good reason for supposing that 'Marcellus' may also have sustained the part of one of the Players." [9]

It will be seen from these quotations that the theories of Widgery and of Gray are substantially the same. Widgery takes the actor who played Voltemar for the thief and suggests that he may also have taken the part of the player king; he notes that the scene between Hamlet, Horatio, and Marcellus shows the fewest discrepancies between the Quartos. Gray fails to note that Voltemar's part is the most accurate in Q_1; it does not, therefore, occur to him that here is the actor-thief. He agrees with Widgery that the thief ('Marcellus' or 'Voltemar') may have taken a part in the scenes of the Players.[10]

Mr. Gray's deductions are based mainly upon his statement that the speeches of Marcellus are more correctly given than those of any other part. Although this is not strictly true, as noted

[6] Widgery, pp. 139-140.
[7] Widgery, p. 152.
[8] Gray, pp. 174-5.
[9] Gray, p. 178.
[10] These two views may be easily brought into accord by the hypothesis that one actor took the parts of Marcellus, Voltemar, and one of the Players (Widgery, the Player King).

above concerning Voltemar's part, if it were true, its significance would depend, to a large extent, upon the nature of Marcellus's part. Marcellus appears in three scenes, I. i, I. ii, and I. iv-v (taking scenes iv and v as one). In I. ii he has by himself three speeches, consisting in all of fourteen words, in unison with Horatio four speeches with a total of nineteen words. In I. iv-v he has but little more to say, his longest speech here consisting of three lines; four short speeches have a total of twenty words, and three in unison with Horatio consist of fourteen words. In two places in this scene he transposes and condenses the dialogue considerably (I, iv, 80-81, 88-91, Globe edition), and one of his speeches (one line) he omits completely (I, v, 147. Gray notes these changes, p. 177, note). From all this it is apparent that any impression of the accuracy of his part must come from Act I, Scene i. Here he has a part of some importance, forty-three lines in all (counting each speech less than a line as one line). Eight of his speeches are one line or less in length and seven are over one line. Of the seven (with a total of 35 lines), three consist of two lines each, one consists of four lines, and three consist of seven, eight, and ten lines respectively. The speeches of considerable length, then, are three, with a total of twenty-five lines. Voltemar's speech (II, ii, 60-71) of twenty-one lines is as accurately given,[11] yet it did not attract Mr. Gray's attention, probably because it occurs in a scene in which there are very great differences between the quartos.

I have shown that any impression of 'Marcellus's' accuracy in his own part must come from the first scene of the play, and from about twenty-five lines of that scene. The point that I wish to make is, that this is of no particular significance; it certainly is too small and too insecure a basis upon which to build such a structure as Mr. Gray has framed.

We may now turn from 'Marcellus,' the actor-thief, to his partner in piracy, the 'hack poet.' Mr. Gray has much to say about him in a general way but cites explicitly only two passages (one of these by the way) that show his work. The first of these

[11] Gray (p. 176, note) gives a list of the mistakes of Marcellus in his own part. The following are the readings of Q_1 different from Q_2 or F, in the part of Voltemar (line-numbers are those of the Globe edition): 'returnes' for 'returne,' 60; 'forth' for 'out,' 61; 'would' for 'might,' 77; 'that' for 'this,' 78; 'allowances' for 'allowance,' 79.

is the First Quarto version of the soliloquy[12] "To be or not to be," the second, the scene between Horatio and the Queen,[13] which is not found in the Second Quarto. A full discussion of the form of the soliloquy in Q_1 is not in place here, but it is surely unjust to hold even a hack poet responsible for it; it is plain that a very careless typesetter is responsible for much of the confusion and obscurity here. This is one of the most corrupt passages of Q_1, and unfortunately it is generally quoted or cited as an illustration of the general state of the text of Q_1.

Concerning the scene between Horatio and the Queen, Mr. Gray says (p. 179): "The short scene between Horatio and the Queen—which never took place—only illustrates how far he finally came from giving the dialogue of the acted drama. All that is contained in this scene, which is wholly in the style of the hack poet, is brought out elsewhere in the play—except that here, as in the Closet Scene, the Queen's character and attitude are reformed. Her scene with Horatio was merely a ready expedient for dramatizing 'Marcellus's' notes and fragments." This is surely a simple explanation of the origin of this scene, but it leaves several things unaccounted for. The scene contains in brief form what is given in Q_2, Act IV, Scene vi (Hamlet's letter to Horatio) and Act V, Scene ii, 1-62 (Hamlet's conversation with Horatio). The position of the scene in Q_1 is the same as that of IV. vi, in Q_2 and it is rational to suppose (whatever its origin) that it takes the place of that scene. Mr. Gray's explanation of its origin is that 'Marcellus' gave the hack poet "notes and fragments" chiefly from two passages of Q_2 noted above, and on the basis of these the hack poet constructed the scene. One characteristic of the scene is noted, "here, as in the Closet Scene, the Queen's character and attitude are reformed," but no explanation of the fact is offered; one is left to infer that the reformation in both scenes is the work of the hack poet. Now this difference between the character of the Queen in Q_1 and in Q_2 has long been noticed and has been explained in many ways, which need not be considered here. What is of importance is the fact that in this respect Q_1 stands nearer to Belleforest than does Q_2. Is it not strange (if we accept Mr. Gray's explanation) that the hack poet reformed the Queen

[12] Lines 815-836, Furness' reprint, Variorum *Hamlet*, Vol. II.
[13] Lines 1747-1782.

away from Q_2 in the direction of Belleforest? Of course it may be said that it is mere accident, but that explanation will hardly appeal to reason. Anyhow, why was the hack poet interested in the reformation of the Queen?

Furthermore, one of the lines[14] of this scene between Horatio and the Queen has by several authorities been connected with an expression[15] in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord.*[16] Now, whatever explanation of the origin of the German play we may accept, it is worth noting that the hack poet here also managed to get into his scene a line that some consider to be a fragment of an earlier version of the play.[17] In two places, then, the hack poet has incorporated in this scene matter that appears to be of more ancient origin than either Q_1 or Q_2. All this bears upon the second part of Mr. Gray's conclusion "that the Quarto of 1603 . . . contains no additional traces of an earlier play."

It is probably impossible to prove that 'Marcellus' did not steal the play; I cannot see that Mr. Gray has proved that he did commit the theft. The hack poet is a very simple handy invention to account for the fact that parts of Q_1, particularly in Acts IV and V, are much inferior to other parts;[18] for his existence not a bit of proof has been adduced.

I have not here attempted a formal refutation of the 'Marcellus' theory, as Mr. Gray calls it; my object is rather to point out a few obstacles in the way of its ready acceptance, and to call attention to Widgery's work, which seems in some danger of oblivion.

In reading discussions of the First Quarto and its relation to the Second Quarto, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord,* and the *Ur-Hamlet* I have become impressed by the fact that the First Quarto has never had a fair chance to speak for itself. It has perpetually to suffer comparison with "the true and perfect Coppie"; its worst corruption is quoted as a fair sample of its general character; it is branded as the stolen goods of pirate actors, shorthand reporters,

[14] Line 1751, "Being crossed by the contention of the windes."

[15] "Nun begab es sich, dass wir eines Tages contrairen Wind hatten."

[16] Cf. Widgery, p. 119, "but the Fratricide and Q_1 agree in Hamlet's 'Being crossed by the contention of the windes.'"

[17] For a full discussion of the point, see Evans, "*Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*," *Modern Philology*, II, 440.

[18] "Revision" is also called in to explain a few things, p. 178.

and printers. Now and then editors give it credit for better readings than the Second Quarto or the First Folio, and some have recognized the force of its more direct movement where the Second Quarto dawdles along through the last two acts; but it has never, I believe, been given full and fair consideration so far as the independent restoration of its text is concerned. This text in many places appears to be hopelessly corrupt; lines are omitted, transposed, entangled; words are misplaced, mistaken, distorted, mutilated beyond recognition. In spite of all this, I believe that the case against the First Quarto is not so bad as it is generally made out. However that may be, it is plain that the first step towards its restoration is an independent edition of the play (the First Quarto *Hamlet*) after the manner of treatment given to other important Elizabethan dramas. Such an edition I hope to undertake in the near future.

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MME DE MONTESPAN AND *LA PRINCESSE DE CLÈVES*[1]

One indication of the interest aroused at Paris by the publication of the *Princesse de Clèves* in 1678 is the constant demand addressed to Bussy for his opinion of the new novel. In a letter to Mme de Sévigné, dated June 26 or 27, 1678, he gives his approbation to the first volume and then delivers himself as follows:

"Dans le second, l'aveu de Madame de Clèves à son mari est extravagant et ne se peut dire que dans une histoire véritable: mais quand on en fait une à plaisir, il est ridicule de donner à son héroine un sentiment si extraordinaire. L'auteur, en le faisant, a plus songé à ne pas ressembler aux autres romans qu'à suivre le bon sens. Une femme dit rarement à son mari qu'on est amoureux d'elle, mais jamais qu'elle ait de l'amour pour un autre que pour lui:[2] et d'autant moins qu'en se jetant à ses genoux, comme fait la

[1] It is a pleasure to thank Professors G. N. Henning, S. Alden, G. Schoepperle, and the Boston Public Library, who have kindly sent me essential documents, and Professors L. M. Casís, H. E. Woodbridge, and C. H. Grandgent, who have criticised my manuscript.

[2] Mme de Clèves does not put it quite so crudely, but her delicacy is lost on Bussy.

princesse, elle peut faire croire à son mari qu'elle l'a offensé jusqu'au bout. D'ailleurs, il n'est pas vraisemblable qu'une passion d'amour soit longtemps, dans un cœur, de même force que la vertu. Depuis qu'à la cour, en quinze jours, trois semaines ou un mois, une femme attaquée n'a pris le parti de la rigueur, elle ne songe plus qu'à disputer le terrain pour se faire valoir. Et si, contre toute apparence et contre l'usage, ce combat de l'amour et de la vertu durait dans son cœur jusqu'à la mort de son mari, alors elle serait ravie de les accorder ensemble en épousant un homme de sa qualité, le mieux fait et le plus joli cavalier de son temps."

This criticism met with universal approval among Bussy's correspondents. Mme de Sévigné's friendship for Mme de La Fayette did not prevent her from finding the remarks "très judicieuses et très raisonnables." She is still more enthusiastic later. Mme de Montmorency writes to Bussy on July 24, 1678: "Je suis épouvantée d'en trouver (de l'esprit) autant dans les douze lignes que vous avez écrites au sujet de *La Princesse de Clèves* que dans un livre entier fait par Mme de La Fayette et par M. de La Rochefoucauld, et plus que dans la critique [3] de ce livre que tout le monde trouve admirable: cependant vous passez tout cela de bien loin." And Corbinelli writes on September 18, 1678: "J'ai lu, Monsieur, vos réflexions sur *La Princesse de Clèves:* je les ai d'autant plus aimées qu'elles ont rencontré le goût de tous les vrais honnêtes gens."

Today the consensus of opinion is all against Bussy. We regard Mme de La Fayette as seeking truth above all. Her effort to distinguish herself from the contemporary novelists was in the name of realism and *bon sens.* Her work does indeed mark a distinct reaction from the extravagant productions of her predecessors. Segrais's remark in his *Mémoires et Anecdotes* strikes, in our judgment, a far truer note than Bussy's. "De toutes les louanges qu'on lui avait données, rien ne lui plut davantage que deux choses que je lui avais dites: qu'elle avait le jugement audessus de l'esprit, et qu'elle aimait le vrai en toutes choses et sans dissimulation. C'est ce qui a fait dire à M. de La Rochefoucauld *qu'elle était vraie.*"

Mme de La Fayette has never been accused of writing *romans à clef,* but the personages of the *Princesse de Clèves* are as truly drawn from her observation of the life at the court of Louis XIV

[3] Doubtless Valincour's *Lettres à la marquise de X—— sur le sujet de "La Princesse de Clèves."*

as are the characters of La Bruyère. In 1678 she writes to Lescheraine, secretary of the Duchesse de Savoie, to disclaim the authorship of the book. "Je le trouve très agréable, bien écrit, sans être extrêmement châtié, plein de choses d'une délicatesse admirable, et qu'il faut même relire plus d'une fois, et surtout ce que j'y trouve, c'est une parfaite imitation du monde de la cour et de la manière dont on y vit: il n'y a rien de romanesque ni de grimpé: aussi n'est-ce pas un roman, c'est proprement des Mémoires, et c'était, à ce qu'on m'a dit, le titre du livre, mais on l'a changé." This letter bears the date April 13, 1678, and answers in advance such criticisms as Bussy's. At all events, it is clear that Mme de La Fayette viewed life, and even life at court, from a different angle than the witty cousin of Mme de Sévigné. Perhaps she was in a better position to get a true perspective.

No satisfactory source, if "source" there be, has yet been found for the famous scene to which Bussy takes exception. It is the purpose of this article to indicate a possible original. If my hypothesis is accepted, the importance of Mme de Lafayette's letter to Lescheraine as a critical document is greatly increased. An *obiter dictum* of St. Simon's gives the starting point. He relates the death of Mme de Montespan and then continues:

"Je ne remonterai pas au delà de mon temps à parler celui de son règne. Je dirai seulement, parce que c'est une anecdote peu connue, que ce fut la faute de son mari plus que la sienne. Elle l'avertit du soupçon de l'amour du Roi pour elle, elle ne lui laissa pas ignorer qu'elle n'en pouvait plus douter, elle l'assura qu'une fête que le Roi donnait était pour elle, elle le pressa, elle le conjura, avec les plus fortes instances, de l'emmener dans ses terres de Guyenne, et de l'y laisser jusqu'à ce que le Roy l'eût oubliée et se fût engagé ailleurs: rien n'y put déterminer Montespan, qui ne fut pas longtemps sans s'en repentir, et qui, pour son tourment, vécut toute sa vie et mourut amoureux d'elle, sans toutefois l'avoir jamais voulu revoir depuis le premier éclat."[4]

Surely Mme de La Fayette had no idea of making her princess a portrait of Mme de Montespan. The history of the latter justifies Bussy's comments. But the first idea of the avowal may well have

[4] Ed. Boislisle, vol. 15, p. 89. As far as I know, St. Simon is the only authority for this anecdote. Mme de Caylus, *Souvenirs*, p. 122, puts matters in a similar light, and there is abundant evidence from contemporaries that Montespan's conduct did him no honor.

been suggested by the beginning of the favorite's liaison. Such an incident would have made a profound impression on Mme de La Fayette, supposing she had known of it. The proof is that she has made just such a scene the determining one in the life of the heroine in whom she has put much of her own idealism and of her own experience.

In passing we may note the similarity of two remarks attributed to Mme de Montespan before the beginning of her liaison with the king to the reflexions of the Princesse de Clèves. "Elle (la Montespan), était alors fort sage, et disait même, en parlant de La Vallière: 'Si j'étais assez malheureuse pour que pareille chose m'arrivât, je me cacherais pour le reste de ma vie.'" And again: "'Dieu me garde d'être la maîtresse du roi,' dit-elle! 'Si j'étais assez malheureuse pour cela, je n'aurais jamais l'effronterie de me présenter devant la reine.'"[5] And now the Princesse de Clèves: "Quand je pourrais être contente de sa passion (du duc de Nemours) qu'en veux-je faire? veux-je la souffrir? veux-je y répondre? veux-je m'engager dans une galanterie? veux-je manquer à M. de Clèves? veux-je manquer à moi-même? Et veux-je enfin m'exposer aux cruels repentirs et aux mortelles douleurs que donne l'amour?" Surely Mme de La Fayette had no need of borrowing such reflections from anyone—least of all from la Montespan—but possibly the confrontation may not be without interest here.

It will be useful to inquire into the chances that Mme de La Fayette might have had knowledge of this "anecdote peu connue." Henrietta of England married the Duke of Orleans in March, 1661. Before her marriage she had known Mme de La Fayette and later they became very intimate friends. The English princess took pleasure in relating to her confidante piquant court gossip;[6] as is

[5] Quoted by Desnoiresterres, *Les Cours Galantes*, T. 3, pp. 39-40, from the letters of Madame de Maintenon and the Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

[6] See the preface of the *Mémoires*. Mme de La Fayette first met Henrietta at the convent of Sainte-Marie de Chaillot. "Cette connaissance me donna depuis l'honneur de sa familiarité; en sorte que, quand elle fut mariée, j'eus toutes les entrées particulières chez elle, et, quoique je fusse plus âgée de dix ans qu'elle, elle me témoigna jusqu'à la mort beaucoup de bonté et eut beaucoup d'égards pour moi. Je n'avais aucune part à sa confidence sur de certaines affaires; mais, quand elles étaient passées, et presque rendues publiques, elle prenait plaisir à me les raconter. L'année 1665, le comte de

well known, she had her own reasons for interesting herself in the king's love affairs. She showed appreciation of Mme de La Fayette's literary talent, and she certainly knew her first novel, *La Princesse de Montpensier* (1661).[7] One may perhaps see in the remark about the danger of becoming the sister-in-law of a former admirer a discreet reference to the relations between Henrietta and the king.[8] Mme de La Fayette was never averse to using bits of reality in this way. The story bears a striking resemblance to her masterpiece, with the avowal left out and all the idealism transferred to the Comte de Chabannes. It alone might have sufficed to awake Henrietta to the interest an incident like that told by St. Simon would hold for her friend. She might have wished to prove also that all idealism is not on the masculine side. The fact that Mme de La Fayette was on friendly terms with Mme de Montespan and especially with her sister, Mme de Thianges, would be one more reason for communicating the secret. Of course Mme de La Fayette might have learned of it independently of Henrietta, but surely the most probable source is through her.

There are interesting hints in the *Mémoires d'Henriette d'Angleterre* concerning the intimacy of the princess with certain phases of court intrigue. One of her attendants, "appelée Montalais," who played a rather large rôle in her own escapades, was the confidante of Mlle de La Vallière. "Madame ne savait point que

Guiche fut exilé. Un jour qu'elle me faisait le récit de quelques circonstances assez extraordinaires de sa passion pour elle: 'Ne trouvez-vous pas, me dit-elle, que si tout ce qui m'est arrivé, et les choses qui y ont relation, était écrit, cela composerait une jolie histoire! Vous écrivez bien, ajouta-t-elle, écrivez, je vous fournirai de bons Mémoires.' . . . Pendant quelque temps, lorsque je la trouvais seule, elle me contait des choses particulières que j'ignorais; . . . C'était un ouvrage assez difficile que de tourner la vérité, en certains endroits, d'une manière qui la fît connaître, et qui ne fût pas néanmoins offensante ni désagréable à la princesse. Elle badinait avec moi sur les endroits qui me donnaient le plus de peine."

[7] The Marquis de Vardes once reproached Henrietta with her sentiments toward the king and the Comte de Guiche. "Madame, lui répondit en plaisantant que, pour le roi, elle lui permettait le personnage de Chabannes," etc.

[8] "Mlle de Mézière, tourmentée par ses parents d'épouser ce prince (de Montpensier), voyant d'ailleurs qu'elle ne pouvait épouser le duc de Guise, et connaissant par sa vertu qu'il était dangereux d'avoir pour beau-frère un homme qu'elle eût souhaité pour mari, se résolut enfin de suivre le sentiment de ses proches," etc.

La Vallière savait ses affaires, mais elle savait celles de La Vallière par Montalais." Again we read: "Elle (la Montalais) avait encore la confidence de Mlle de Tonnay-Charente" (the future Mme de Montespan). And later: "Dans ce même temps, Mme de Meckelbourg et Mme de Montespan étaient les deux personnes qui paraissaient le mieux avec Madame." Finally it is on the authority of Mme de La Fayette that we know that Mme de Montespan was to have married the marquis de Noirmoutier "qu'elle aimait et qui souhaitait fort de l'épouser." The context would seem to indicate that this bit of information had come by way of Montalais.[9] At any rate, Mme de La Fayette showed interest in, and some knowledge of Mme de Montespan's intimate affairs.

There is a lacuna of five years between the end of the *Mémoires* and the recital of the death of Henrietta, and so it is impossible to follow in Mme de La Fayette's narrative what is, for the moment, the most interesting part of the story. Mme de Montespan became the mistress of Louis XIV about 1667; Henrietta died in 1670. It is not then inherently improbable that Mme de La Fayette knew of the avowal of Mme de Montespan. If she did, given her own comments on the accuracy of the novel as a picture of the court, it seems likely that she had it in mind while writing the famous scene in *La Princesse de Clèves*. Bussy's comments and the furor aroused by the scene are good proof that it was not common in life or in literature. Mme de La Fayette used it again in her last novel, *La Princesse de Tende*. Here the avowal is made after the wife has betrayed her husband, and it has been taken as an answer to the critics of the *Princesse de Clèves*. But the criticism was on grounds of probability rather than of ethics, and I prefer to see in it another proof of the author's interest in such a phenomenon.

The only other effort to find anything like a "source" for the avowal of the Princesse de Clèves which has come to my knowledge is the article of Prof. Baldensperger, *A propos de "l'aveu" de la Princesse de Clèves*.[10] He cites from the *Mercure Galant* for January, 1678, the account of an "admirable personne" whose story resembles strongly that of Mme de Clèves. Prof. Baldensperger points out that the account in the *Mercure* cannot be the source of Mme de La Fayette's scene, as the *Princesse de Clèves* was put on

[9] All the above citations are from the third part of the *Mémoires*.

[10] *Revue de Phil. Française*, juin, 1901.

sale in March, 1678. He suggests that "un fait-divers 'galant' auquel Donneau de Visé consacre vingt-cinq pages de son périodique, a pu, sous sa forme réelle, frapper l'attention des auteurs de la P. de C., vers la fin de l'année 1677." To this theory I should oppose the fact that Mme de La Fayette worked indolently and slowly. The whole novel centers around this scene, which could scarcely have been added as an afterthought. We must then either push back the authors' knowledge of the lady's experience or renounce this explanation. It is usually assumed that the novel was begun several years before its publication. Prof. Baldensperger's third hypothesis is that the *Mercure* got hold of the forthcoming novel either through a "leak" or through the desire of Mme de La Fayette and La Rochefoucauld to prepare the public for the astonishing scene. The *Mercure* then would have printed a sort of résumé of the story as a real event.

Since at best hypotheses are necessary, I believe the one outlined above at least worthy of consideration. Dates would seem to bear me out.

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

1. OE. *earg,* 'inert; cowardly; bad, depraved,' *eargian,* 'be slothful, remiss; lose heart, be cowardly,' *earglic,* 'slothful; bad,' ON. *argr, ragr,* 'unmännlich, weiblich, zum Weib geworden,' MDu. *arch,* 'bad, mean; poor, of little value, of little consequence,' MLG. *arch, arich,* 'schlecht, böse, schlimm,' OHG. *arg, arag,* 'nichtswürdig, feige, geizig,' MHG. *arc,* 'arg, nichtswürdig, schlecht, böse; karg, geizig,' *sb.* 'Böses, Übel,' NHG. *arg,* 'nichtswürdig, schlecht, bösartig' have long been compared with Skt. *ṛghâyati,* 'bebt, zittert, rast,' Av. *ereghant-,* 'böse,' Gk. ὀρχέομαι, 'rege mich, tanze' (Fick III⁴, 19; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*² p. 340). The development in meaning, however, seems nowhere clearly set forth. The base *ergh-* is probably an extension of *er-,* 'be activê, be in motion' in Skt. *ar-,* 'erregen, in Bewegung setzen, sich bewegen, eilen,' *ár-van-, ár-vant-,* 'eilend; Renner,' Av. *aurva-,* 'schnell,' OS. *aru,* OE. *earu,* ON. *ǫrr,* 'hurtig, bereit' (cp. Persson, *Stud.* p. 25).

The underlying meaning of Germ. **arga-* may be 'moving, yielding, giving in,' whence 'inert, inactive, slothful, remiss, of little consequence, poor.' Compare also ON. *arka,* 'limp, hobble,' Icel. *arka,* 'walk slowly,' Norw. d. *arra,* 'walk with difficulty or slowly,' Shetl. *ar, arel,* 'move about feebly,' Icel. *örla,* 'break very gently, as waves' (see Torp, *Nyn. Et. Ordbok,* p. 7). From 'moving, yielding, turning, swaying, departing' may also come 'bad, wicked, depraved.' For this development compare Goth. *ubils,* 'übel, schlecht, böse,' OE. *yfel,* 'bad, wicked; painful, miserable': Skt. *vápati,* 'wirft, streut,' OE. *wafian,* 'wave,' etc. (Wood, *MLN.* XVII, 7).

2. ON. *dǣll,* 'gentle, familiar, forbearing, easy, affable,' *dǣld,* 'gentleness,' Norw. d. *dæl,* 'affable, easy of approach,' Swed. d. *däl(l),* 'agreeable, friendly, kindly disposed,' Germ. stem **ðēlia-,* may have meant primarily 'bending, inclining; gracious, kind, friendly': ON. *dalr,* 'bow,' *dalr, dǣld,* 'dale,' OE. *dæl,* 'valley, gulf, abyss,' Goth. *dal,* 'Tal, Grube,' *dalaþ,* 'abwärts,' MLG. *dale,* 'nieder, herunter,' *dalen,* 'niederfallen, sinken,' MHG. *telle,* 'Schlucht,' *tole, tol,* 'Wasserstrom; Abzugsgraben; Kanal, Rinne; Erdgang, Mine,' Gk. *θόλος,* 'a round building with a conical roof, vaulted chamber,' *θάλαμος,* 'an inner room or chamber,' OBulg. *dolŭ,* 'Loch, Grube,' *dolŭ,* 'abwärts,' all of which may go back to the original signification 'bend, turn.'

3. OE. *dalc, dolc,* 'clasp, buckle, brooch, bracelet, fibula, splinter,' ON. *dālkr,* 'pin in the cloaks of the ancients' may have meant originally 'something bent, curved, round': ON. *dalr,* 'bow,' Goth. *dal,* ON. *dalr,* 'Tal, Grube,' Goth. *ib-dalja,* 'Abhang, Tal,' Gk. *θόλος,* 'a round building with a conical roof, vaulted chamber,' OBulg. *dolŭ,* 'Loch, Grube,' possibly also MHG. *tülle,* 'Wand oder Zaun von Brettern oder Palisaden, Pfahlwerk; Vorstadt (die ausserhalb der Mauer hinter Pfahlwerk liegt); Röhre, besonders die Röhre oder Zwinge, womit eine Eisenspitze am Schaft (des Pfeiles oder Speeres) befestigt wird; Art steifer Kragen.' See also No. 2.

For the meaning compare Skt. *kaṭa-ḥ, kaṭi-ḥ, kaṭī,* 'Hüfte,' *kaṭaka-ḥ,* 'Reif, Armband; Bergabhang; Armee': Lith. *at-si-kōltī,* 'sich anlehnen,' *àt-kalta,* 'Rückenlehne' (see Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.* p. 39); Skt. *tarkú-ḥ,* 'Spindel,' OBulg. *trakŭ,* 'Band, Gurt,' OPruss. *tarkue,* 'Binderiemen,' Lat. *torquēs, torquis,* 'twisted collar or necklace; ring, wreath, chaplet': Lat. *torqueō,* 'twist, bend, wind, turn round' (Walde², p. 785).

4. OHG. *fasti, festi.* I have allowed a confusion of IE. **pāĝ-* and **pāk̑-* to enter into my discussion of these words in *MLN.* XXXII, 222. I wish to correct that at this place. I believe, however, that Germ. **faχst-* may have resulted from pre-Germ. **paĝst-* (cp. ON. *þistill,* 'Distel' from Germ. *þiχst-:* Skt. *tiktá-ḥ,* 'scharf, bitter,' *tigmá-ḥ,* 'spitzig, scharf,' *tḗjas,* 'Schärfe, Schneide') just as well as from **pak̑st-* (cp. ON. *lǫstr,* 'Fehler, Gebrechen, Tadel': OHG. *lahan,* OE. *leahtor*).

5. MLG. *harst,* 'Karst, Harke, Rechen,' LG. *harst,* 'Karst' probably do not go back directly to a Germ. **harsta-* as is inferred by Sütterlin's comparison (*IF.* XXIX, 123) with Skt. *karṣū́-,* 'Furche, Graben,' *kṛṣáti,* 'befurcht, pflügt.' It seems to me far more probable that *harst* is a comparatively recent formation, and I should prefer to look upon it as a blend coming from forms represented in MLG. *harke, herke,* 'Hacke (Rechen),' LG. *harke,* 'Rechen,' MDu. *harke,* Du. *hark,* 'rake' and MDu. *carst,* 'hak, houweel,' 'hoe, mattock, pick-ax,' OS. OHG., MHG. *karst,* NHG. *Karst,* 'zweizinkinge Hacke' (see Kluge *s. v. Karst.*)

6. MHG. *hellec, hellic,* 'ermüdet, erschöpft, abgemattet,' *hellegen,* 'hellec machen, durch Verfolgung ermüden, plagen, quälen, stören,' NHG. *hellig,* 'abgemattet, müde, abgezehrt, ganz ausgedörrt; leer oder blöde im Magen, hungrig und durstig,' MHG. *hel, -lles,* 'körperlich nicht kräftig, am Körper dünn, dürftig,' NHG. dial. *hal, häl,* 'abgemagert, mager, trocken, dürr, austrocknend,' Dan. dial. *hælm,* 'still, ruhig,' Dan. *helme,* 'aufhören' may have the start-meaning 'inclining, drooping,' whence 'tired, exhausted, worn out, withered, dried out,' and may be closely related to OS. *af-heldian,* 'zu Ende kommen,' OE. *heald,* 'bent down; inclined (to evil),' *hieldan,* 'bend, incline, bend down, bow,' MHG. *halt* 'zugeneigt, treu.'

7. Westf. *kinkel,* 'Streifen Fleisch und Speck, wie dergleichen von Schinken abfallen und zur Bereitung der Mettwürste verwendet werden; Speckwürfel in Blutwürsten; Doppelkinn, Unterkinn,' Hess. *kinken,* pl. 'die würfelförmigen Stücke Schmeer und Speck, welche ausser dem gehackten Fleisch in die Würste gefüllt werden,' Gött. (Schambach) *kinkel,* 'Fettwürfel, Speckwürfel, besonders in der Blutwurst,' Holst. *kinkel,* '(Würfel,) Stück' may have meant primarily 'coil, roll, lump, as of the flesh under the chin, the slices or rolls of meat that were used for sausage, etc.': EFris. *kinke,*

kink, kinkel, 'Schlinge, Verschlingung, Windung oder Ringel, Drehung, Verdrehung, Verwicklung,' MLG. *kinke,* 'eine (gewundene) Schnecke; die Windungen, Falten oder Augen, die ein Tau, Faden etc. von selbst schlägt,' Norw. d. *kink,* 'slight turning or twisting, as of the head; the twist in thread,' Shetl. *kink,* 'bending, twisting,' Germ. **kenk-,* 'turn, twist, bend.' Also here MDu. *conkel,* 'whirlpool, abyss,' *conkelen,* 'ineendraaien, dooreenslingeren,' 'entwine, interlace,' Gk. γόγγρος, 'protuberance on trees,' Lett. *gungis,* 'Auswuchs, Knorren,' Gk. γογγύλος, 'round.' Cf. Torp, *Nyn. Et. Ordbok,* p. 267.

8. MLG. *kunkel,* 'eine Art kleiner Schiffe,' MDu. *conkel,* 'name of a vessel': Germ. **kunk-,* 'bend, turn; bending, rounded, curved (ship)' in WFlem. *konkel(e), konker(e),* 'whirlpool, abyss; a deep place or hole in a brook or river; underground place, cavern, dark hole,' MDu. *conkel,* 'subterranean passage,' *conkel,* 'whirlpool, eddy,' *conkelen,* 'entwine, interlace,' further Norw. d. *kank,* 'kink or tangle in a rope, a thread; stubbornness, defiance,' Swed. d. *kanka sej,* 'become entangled, as yarn,' *kanka, kånka,* 'walk carelessly, go along from side to side,' ON. *kǫkkr* (**kanku-*), 'a lump, e. g. in badly stirred porridge, in the throat, and the like.' See No. 7.

Similar development in meaning is seen in Gk. κύμβη, 'Kahn, Becken, Ränzel, Kopf,' κύμβος, 'Gefäss,' Skt. *kumbhá-ḥ,* 'Topf, Krug,' Av. *xumbō,* 'Topf, Vertiefung': root **qeu(b)-,* 'arch, bend' (see Walde s. v. *cūpa*).

9. Goth. *niuklahs,* 'νήπιος, neugeboren, klein,' *niuklahei,* 'Kleinmut.' The first part of the word may be compounded with **niwa-,* cp. Goth. *niujis,* 'new'; the second part may contain the stem **wak-* in Goth. *wakan,* 'wachen, wachsam sein,' ON. *vaka,* 'wachen, erwachen; zum Vorschein kommen, sich zeigen, sichtbar werden,' *vakr,* 'rege, munter, wach,' OE. *wacan,* '(awake;) be born; originate,' *wæcnan, -ian,* 'be born, have origin,' Lat. *vegeo,* 'stir up, quicken, excite to rapid motion,' *vigeo,* 'be vigorous, thrive, flourish, be active,' Skt. *vāja-ḥ,* 'Kraft, Schnelligkeit,' that is 'new-born, new-awakened, new-aroused,' Germ. **niwa-(wa)klaha-* (pre-Germ. **neu̯o-u̯oĝ-lo-ko-*), in which the syllable *-wa-* (*-u̯o-*) was lost by dissimilation.

10. From 'crush, rub, pulverize' is frequently derived 'weak, soft, gentle, mild, pleasing': Skt. *mṛdú-ḥ,* 'weich, zart, mild,'

OBulg. *mladŭ*, 'jung, zart,' Lat. *mollis*, 'soft, tender, pliant, supple, flexible,' Gk. μαλακός, 'soft, gentle, remiss,' OE. *melwe*, 'mellow, soft': Skt. *márdati*, 'reibt, zerdrückt, reibt auf,' Goth. *gamalwjan*, 'zermalmen, zerknirschen,' *malma*, 'Sand,' ON. *malmr*, 'Metall, Erz'; Skt. *táruṇa-ḥ*, 'jung, zart,' Gk. τέρην, 'smooth, soft, delicate': Lat. *tero*, Gk. τείρω, 'rub, grind.'

In like manner OHG. *samfti, semfti*, 'sanft, facilis, placidus,' MHG. *semfte, senfte, sanft*, 'leicht, bequem; weich, zart, sanft; sanftmütig, zahm, milde, willfährig, freundlich; wohlgefällig, angenehm,' *senfte*, 'Ruhe, ruhiges Leben, Gemächlichkeit; Annehmlichkeit,' MLG. *sachte, safte*, 'sanft, weich, milde, angenehm, leise, langsam, leicht,' MDu. *sachte, saft*, 'weak, mild, quiet, gentle, slow,' OE. *sēft(e)*, 'not accompanied with discomfort, easy, mild, comfortable; mild, gentle (person),' *sōft(e)*, 'quiet (sleep); luxurious, comfortable (bed); not stern, gentle,' NE. *soft*, 'sanft, weich, schwach, einfältig' may be compared with Gk. ψαίω, 'crush, grind,' ψαφαρός, 'friable, crumbling,' ψώχω, 'rub out,' ψῶχος, 'sand, dust,' ψάμαθος, ἄμαθος, ON. *sandr*, OHG. *sant*, 'sand,' Skt. *bhas-*, 'zermalmen, kauen' (see Walde, p. 667).

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THE VOWEL-CHANGE IN *VAN, VON*

The facility with which one may employ the ablaut-theory to explain the variant vocalism of any word is no doubt responsible for the tenacity with which that mode of explanation is adhered to. Some recent grammarians, *e. g.* Lasch, *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik* § 38 (Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.* § 25), do, however, entertain doubts as to the correctness of placing forms like *van, von; anti, enti, inte, unde; af, of,* under the rubric of ablaut. Others, *e. g.* Schatz, *Altbair. Gramm.* § 6, and Franck, *Altfränk. Gramm.* § 9, persist in the traditional view.

In my article on the conjunction *und* (*Hesperia,* Nr. 8, page 20 f.), I believe I have shown the untenableness of the ablaut-theory when applied to the various forms of the conjunction (*anti, enti, inti, unde,* etc.). What we have here is the gradual evolution

from *anti,* found only in the very oldest documents, to the form *unde,* found only in the latest. Likewise is the assumption of ablaut in the case of Gothic *jah,* OHG. *joh* very doubtful. The latter form (*joh*) may very well be explained as a contraction of *ia* + *auh* (p. 10 f.).

Just as little as the above-mentioned words owe their vocalism to a primitive ablaut, so improbable is the assumption of ablaut in the case of *fona, fana, vane, van, von.* To be sure, this preposition is not found in Gothic, Old Norse, or Anglo-Saxon, but its original Germanic form may be easily reconstructed. For our purpose, it is quite immaterial whether we assume a formation of **apa* (Greek ἀπό) + *no*-suffix, or a compound of the two prepositions *af* + *ana* (Cf. Engl. *upon*). In either case, we would expect a form **fana* with medial *a,* which actually occurs in a few of the oldest OHG. documents: in the *Carmen ad Deum* only *fana* is found (we shall for the moment disregard the final *a*); in the glosses to Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* (Cf. Schatz § 6); in the half-Latin, half-German poem *de Heinrico, fane;* in the fragment of the *Trierer Capitulare, vane* by the side of two examples of *vona.*

In Old Saxon the form *fan* is by far the more usual. In Middle Netherlandish *van* is the rule. But in Old Frisian, according to Richthofen (*Altfriesisches Wörterbuch,* page 749),[1] the form *fan* still occurs only in the Westerloo MSS. *W* and *S.*

If, therefore, *fan*(*a*) with medial *a* may very well be assumed as the original form of the preposition, then *fon*(*a*) must be regarded as a secondary development. It has been frequently observed that an *a* before a following nasal loses its peculiar vocalic quality and approaches that of an open *ŏ.* Cf. the examples given by Singer, *PBB.* XI, 288. To be sure, Paul, *PBB.* VI, 186, and Osthoff, *Morphologische Untersuchungen,* IV, 340, maintain that the *o* in *fon, fona* is an old sound which owes its origin to the secondary stress of the syllable containing it. But Paul otherwise recognizes this change of *a* to *o* before *m* and *n:* "Wir haben gesehen, dass *a* vor *m* in allen Dialekten als *o* oder weiter entwickelt als *u*[2] erscheint, ebenso vor *n* im Ahd. und Alts. in der schwachen Deklination."

The final vowel *a* (the original final vowel was lost in accordance with Westphal's law) owes its origin to an analogical transference

[1] Cf. G. Walter, *Der Wortschatz des Altfriesischen,* page 55.

[2] Cf. the form *vun, Lasch, Mnd. Gramm.,* § 38.

from forms like *ana, fora* (Gothic *ana, faura*), which have in their turn received the final *a* out of composition (Cf. Goth. *ana-biudan, ana-minds; faura-dauri, faura-gagga*).[3] Thus are explained the double forms with and without the final *a: fon, fona.* In Tatian, the form *fona* is found only twice. In Otfrid it is by far not so common as *fon.*

Another preposition that is on account of its vowel-change often found under the caption ablaut is *af, of.* No one, I suppose, doubts the priority of the former form, which has maintained itself intact in stressed syllables. *Of* is the proclitic form and arose later. In Gothic it is not found, in OHG. and OS. very seldom (Cf. *PBB.* VI, 191).

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METRICAL AFFINITIES OF THE SHREWSBURY *OFFICIUM PASTORUM* AND ITS YORK CORRESPONDENT

Although some resemblances of the Shrewsbury fragments to certain York plays, particularly the shepherd's play, have already been pointed out, the close metrical relation has not, in my opinion, been sufficiently stressed. Whatever relation may exist between the Shrewsbury *Officium Resurrectionis* and *Officium Peregrinorum* and the corresponding York mysteries is obscured by the fact that the York resurrection play is quite obviously, and the York pilgrim play quite probably, a working over of an older church play. Thus all convincing comparisons must be drawn from the *Officium Pastorum* of Shrewsbury and that of York. In speaking of the general similarity of these two plays, Mr. Waterhouse says, "As far as one can judge, the Shrewsbury play in its complete form would be about equal in length to the York play, probably contained the same ideas a little differently expressed, and—in the text handed down to us—has one stanza almost identical with a stanza in the York play, a coincidence which in the complete version may

[3] J. Schmidt, *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, XXVI, 20 f.

have extended over three stanzas."[1] Such resemblances as appear I wish to point out in greater detail.

The final stanza, practically identical in the two plays, is the most striking correspondence. There are other likenesses, however, which should not be ignored. Similar words or phrases, including cùe words, may be listed as follows:[2]

York	*Shrewsbury*
l. 37	l. 3, 4
l. 39	l. 9
l. 74	l. 20

Like rime is preserved, although the word is changed, in *Y.* 38 and *S.* 5. These resemblances are general, slight, and, taken alone, wholly insignificant. Longer passages which agree in thought and to greater or less extent in wording are:

York	*Shrewsbury*
Yf þou sawe euere swilke a sight (42)	Suche siȝt was neuer sene
So selcouth a sight was neuere non sene (53)	Before in oure Iewery (11, 12)
Itt menes some meruale us emang (56)	Sum merueles wil hit mene That mun be here in hy. (13, 14)
I trowe you royse, For what it was fayne witte walde I That tille us made þis noble noyse. (69-71)	3e lye, bothe, by this liȝt, And raues as recheles royes! Hit was an angel briȝt That made this nobulle noyes. (16-19)
An aungell brought us tythandes newe, A babe in Bedlem shulde be borne, Of whom þan spake oure prophicie trewe, And bade us mete hym þare þis morne, Þat mylde of mode. (72-76)	He said a barn schuld be In the burgh of Bedlam born; And of this, mynnes me, Oure fadres fond be-forn. (21-24)
I walde giffe hym bothe hatte and horne, And I myght fynde þat frely foode. (77-78) Hym for to fynde has we no drede, I sall you telle a-chesonne why, 3one sterne to þat lorde sall us lede. (79-81)	For no-thing thar us drede, But thank God of alle gode; This light euer wil us lede To fynde that frely fode. (38-41) 3one brightnes wil us bring Unto that blisful boure. (31-32)

[1] *The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays*, ed. by Osborn Waterhouse. E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser. CIV, p. xx.

[2] Reading and numbering according to J. M. Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, Boston and London, 1900.

And make myrthe and melody,
With songe to seke oure savyour.
(84-85)

For solace schal we syng
To seke oure Saueour. (33-34)

Nowe loke on me, my lorde dere,
þof all I putte me noght in pres,
Ye are a prince with-outen pere,
I have no presentte þat you may plees.
But lo! an horne spone, þat have I here
And it will herbor fourty pese,
Þis will I giffe you with gud chere,
Slike novelte may noght disease.
Fare wele þou swete swayne,
God graunte us levying lange,
And go we hame agayne,
And make mirthe as we gange.
(120-131)

A! loke to me, my Lord dere,
Alle if I put me noght in prese!
To suche a prince withouten pere
Have I no presand that may plese.
But lo! a horn-spone have I here
That may herbor an hundrith pese
This gift I gif the with gode chere,—
Suche dayntese wil do no disese.
Fare-wele now swete swayn,
God graunt the lifyng lang.
(1. Pastor. And go we home agayn,
And mak mirth as we gang!)
(42-54)

The Shrewsbury cue word preceding the final long speech of the third shepherd ends the second shepherd's speech in York. Professor Skeat therefore infers that the second shepherd's speech was identical in the two plays.[3] Professor Manly calls attention to the cue word "a sang" (*S.* 15) in connection with *Y.* 60 "I can synge itt as wele as hee."[4] In *Y.* two,—or three,—of the shepherds then sing; when the third shepherd speaks after the song, his words are similar to those following the Shrewsbury cue. There is singing, moreover, after l. 85 in *York,* a passage which has a Shrewsbury parallel. (l. 33-34.) The Shrewsbury speech is followed by "Transeamus usque Bethlehem, et uideamus hoc verbum quod factum est quod fecit Dominus et ostendit nobis," which is noted for voices. May not the York shepherds have sung this also? In connection with these similarities two cases of alliteration should be noted. Line 48 of *S.* is, as Professor Skeat notes, an improvement on *Y.* 125.[5] Lines 50 in *S.* and 127 in *Y.* have different alliterating consonants.

These similarities of thought and diction are strengthened by metrical correspondences. In the York play are represented two different meters, the first extending from lines 1 to 37 and resumed at line 86; the second marking the intervening material. Miss Smith says, "The meter in this piece . . . changes with the subject."[6] It is true that the change of meter is coincident with a

[3] *The Academy,* Jan. 4, 1900.
[4] *Op. cit.,* p. xxviii, Note 4.
[5] *The Academy,* Jan. 4, 1900.
[6] Lucy T. Smith, *York Mystery Plays,* Oxford, 1885, p. 122, Note 2.

change of subject, the first being used for those portions which deal with prophecies and the worship of the babe; the second marking the intermediate comical portion. The apparent implication of a single author, however, is hardly justified; rather do the two metrical forms indicate different stages of composition,—a theory borne out by the comic nature of the interpolated material, indicative of a later, more secularized period of composition than that producing the more strictly liturgical stanzas which precede and follow. The meter of the intervening portion has no relation to the Shrewsbury fragment and may be passed over with the simple remark that it is somewhat irregular, and, although not unmindful of alliteration, less careful in this respect than the rest of the play.

The liturgical portions, with which we are concerned, are written in the northern septenar stanza, which consisted of a double quatrain of four-stressed verses rimed *abababab* and a cauda of four three-stressed lines rimed *cdcd*.[7] This is the meter of the Shrewsbury *Officium Pastorum,* wherever the stanzas are complete enough to indicate any rime scheme. The final stanza shows the septenar in its typical form, omitting only the last two lines. The other speeches of the third shepherd constitute what I regard as the cauda of septenar stanzas,—a cauda which is, in contrast with the York plays, carefully alliterative; the quatrains must have been represented in the speeches of the second and third shepherds, of which only the cues are preserved.

These observations about the verse of the *Officium Pastorum* are in a measure corroborated by the remaining Shrewsbury fragments. The *Officium Resurrectionis,* in so far as it is not strictly liturgical, is written in the double quatrain of the septenar. This appears in the stanzas beginning with lines 26 and 30. The first complete stanza (l. 4 ff.) consists of a quatrain rimed *abab* and a Latin quatrain rimed *ccdd.* This does not fulfill the requirements of the northern septenar quatrain. Whether the cauda was employed in the speeches of the *Officium Resurrectionis* represented by cues is rendered very uncertain by the frequent interpolation of liturgical Latin, by some carelessness in alliteration, and by the general absence of the cauda in the York play in which Christ appears to

[7] Charles Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays,* Yale Dissertation, 1892.

Mary Magdalene.[8] Where the cauda is added in the York play, its accents are increased to four, the number of stresses as well as the alliteration being irregular in the verse of this play. Professor Manly calls attention to the difference in meter of the York play on the resurrection and the S. *Officium Resurrectionis,* to which the former is in no wise related, depending, as I have ascertained by a careful comparison, almost entirely on the *Northern Passion.*

In addition to its liturgical elements, the S. *Officium Peregrinorum* contains the double quatrain (6, 15, 28, 38), as well as single quatrains (50, 58, 63, 74, 79), of the northern septenar. Here again there is no indication of any cauda, though it may have been used in the complete play. The York play on this subject is written in the later modification of the stanza; it has only one quatrain, with a cauda rimed *cddc.*

The use of the northern septenar stanza in the Shrewsbury *Officium Resurrectionis* and *Officium Peregrinorum* renders more significant the similarities in the Shrewsbury and York shepherd plays,—similarities of thought, diction, and meter which suggest a connection closer than is immediately evident between the Shrewsbury fragments and the York cycle.

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SOME FORERUNNERS OF THE *TATLER* AND THE *SPECTATOR*

Probably no student of English Literature now thinks of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* as having sprung full-armed from the brains of Steele and Addison to dazzle and amuse a public totally unprepared for any such literary phenomenon. It is now a commonplace of literary history that earlier newspapers and periodicals, especially the *Athenian Gazette* and Defoe's *Review,* did much to make the greater periodicals what they were. Although, as far as I know, the details of this relation, the full extent of this preparation, the full measure of the service performed by the *Gazette* and the

[8] In Professor Manly's opinion (p. xxxi, Note 1) the York play may once have been connected with a play similar to the S. *Officium Resurrectionis.*

Review in creating a public eager for such a venture as the *Tatler,* have not been thoroughly worked out, the essential facts are known. The influence upon the periodical essay of such writers as Bacon, Montaigne, and LaBruyère has been studied. Something has also been done toward showing how Addison's style was formed. All of these matters must be reckoned with in any complete study of the periodicals—all of these and more—but I wish in this paper to consider another force quite as important as any of these.

In the *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association of America* XIX, 75–144, Professor E. C. Baldwin printed a study of the relation of the seventeenth century Character to the periodical essay. In this he showed clearly that such portraits as those of the Spectator's Club were developments from the formal Characters of such writers as Hall, Overbury, Earle, Fuller, and—most important of all—LaBruyère.[1] He showed further that the Character and the moral essay had always been associated. His article did not concern itself, however, with the character-writing done in the first eight years of the eighteenth century, and thus left unnoticed certain significant transitional stages.

Before discussing these stages we should note that although the adaptation of the Character to the purposes of the periodical essay reaches its most perfect form in the pages of the *Spectator,* it by no means began there. In the first number of the *Tatler* Steele presented a picture of a lover, later called Cinthio, which may or may not have been drawn from the life in the person of the Viscount Hinchinbroke, but which certainly owes something to the formal Character. In the sixth number Sappho was introduced; in the seventh, Colonel Picket; in the ninth, Timon; and so on. The account of Timon is preceded by an announcement of the author's intention to people the polite world with new characters, and LaBruyère is named as an authority.

[1] This relation was noted by Henry Gally in *A Critical Essay on Characteristic-Writing,* prefixed to the translation of *The Moral Character of Theophrastus* (London, 1725): "But tho' no *English* authors have attempted a performance of this kind [i. e., strictly Theophrastian characters, and since Overbury (an obvious error)] yet it must be confess'd that in some late diurnal Papers we have had excellent specimens in the characteristic-way. The Papers, which I mean to point out, are the *Tatler's* and *Spectator's* . . . here and there are interspers'd characters of Men and Manners compleetly drawn to the Life." (p. 99.)

To the practice of character-writing, then, Steele owed much of the material which made the *Tatler* attractive. It is consequently worthy of note that in writing after this manner he was neither reviving a half-forgotten practise nor making a venture in the dark. He was simply meeting a clearly recognized popular demand.

Professor Baldwin's bibliography (pp. 112-113) lists as published between 1700 and 1708 inclusive thirteen items properly to be catalogued under the head of Characters. To his list an examination of the advertisements in the newspapers of the day adds fourteen titles, making a total of twenty-seven—a total which might quite possibly be still further increased. These titles include not only new English works, but also translations from Theophrastus, LaBruyère, the Abbé Bellegarde, and others. The demand for such books was great enough to cause the republication of an old work of the slightest value which had first appeared in 1657, *Essays on Love and Marriage, With Characters of a Whore, a Patentee,* etc. More significant still is the fact that a number of these books went through several editions during this period. Ned Ward's *The Wooden World Dissected, Reflexions Upon Ridicule* (translated from the French of the Abbé Bellegarde), *The Management of the Tongue,* these three had a second edition within a year. *The Reformer, Mirth and Wisdom,* the *Essays on Love and Marriage,* the translation of LaBruyère, were each twice printed between 1700 and 1708. Robert Warren's *The English Theophrastus,* first published in 1702, was reprinted with additions in 1706 and again in 1708. *Characters, or the Manners of the Age; with the Moral Characters of Theophrastus Made English by Several Hands . . with some of the most eminent Characters of the Court, Army, etc., of Great Britain,* was announced as just published in a fifth edition in March, 1709. Obviously, therefore, the interest in character-writing was so great that Steele was using only common journalistic sense in catering to it.

But Steele's debt to these writers and translators was not limited to their service as indicators of popular taste. They showed him, for one thing, much more clearly than their predecessors, just how the Character might become part of a popular English essay. Speaking of these precedessors, the author of the *English Theophrastus* says in his preface,

"In every one of these Authors, especially LaBruyère, there are abundance of Characters . . . which are so calculated for the *Meridian of Paris,* that they look very dull and faint when view'd here in *London.*" Consequently, to his material from Greek and French he had added 'thoughts' from Lord Bacon, Sir Roger L'Estrange, Mr. Brown, etc., and also many of his own. The result is a series of maxims, epigrams, paragraphs on various topics, only here and there illustrated by a more or less formal Character. Here is a bit from the beginning of the book:

"*Eubulus,* fancying himself Inspir'd, stands up for the Honour of Poetry, and is mightily provok'd to hear the Sacred Name of *Poet,* turn'd into Scandal and Ridicule; He tells you what a profound Veneration the *Athenians* had for their Dramatick Writers; how greatly *Terence* and *Virgil* were honour'd in *Rome;* the first, by *Scipio,* and *Laelius,* the other by *Augustus* and *Mecaenas;* how much *Francis* the First, and Cardinal *Richlieu,* encourag'd the Wits of *France;* and drawing his Argument more home, he relates to you, how in this Island, the *Buckinghams,* the *Orrerys,* the *Roscommons,* the *Normanbys,* the *Dorsets,* the *Hallifax's,* and several other Illustrious Persons, have not only encourag'd Poetry, but ennobled the Art itself by their Performances. True, *Eubulus;* we allow Poetry to be a Divine Art, and the Name of Poet to be Sacred and Honourable, when a *Sophocles,* a *Terence,* a *Virgil,* a *Corneille,* a *Boileau,* a *Shakespear,* a *Waller,* a *Dryden,* a *Wycherly,* a *Congreve,* or a *Garth,* bears it: But then we intend it as a Scandal, when we give it to *Maevius, Chapelain, Ogilby, W——, D——, D——, S——,* and *yourself.*

"I question whether some Poets allow any other Poets to have perform'd better than themselves, in that kind of Poetry which they profess. *Sir R—— B——,* I suppose, tho' he has declaim'd against Wit, yet is not so conceited as to Vie with *Horace* and *Juvenal* for Satyr; but as to *Heroick Poetry,* etc."

This passage is not fairly typical of the whole book. Indeed, when thus isolated, it seems to have little to do with the Character. But that such passages should occur at all in a book published in 1702 and bearing the title of the *English Theophrastus,* in significant; for in such a subordination of the Character to the author's thought, crudely as it is done, we find a method of employing the Character often used in the *Tatler.*

A similar suggestion may be seen in a book entitled *The Management of the Tongue,* done out of the French and published in 1708. The author considers his subject under twenty-seven heads, of which the first four are: (1.) Of Conversation; (2.) The Babbler; (3.)

The Silent Man; (4.) The Witty Man. Under each head appear Maxims and Reflections, such as the following:

"MAXIM XII. *A Man, who is extremely fond of Praises, wou'd have no body but himself to be Praised.*

"REFLECTION. This is the Reason why *N.* will neither praise others, nor hear 'em Praised. He fancies that the Praises bestowed upon them, are as many things stoln from him. Yet he assures me that it is only out of love for Truth: I don't know whether I ought to believe him; for I have often observed, that he is not at all unwilling to be Praised for the good Qualities he has not. Tho' you speak never so well of him, you tell him nothing that is new to him; he knows that he has it, before you tell him, or at least he flatters himself with it, and if he seems to refuse at any time the Praises which he justly deserves, it is only in order to be more Praised than he deserves, or to have a right to praise no body."

Thus again, but more mechanically, the Character is subordinated to an idea. The author comes a little nearer to Bickerstaff in the following sentence from his Advertisement: "I speak often of *myself* in this Work, not that I believe the Publick will be desirous to know me, or that I desire to be known to the Publick; on the contrary, I wish with all my Heart, that I may hide my self."

Much more suggestive of the manner of the *Tatler* than either of these is the book entitled *Reflexions upon Ridicule,* translated from the French of L'Abbé Bellegarde. This is made up of essays upon such subjects as Unpoliteness, Affectation, Prejudice, etc., illustrated at intervals by character sketches of this sort:

"As extravagant as a Man is in his Fancies, he proposes them as Models, and would have Admirers. *Frontin* has built an House of an unusual Contrivance, he is charm'd with his Design, and if you would believe him, all houses are to be pull'd down to be rebuilt upon this Plan. The Judgment is the Triumph of Self-Love, they that have it Just and Excellent, become famous by their Inventions, tho' they invent but Trifles."

Or this: "It is usual enough for a Fool that is in Favour, or is rich, to despise a Man of Merit without Fortune; but all the Fooleries that escape him, when he goes to jest, make the sensible Man amends before the Company, who prefer personal Merit before the Wealth of a Banker, if they judge rationally of things. 'Tis not so much the Riches of some People that make them hated, as the foolish Vanity that possesses them, and the haughty Way wherewith they treat others not so wealthy as themselves. I can't conceive, says *Clarinette,* very often, how any one can live, without at

least three thousand Pounds a Year. It is not ten Years ago that *Clarinette* had not wherewithal to buy her a petticoat, and she went abroad to dine with her neighbours to save Charges."

Here we have the moral essay made concrete by a slightly sketched character done in a manner so similar to that of Bickerstaff that, were it not for the date, it might easily pass as at least a rejected contribution to the *Tatler*. All that is needed to fit it for a place there is that it shall be better done.

Along with the development of this kind of essay came the use of the Character for the purposes of a periodical. On June 25, 1707, appeared the first number of a venture bearing the following title:

"*The Humours of a Coffee-House:* A Comedy As it is Dayly Acted by Levy, a Recruiting Officer. Hazard, a Gamester. Nice, a Beau. Venture, a Merchant. Bays, a Poet. Note, These Persons are introduc'd only as occasion serves." Seven numbers were published; then a new series was begun with the title altered to *The Weekly Comedy,* of The Humours of a Coffee-House, by the Authour of *The London Spy* (i. e., Ned Ward). Of this series at least twenty-four numbers were printed. In the twenty-first is this statement: "I Hope the Reader will think it a Pardonable Amusement, if before I proceed any further with this Paper, I let him into the Notion of the Design. It is call'd a Comedy, not that the Rules of Dramatick Poetry can be so Nicely follow'd therein, but only that the Humours, and Chit-Chat of a Coffee-House may be truly Represented, with all the Occurrences of little Stories, by way of Familiar Conversation, to set forth whatever Novelties are Talk'd of in Wit, Politicks, Poetry, Ridicule, or what not, for which End I have pitch'd upon Characters to suit every Body, that nothing which is Natural may escape our Observation. I have provided a Beau for the Ladies, etc." The paper is to be both useful and diverting, to emend conversations and manners, and to have great variety.

That there are obvious resemblances between the group of characters here set forth and the Spectator's Club is not, I think, the most significant fact about this four-page weekly. In plan and purpose it is much more suggestive of the *Tatler* than either the *Athenian Gazette* or the *Review*. It might easily have had for its motto that which later headed the essays of Bickerstaff, Quicquid agunt homines . . nostri farrago libelli. The device for preventing different points of view is not that which Steele employed in the *Tatler,* but it is a device; and, once the hint was given, it was a simple matter to evolve a plan at once similar and different.

Thus it appears that when Steele began his work there were in existence essays of a type essentially one with that which he was often to write, that Characters had already been used as important factors in the making of a periodical, and that the public demanded this sort of writing. It was, therefore, to the development and popularity of the Character more than to any other one source, that we owe the *Tatler,* and, consequently, the *Spectator.* To know this in no way lessens our admiration for Steele. Out of these materials he made something which needs no word of praise from me. The point is simply that he did have even more in the way of materials than is commonly supposed, that he was not forced to make bricks without an ample supply of straw and a tolerably decent mould.

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REVIEWS

The Sounds and History of the German Language, by E. Prokosch, Professor of Germanic Languages in the University of Texas. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1916. v + 212 pp.

Caractères généraux des Langues Germaniques, par A. Meillet, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1917. xvi + 222 pp.

Two distinctive features characterize the plan and structure of these little books, published less than a year apart, which make a simultaneous report upon them not only permissible but even desirable. One consists in the partial similarity of the subject-matter and in the points of contact thus necessitated; the other, and more important circumstance is the tracing in both of tendencies underlying the historical development of the Germanic languages. Professor Prokosch seeks to establish, by means of connected physiological sketches, the essential *unity* of Germanic with the Indo-European parent language. Curiously enough, M. Meillet's endeavors are centered in an attempt to prove the existence of dominating forces which gradually and inevitably brought about a

cleavage between Germanic and the normal ideal of Indo-European dialects.

Prokosch's *Sounds and History* is divided into two parts. 'German Phonetics' is admittedly an adaptation of the books of standard phoneticians, a brief but comprehensive account of fundamental facts, which nevertheless betrays careful thought and planning thruout. Already here the scholar at times gains the upper hand over the pedagog, and we are treated to sections that are disconcertingly mathematical in appearance and accuracy. Thus, on p. 53, the discussion and chart from Jespersen, designed to indicate the various degrees of sonority, belong rather among the problems of experimental phonetics,—at least as far as the student is concerned. Nor do they relieve the tension created by such a definition of the 'syllable' as "a phonetic unit which is determined by a maximum of sonorousness, and separated from each surrounding unit by a relative minimum of sonorousness." One wonders, too, how far the detailed exposition of Jespersen's Analphabetic system of phonetic transcription, pp. 61-63, which is of such immediate use in advanced study and in the collectanea of new speech-sounds, should find a place and application in a manual dedicated to college students. Aside from these, we have here a carefully graduated introduction to Phonetics, and the circumstance that it has not the *schonende Art* of Sievers, is rather a mark of distinction in its favor. The passages from Trautmann's *Kleine Lautlehre* and Passy's *Petite Phonétique Comparée,* pp. 31-33, quoted to demonstrate that uvular *r* has no place in German (or French) instruction in American schools, is indicative of the general practicalness of the Phonetics.

It is Part Two, *par excellence,* comprising the External History and the Development of Sounds and Forms, which was written with the conscious touch of 'the research magnificent.' It reduces German linguistic evolution to one uniform phonetic principle, and proffers this scientific and pedagogical innovation with the enthusiasm of a discoverer. As a teacher, the reviewer finds it difficult to approve unreservedly the incorporation of untested theories into a work that purports to be a manual for "students without linguistic erudition." Comparative Philology, as a science, is of such protean character that the text-book writer must proceed cautiously with its unsolved problems, lest he play havoc with the credulity

of the beginner. What may be a pleasure to the polemically-minded scientist—the Poetry of the Science—might prove disastrous to the student who is, by common consensus, best reared and nurtured on predigested pabulum. However, *quod non licet bovi licet Jovi.* Professor Prokosch will without fail appeal to his scholarly compeers. His hypotheses, too dogmatic tho they seem without variants or references for immediate class-room use, will stand as a challenge to the retrogressive teacher and a stimulus to further inquiry on his part.

To those who have pursued with interest the author's increasing series of investigations, the new theories do not come as a great surprise. For the present book stands in the constellation of the following articles and notices, 'Forchhammers Akzenttheorie und die germanische Lautverschiebung,' *JEGPh,* XI, 1 ff., 'The Germanic Preterit,' Proceedings, 1913, *PMLA,* 'Sprachwissenschaftliche Ausblicke,' *MPh,* XI, 71, 'Phonetic Tendencies in the Indo-European Consonant System,' *AJPh,* XXXIII, 195, 'Die Stabilität des germanischen Konsonantensystems,' *IF,* XXXIII, 377, and is supplemented by 'Die deutsche Lautverschiebung und die Völkerwanderung,' *JEGPh,* XIV, 1 ff.,—a reading of which will give all the details of the author's viewpoint. Briefly put, there are definite tendencies governing the phonetic evolution of the Germanic languages. These tendencies consist in the strengthening and the weakening of the articulation, and result from the inclination of the Indo-European tribes to extremes in expiration, muscle tension (lips, tongue, vocal chords) and the place of articulation. These tendencies were uniform in the original Indo-European unit, but, after the separation, contact with aboriginal races of different tendencies developed new habits of speech and new phonetic laws. Yet "with those Indo-Europeans who remained in the old home, namely, the Germanic peoples, the old phonetic tendencies continued and led to a remarkably uniform development along definite lines." Accordingly, there was a causal connection between the two Germanic sound-shifts,—the possibility of which Grimm himself admitted,—and the cause itself in both instances is the physiological tendency towards intensification, the reciprocal effect of increased articulation and of muscle tension. The consonant mutations would thus assume the position of two recurrent phases of the same continuous sound-change, just as characteristic of the

Germanic as recurrent palatalization is of the Slavic. This point of view denies all geographical reason to the Second or High German Shift, and even reverses its hypothetical course. Besides this North-to-South direction, there is also assumed a lack of necessity for Scherer's grounds for the shift, viz., a higher civilization meeting a lower one, which has recently been revived by Kauffmann, *ZfdPh,* XLVI, 333. On the contrary, the mixture of races in the general period of the Second Shift did not so much give rise to the latter as originate the High German dialects. The consonant mutation preceded the effects of such a mixture, and the dialects arose because of the weakening of the characteristic tendency to intensification, in accordance with the principle, cf. *JEGPh,* XVI, 5, that in a linguistic confusion consequent upon a migration the old tendencies of linguistic development wholly or partly cease, and even may be supplanted by new tendencies of dissimilar nature.

The extremely adroit handling of the material and especially the physiological arguments hold out a great attraction to the reader. Less convincing is the ethnographic evidence based upon the findings of Bremer and Lamprecht. Granted, however, that the High German mutation is not the result of an influence on the part of a less cultured majority,—altho along with an indubitable Celtic strain in the formation of the vocabulary we must also assume a strong foreign direction in the phonology, and Prokosch himself does not hesitate to employ an occasional reference to such an influence in the later stages of the Shift, cf. *JEGPh,* XVI, 23,—what is there against the theory, since we have no definite cues at our command, that the older, Germanic Shift originated from such an intermingling of races? Celtic itself, with a phonetic 'tendency,' in the direction of aspirated articulation, shows an *analogous* treatment of the explosives, cf. the spirantization of the I.-E. mediae, as well as *c* > *ch* (*x*), *t* > *th*, *p* > *ph* (*f*), clearly attested, among others, by the Old Norse transcription of Irish names, *Dufþakr* for *Dubthaich, Ruðri* for *Rúadri,* the cause of which is just as obscure as of I.-E. *dh* > Italic þ. We have no documentary evidence of the course of the Germanic Shift. We must reconstruct even the Germanic parent language from the testimony of the sister dialects. Even tho both shifts are at bottom essentially similar; even when the Second Shift has been proved to have arisen independently of mountainous surroundings; this brings nothing

ineluctable with respect to Grimm's Law, which may have been formed from just such or any other unknown causes. We conclude that the theory of a uniform Germanic 'tendency' has only a pragmatic, empirical sense; that it is observable in both Consonant Shifts but need not be germoplastically Germanic; that, even if it were part of such a mystic genius of the language, we would still be ignorant of the causes of the tendency itself, when the latter is postulated to be so typically absent from the other Indo-European languages.

The question of an Indo-European home in the North of Europe, with the present denizens as the direct descendants of the aborigines, would indeed receive reciprocal support from such a uniform process in Germanic. As we stand at present, the facts of linguistics, history, archeology and ethnology appear at times hopelessly mingled both in Much and in Hirt, in an attempt to produce a unitary picture, where it is a matter of thousands of years. Proof is needed to show that the Aryan race was at home in Germany during the neolithic period, as well as for the absolute chronological limits of such an occupation. The blond Indo-Germans, born in the North (Wilser, *Die Germanen,* 1904, has since rhapsodized on the origin of *all* progress from the North, including the beginnings of animal life) and still resident about the Baltic, "wo sie sich anscheinend (*sic*) am reinsten erhalten und von wo aus sie ihren stärksten kulturellen und politischen Machteinfluss auf alle Völker der Erde ausgeübt haben" (Much), have still to account for the strong archeological indications pointing toward a home around the Black and Caspian Seas, especially since the discovery of the far-distant Tocharic has rendered the situation even more complicated.

These remarks, I need not stress, are not directed at the author but at the exaggerated conclusions often drawn from the Baltic location of the *Urheimat.* It stands to reason that, independently of this aspect of the case, Prokosch's theory of phonetic unity may be tentatively accepted, and, because of its practicalness, even introduced in advanced instruction, provided it is presented without definite insistence on an uncertain cause and tendency so much as on a workable physiological continuity; the former factors can be modified or disproved by further research. A slightly different interpretation is possible also in the following cases: p. 114, Ver-

ner's Law, where a compromise may be made between the view presented and Lotspeich's theory as to the tension and vibration of the vocal chords, *JEGPh,* XIV, 348. The Qualitative Ablaut, p. 105, receives an explanation which is attractive but metaphysical: the vowel *e* denotes a strong present interest in the speaker, while *o* indicates comparative indifference. Is there not a danger that the actual occurrence of the change of vowels,—altho a fair-sized list can be collected of conditions and qualities with *e*,—has been made the psychological cause of the distinction? We still hold with Brugmann, *Vgl. Gramm.*[2] I, 482, that "die Entstehung des Ablauts ist in erster Linie ein lautgeschichtliches, nicht ein morphologisch-semasiologisches Problem." In the long run, thus, the qualitative Ablaut may be found to rest on a *Tonentziehung* similar to that of the quantitative. But, for the beginner it is sufficient to know that such variations *exist.* The origin of the Weak Preterite, p. 160, is perhaps too positively put as Brugmann's Pre-Germanic thematic preterite in *-to.* The ultimate solution seems to lie midway between Brugmann and Collitz, both of whom agree on an original dental tenuis in the formans, instead of a *dh,* to the exclusion also of all haplological suggestions. Brugmann's reference to obscure Oscan-Umbrian forms does not decide the matter, especially as he himself questions "dass ausnahmslos jede einzelne form, die zum schwachen präteritum gerechnet wird, diesen und keinen anderen ursprung gehabt habe," *PBB,* XXXIX, 95. Attention must therefore be drawn to Professor Collitz's revised view, *MLN,* XXIX, 180, which suggests for the source of the preterite forms both the I.-E. perfect middle and the I.-E. simple aorist.

For the rest, the derivation of *Germani,* as the 'prepared, fully armed men' who were sent out in times of over-population, in order to find new homes, cf. the Roman *ver sacrum,* is very ingenious, and by all means more plausible than 'die Echten' which received its exaggerated apotheosis in the patriotic exhortation of Birt, *Preuss. Jahrbücher,* 1915, p. 414.

In connection with a study of the Gēats in *Beowulf,* the reviewer has come across the following explanation of the word Germany by William of Malmesbury which is essentially the same as that offered by Professor Prokosch. Ancient Germany was divided into many provinces and took its name from germinating so many tribes. "As the pruner cuts off the more luxuriant branches of the tree to

impart a livelier vigor to the remainder, so the inhabitants of this country assist their common parent by the expulsion of a part of their members, lest she should perish by giving sustenance to too numerous an offspring; but in order to obviate the discontent, they cast lots who shall be compelled to migrate. Hence the men of this country made a virtue of necessity, and when driven from their native soil have gained foreign settlements by force of arms." (*Chronicle,* ed. Giles, I, cl.) The idea of " germination " is naturally fanciful, but evidence would point to the same custom with reference to the Vandals, Goths, Lombards and Normans, all of whom the chronicler mentions, as well as to the legend of Hengest and Horsa. In all likelihood William here harks back to an old Germanic tradition still current in England in the twelfth century. As to Hengest, compare Maerlant's lines (quoted from Bosworth, *Origin of the English, German and Scandinavian Languages,* p. 52.)

Ein hiet Engistus een Vriese een Sas
Die vten lande verdruen was.

The theories concerning the German *Umlaut,* the evolution of the High German standard idiom, the essentially aoristic character of the strong preterite, as well as the novel aspect of the optative, are also extremely suggestive and in keeping with the general stimulating atmosphere of the work which, but for its few controversial drawbacks, will prove a real treat to those whom it is intended to reach.—We should like to add to the bibliography, with special application to p. 79, fn., Leon Dominian's *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe,* New York, 1917, which contains very accurate details of the geographical boundaries of the German linguistic territory.

M. Meillet's treatise is not a school manual, but an investigation with a set purpose, like Jespersen's *Progress in Language, With Special Reference to English,* to which indeed we can discover an unexpected dissimilarity. " On n'a pas cherché," we are told in the engagingly written *Avertissement,* " à expliquer tous les faits de la phonétique et de la grammaire, mais seulement à faire ressortir les innovations qui ont donné au groupe germanique un aspect spécial." In other words, the aim of the book is not to show how the Germanic languages can be explained from the Indo-European elements which Comparative Grammar has disclosed, but to gather

proofs of originality on the part of the Germanic dialects. The three chapters comprising the work, one each on Phonetics, Morphology and Vocabulary, seek to bring out the following thesis: Pre-Germanic, composed almost entirely of I.-E. constituents, already contains the germs of a new *system*. Its historical evolution into the various Germanic dialects offers evidence of increased differentiation from the *Ursprache*. German, albeit the most conservative of the groups, nevertheless has a grammar altogether unlike the I.-E. grammar, and a vocabulary penetrated by strange words or by new values of old words. And, where historical circumstances hastened the development, hardly anything remained of the Indo-European *type* of language. Thus, English and Danish, despite the preservation of some features, are linked to Indo-European solely by the fact of genetic provenience; there is but little in them of the original basic qualities.

Telling facts are interestingly massed and co-ordinated to bear on this proposition. And, if the author had purposed a sketch of the simplification of Indo-European in its transition to Germanic, from the rigid synthetic stage to the supple analytic type, or enumerated the more peculiar innovations commonly found in those dialects, his book would be a contribution, not indeed altogether novel in substance, but authoritative in point of view. His *interpretation* of the changes, however, is so strangely motivated that, with a *jeu de mot* on Jespersen, it might be entitled *The Germanic, With Special Reference to Decay in Language*. For, while Meillet, too, operates with the concept of 'tendency,' his active principles of innovation are not conservative and conducive to essential unity, but radical and deteriorative. These passages might well be encountered in the pages of Prokosch, "We very often limit ourselves to ascertaining that at such a stage of Indo-European development a given language will respond with a different condition. But the changes that occur result almost always from large tendencies. These tendencies are active before they become manifest, and continue to exert their influence for a long time after their appearance," (page 2), . . . "for a part at least the tendencies considered continue to act up to the present time" (page 3). But Meillet's tendencies are those of destruction. The ancient morphology—we quote from various parts,— "est détruite"; on account of the recessive, fixed accent "la phrase germanique est violemment mar-

telée" and the final syllables undergo a "mutilation"; all of which "tendaient à ruiner" the Indo-European system, brought about "la dégradation des finales," etc., so that, if one considered the English of to-day and, forgetting its past, tried to demonstrate that it was an Indo-European language, he would not succeed (page 17).

The fallacy of this line of argument is patent. Any book on *Urgermanisch,* cf. Streitberg or Kluge, will yield material for a treatise wherein it can be satisfactorily demonstrated that Germanic has retained sufficient of the Indo-European structure not to be outlawed because of such progressive alterations. "Une prononciation neuve, une grammaire neuve"! Of what modern I.-E. idiom can this not be said? There is in all a general reduction of finals and a simplification of grammar. Germanic has never suppressed the intervocalic consonants even to the extent of French or Portuguese, whereby very often in the latter the Latin words became absolutely unrecognizable. Intensity of initial accent can be found in Celtic where it gave rise to similar reduction of atonic syllables. The vowels of final syllables are affected in Latin and Balto-Slavic. And so on. Is it not merely a question of degree and not of kind?—One receives the impression, moreover, that Meillet is distressed to see the loss of the original eight case-forms, of the dual and of the medial. Granted, then, that the Germanic preserved the dual up to a time when not the Latin, Greek nor Sanscrit possessed it. That to him passes off as "un archaïsme." He laments the fact that Germanic has not kept more distinct the I.-E. categories of the noun-inflection. Yet he seems piqued to discover not only the traces but even extensions of the ablaut types (page 109)! For once, it would seem, M. Meillet's fine linguistic sense has been deflected into unwonted channels and drawn into a *cul de sac.*

It is instructive to see Meillet's conception of the Second Sound Shift as a continuation of the first change of the articulatory type, "reprise partielle de phénomènes de la première mutation" (page 42), because, despite phonological differences, he is in agreement there with some of the views we have studied in Prokosch. The cause of the initial tendency, however, is given here definitely as the influence of a subjugated majority upon a more cultured minority,—the cause of *all* the tendencies of *all* the subsequent changes (pp. 19, 74, etc.). His version of this condition of affairs

is that Germanic was from the Indo-European period spoken by a different non-Aryan population. When conquered by the I.-E. tribe, this inferior but more numerous people adopted the new tongue that was destined to become the Germanic which we know, but retained its own type of articulation. It is impossible to tell from the paucity of the information which M. Meillet vouchsafes how he pictures this racial mixture to have taken place. It is reminiscent of Tomaschek's view, embodied in Feist's first book, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen,* Berlin, 1913, according to which the Pre-Germans, or the ancestors of the Germani, were Indo-Germanized by the culturally superior Celts; the identity of the Germans with the Indo-Germans is to be rejected; Germanic is not the direct descendant of any I.-E. dialect. However, in the only work of Feist which Meillet mentions, *Indogermanen und Germanen,* Halle, 1914, this Celtic theory is recanted in favor of one which holds that the Indo-Germanization of Northern Europe was effected before the Celtic expansion by an obscure I.-E. race that spoke an Italo-Celtic idiom which was accepted by the *Urvolk* for its own. Both Feist and Meillet are nebulous as to prehistoric interpretation. The hypothesis of racial mixture, however, need not be incontinently rejected. A conquered and less civilized majority may determine the phonetic conditions of a new language, as against the semantic contribution of the minority (Wundt, *Elemente der Völkerpsych.,* p. 58); also, in case we imagine the superior Germani to have been the more numerous, change of phonetic tendency may still take place because of the racial contact (Prokosch, *JEGPh,* XVI).

There are but two ways of explaining the *analogous* Armenian, Celtic and Italic consonant mutation or the scarcely accidental expiratory initial accent of Celtic, Italic and Germanic, cf. Hirt, *IF,* IX, 284: acquired characteristics thru racial contact or surviving remnants of Indo-European tendency. The latter would be hard to prove concerning the intensified fixed accent.

The last section of the book, on the Germanic vocabulary, is embarrassingly unconvincing, coming as it does from the pen of an authoritative linguist. According to Meillet, who seeks to find everywhere the magic touch of transmutation, the connection between *zucht* and *ziehen* is no longer felt. "The Germanic words appear isolated and not grouped around roots . . . there are no more families of words comprising at once nouns and verbs freely

grouped about the same root" (page 199). What would he call *winden, Gewinde, Windung, Windel, windig, Gewand, Wandel, wandeln, wandelbar, wandern, Wanderung, Wanderschaft, überwinden, wenden, gewandt, Wende, (Braten)wender, auswendig, Notwendigkeit,* etc., etc? And how many languages could stand the following rigid test, as a condition *sine qua non* of retaining membership in the Indo-European community, "Si par hasard on manquait de toute donnée traditionnelle sur le vocabulaire germanique, on serait bien embarrassé pour expliquer même les plus archaïques des textes germaniques en s'aidant seulement d'un dictionnaire étymologique des anciennes langues indo-européennes" (page 206).

We are obliged to conclude that Professor Meillet's theory to the effect that the specifically Germanic innovations spell such decisive deterioration as will effectually read their dialects out of the Indo-European system of languages, has for the nonce left him face to face with an extremely disconcerting *impasse.*

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The 'Ad Deum Vadit' of Jean Gerson. Published by DAVID HOBART CARNAHAN, from the manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Fr. 24841. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. III, No. 1). Urbana, 1917. Pp. 155.

Jean Gerson, the "Doctor Christianissimus," is a mere name to most students of French literature. His sermons, perhaps the most remarkable preached in France in the later Middle Ages, are accessible only in rare and unsatisfactory editions. A case in point is the *Ad Deum Vadit,* his sermon on the Passion, preached before the French court in 1402. Hitherto we have had a bad Old French text of 1507, an inaccurate Latin translation of 1515 (thrice reprinted), and an inadequate modern French version of 1874. Professor Carnahan consequently deserves our gratitude for his careful edition of the sermon. It is now easy to form an idea of Gerson from one of his most typical discourses. The reader who does so feels that the *Ad Deum Vadit* is the utterance of a great soul. It has power and life. Despite *longueurs* and

artificialities, the profoundly religious spirit pervading it leaves a deep impression.

Professor Carnahan's introduction gives an account of Gerson's life and works, particularly the *Ad Deum Vadit.* Some interesting but hardly convincing suggestions are made (pp. 16 f.), as to Gerson's reasons for being interested in Saint Joseph, the hero of his *Josephina,* a narrative in Latin verse. There is a painstaking analysis of the characteristics of Gerson's style;[1] one misses a systematic treatment of the language of the sermon.

The text is a painstaking reproduction of the contents of MS. 24,841 (A). Significant variants are noted from three other MSS. of the Bibliothèque nationale (*fonds français*), 990 (B), 448 (C), and 19,397 (D). Erroneous readings of A are occasionally corrected from the other MSS. The choice of A seems justifiable; more detailed discussion of its differences from the other MSS., however, would have been welcome. Such a situation as that in l. 1257: A *classelier* (<**clavicellarius,* "turnkey"); B *clersselier;* C *clavier;* D *chancelier,* illustrates the merits of A. A also tends to preserve certain traces of Old Franch declension which disappear in the other MSS., cf. ll. 1457, 1567, 2226.

In other cases, however, the readings of A seem less satisfactory. L. 412 a line omitted in A because of the repetition of the word *compassion* is relegated to the notes; it deserves a place in the text. Other errors, likewise due to homoeoteleuton, escape correction in ll. 829 and 1936. A, in general, tends to abridge; the words rejected in ll. 831 and 1047 are further cases in point. In l. 1367 the *loyé* of B or *lié, lyé* of C, D, is preferable to the *logié* of A (cf. John, xviii, 24). The strangely discordant variants in l. 725, A: *Anne, qui estoit ou lieu de Cayphe;* B (omitted); C *estoit serouge de;* D *estoit sire de,* and in l. 1108 A: *Anne, qui est ou lieu de Cayphe;* B C *estoit serorge;* D *estoit compagnon,* inclines one to think Gerson may have written *sire* (as in D, l. 725), or some other form of the same word,[2] a correct translation of the *socer* of John, xviii, 13.

[1] To the plays on words listed on p. 26 should be added ll. 95-96: *Au deable . . . Adieu;* and ll. 1253-4: *qui paravant pecha, et depuis prescha.*

[2] Cf. Körting, § 8835, and Godefroy (*suire,* 2), whose quotation from Greban's *Passion* (l. 19335), referring to *Anne, son suire,* is interesting. It is worthy of note that the three most important MSS. of Greban read, not *suire,* but *sire.*

The punctuation is occasionally open to criticism. Thus l. 546, omit comma between *truans* and *bourreaux;* l. 760 should read: *Approuchez cy! Ce n'est il pas! C'est il!* ll. 970-1: *Qui les encerchera? Qui ne les doubtera?;* l. 1005, comma after *goufres;* l. 1470: *A Dieu s'en va Jesus; ycy. . . .*

The glossary is in general adequate. There are slight slips now and then. *Garçonnaille,* "crowd of flunkies," should be "ruffians"; *nonpourquant,* "notwithstanding, however," should be "nevertheless, although"; *pourmainement,* "journey," should be "leading, conducting"; *vorage,* "voracious," should be "abyss." The forms cited under *finir* should be listed under *finer; raissoit* (2798), assigned to *rayer* "to radiate," is really derived from *raissir* (cf. Godefroy, *reissir*). *Estendue,* "stretching" (l. 2661), is omitted, *inter alia.*

Professor Carnahan has given us a useful edition of an interesting sermon. We have comparatively few adequate editions of prose texts of the fifteenth century, the period of transition from Old French to Modern French. Consequently, it is to be hoped that he and other American scholars will edit other unpublished works of the time of Froissart and Commynes, of Christine de Pisan and Jeanne d'Arc.

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Friedrich Rückert als Lyriker der Befreiungskriege. By H. W. Church, Ph. D. G. E. Stechert & Company, New York, 1916.

In the 'Vorwort' of his dissertation Dr. Church states the aim, or rather aims, of his study. He would show Rückert's development as a man and as a poet of liberty lyrics during the wars of liberation; give the material in question in a clearer and more readable form than ever before; cast a glance upon the soul of the German people of a century ago; sketch the talents of the better-known poets of freedom, and discuss, with the help of his own confessions and those of his friends and acquaintances, as well as with the aid of a brief study of his war lyrics, Rückert's relation to life in general and his fatherland in particular. On the whole, quite an ambitious scheme for a doctor's thesis of about one hun-

dred pages. The examination included 74 sonnets and 153 other poems.

An introduction of two parts treats "die Entwickelung einer poetischen Volksdichtung" and "Rückerts Persönlichkeit." Being of a passive and retiring disposition, Rückert was unable to embody his ideas and feelings on the war in lyrics that were as effective as Arndt's, Körner's, or Schenckendorf's. He seems to have cared more for poetry and literary fame than to help shape the course of events.

In Chapter II, "die Entstehung von Rückerts Freiheitslyrik," there appear, in the first place, the views of some of Rückert's contemporaries as to why he did not take an active part in politics and the war. Some accused him of cowardice; others called him "the most consistent cosmopolite." A study of Rückert's youth and early manhood, very helpful for a proper understanding of his war attitude, then follows. Quite early in life he had consecrated himself almost exclusively to literature and poetry, showing but little interest in the war before the spring and summer of 1813. A change came over him at that time. I am not convinced that the one-time strained relation between father and son had much to do with it. Questions of the day are bound to exert their influence even upon men like Rückert. At this time his first liberty lyrics, seven in all, seem to have been written, doing their bit doubtless for the war of 1813-14; the *Deutsche Gedichte,* appearing in print in 1814, came in time for the war of 1815; the *Kranz der Zeit,* long in the making, was, however, not publisht until 1817. Rückert's liberty lyrics could, therefore, not have aroused much war spirit in the hearts of the men of his day. He doubted, in fact, whether political lyrics filled a people with enthusiasm for war; and this fact may explain, in part at least, why he actually prevented the publication of some of his lyrics in time to have any influence. At all times he was more anxious about his name as a poet than to be of patriotic service. There is no reason whatever, however, to question the genuineness of his patriotism.

The rest of the thesis, Chapter III, "Stoffliches," Chapter IV, "Stilistisches," Chapter V, "Metrisches," is an examination of the artistic and practical value of Rückert's lyrics of freedom as war poems. Under this head Dr. Church includes merely, besides the six poems of the 'Flugschrift' of 1813, *Das Lied des fränki-*

schen Jägers, *Deutsche Gedichte,* and *Der Einzug der tapferen Preussen.* Statistics show that by far the greater number of these lyrics are biographical or anecdotical. Dr. Church denies them originality of ideas, or of poetic execution. Being more serious, and serving, in a large measure, as direct calls to arms, the *Geharnischte Sonette* alone form an exception. In his other poems, Rückert merely drifted comfortably with the current of the times. The chapter on Style contains many statistics; the same is true of the chapter on versification. Tabulations are often of markt usefulness; and yet, with the realization of the value of time and of the brevity of life, one begins to wonder. The concluding chapter serves the author as a summing-up, and contains much of the introduction almost word for word.

Of the 'Anhang,' containing 32 pages, the section on "Damalige Rezensionen der Deutschen Gedichte" gives an excellent idea of the reception of Rückert's poems at the time of their publication. Judging from these words of testimony alone, one wonders why Dr. Church could not come to a more favorable view of the excellence of Rückert's war lyrics. Only a few of them, however, seem to stand the test.

In choosing to write his thesis in German, Dr. Church probably did an unwise thing. It robbed him of freedom of composition, and allowed errors of word and phrase to creep in, of which he, of course, would not have been guilty, had he written in English. His work is not the finisht product that it might have been. And yet it is an excellent bit of workmanship, containing but few misprints and combining, with well-arranged material, an apparatus of notes, tables, and appendix, that is above criticism. The author has been thoro in method, careful and diligent in his work. And altho he may have taken the war lyric in too limited a sense, one is nevertheless forced to concede that Rückert has been put approximately where he belongs among the poets of liberation.

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A Memorial Volume to Shakespeare and Harvey. Edited by A. C. Judson, J. T. Patterson, J. F. Royster. University of Texas Bulletin, Jan. 1, 1917.

Volumes of this sort, of which the year 1916 produced many, probably best justify themselves when they serve as exchanges for uttering varieties of quasi-religious experience. The Texas book very happily strikes this note. Its contributors, who include some most distinguished names, appear to have made the Tercentenary the occasion of an honest self-examination regarding their personal reaction to the phenomenon 'Shakespeare'. The published results, fairly indicative of the breadth and depth of the subject, should suggest a like profitable exercise on the part of other readers.

Professor Manly is incited to piece together out of the myriad hints in the plays a brilliant sketch of their maker's personality—"Shakespeare Himself". Professor Barrett Wendell, again rereading the entire canon in the solemnity of the three hundredth anniversary, attempts to measure anew the intellectual "Growth of Shakespeare"—employing as his special milestones the two plays of *Richard III* and *Macbeth,* so like in general theme, so dissimilar in power and dramatic effect. Judge R. L. Batts in "Shakespeare, Purveyor to the Public" speaks with elegance of a Shakespeare unsophisticated by academic study. Professor Bright adds a notable discussion of "Rhythmic Elements in English, with Illustrations from Shakespeare," making his new study of the poet the means of a return to his well known investigations into the nature of English prosody. Professor Baskervill, on the basis of *Much Ado About Nothing,* distinguishes between two antagonistic Elizabethan ideals of wit; while Professor H. D. Gray writes of "Shakespeare's Conception of Humor as Exemplified in Falstaff." In "Shakespeare and the New Stagecraft," Mr. W. L. Sowers has brought together some rather inaccessible information regarding the most important recent producers of Shakespeare: Craig, Reinhardt, Barker and others.

The other essays are of somewhat less general appeal. Professor R. A. Law discusses the 'Dying Lament,' a feature in certain ballads old and new, and in related plays. Mr. E. M. Clark presents some little known facts concerning Theobald's early services to Shakespeare in his periodical, *The Censor of Great Britain,* two hundred years ago (1715-1717). Professor E. W. Fay surprisingly

takes advantage of the Shakespearean opportunity to dilate upon "The Stratulax Scenes in Plautus' *Truculentus*"; and the last two papers offer a somewhat perfunctory homage to Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood.

The concluding pages of the volume, which record the varied entertainments of the five-day Shakespeare fête at Austin, Apr. 22-26, 1916, contain some very pleasant reading. They serve, however, to remind us sadly how little of the inspiration of such an occasion can ever receive the permanence of print. One may regret also, even in these days of war-economies, that the book itself could not be published in a more durable and dignified form and could not be better printed. An academic publication of two hundred pages should not be marred by a score of grievous misprints; nor should it have been possible to read on page 149, concerning Reinhardt: "The great success of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1905 encouraged him to make Shakespeare prominent in the repertory of the Deutsches Theater," and to read on page 146, concerning the same producer and theatre: "Ever since the remarkable success of his *A Midsummer Night's Dream* there in 1911, Shakespeare has had an important place in the bills of the theatre."

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CORRESPONDENCE

HEIDENRÖSLEIN

The *Heidenröslein*-question, on which controversy has not ceased since 1870, may not yet be closed, but on one point, at least, there is almost complete agreement: there must have been a comparatively early form of *Heidenröslein*. The song in Paul van der Aelst's collection of 1602 and the earlier single stanza preserved in Regnart and Lechner's Song book of 1586 point to this. Yet, as Dunger (*Zeitschrift f. d. d. Unterricht*, IV, 338 ff.) pointed out, such a song has nowhere been found actually alive in popular tradition.

It may be of interest therefore to draw attention to certain inconspicuous traces of the *Heidenröslein*-song, suggestive, at least, of the

song's haunting refrain. These traces may have been left by the above-named song or stanza, or they may be considered as added evidence of the existence of a popular *Heidenröslein.*

Embedded in the heavily jocular Latin of a satirical treatise on music written by Erasmus Sartorius, *cantor Hamburgensis* (ca. 1575-1637) or by the Rostock professor Petrus Lauremberg (1585-1639)[1] occur the opening lines of some German drinking-songs: "Audissetis hîc, si vobis licuisset esse praesentibus, egregias illas bibaculorum letanias; Solennes illos potantium Psalmos, Günstiger Herr und Freund / halt mirs vor übel nicht / dies Gläszlein Ich dir bringen thue / so viel darinnen ist / Runda, runda, runda dinella &c: Tum item ejusdem argumenti etiam illud: Och Naber ick wünsch jock en gojen Dach / Rösken an juw Hödekin / Ick bring juw dyth so yth wesen mach / Rösken roth / Rösken roth an juwen Hodt / were ydt uth / ydt were wol godt./ Praeterea; Ich fuhr mich über Rhein: / : auff einem Lilien-Blade / dat wahr mein Schepe: / : Schepe: / : Schepekin. Nec non & hoc: Ich fuhr mich einmal zu Brunschwig aus / da dürstet mich also sehre / we he he / Die Weinlein die wir giessen / die sol man trincken / Die Brünlein die da fliessen / die sollen schwincken; Unnd wer ein stetten Buhlen hat / den sol er wincken." (p. 56.)

If a very homely tone and a rather debased form, dialect at that, count among the earmarks of the genuine *Volkslied,* one might suggest that the above-quoted lines, beginning: *Och Naber ick wünsch . . .* , are those of a *Volkslied.* And the other songs quoted by Lauremberg, together with their Latin context, are certainly of a nature to confirm this impression.

Lauremberg's treatise appeared in a third edition in 1642, as: *Musomachia, id est Bellum musicale. Ante quinque lustra belligeratum in gratiam Er: Sar; nunc denuò institutum à primo ejus auctore Petro Laurembergio professore academico.* [Rostochii] Richelianis arma suppeditantibus à Johanne Hallervordio toti orbi indictum, 1642. There are copies in the Royal Library of Berlin (Mus. H 2339) and in the Library of Congress, Washington. (ML 63. S 17.) The *Catalogue of Early Books on Music* in the Library of Congress (Washington, 1913) states (on the authority of Eitner's *Quellenlexikon,* as Mr. Sonneck, of the Music Division, informs

[1] Not to be confused with his younger brother, the satirist Johann Lauremberg.

me) that the first edition appeared in 1622 at Hamburg, Henr. Carstens. Its title was: "*Erasmi Sartori . . . Belligerasmus, id est Historia belli exorti in regno musico.*" I have not seen a copy of this edition.[1a]

Another trace of the *Röslein*-refrain is contained in one of the few extant songs of Paulus Melissus, which were appended to Zinkgref's unauthorized edition of Opitz, Strassburg, 1624. The song in question is the freshest of the five and, as Erich Schmidt remarks in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, s. v.* Zinkgref, certainly no dry closet-poetry, although the four others distinctly smell of the lamp. It seems quite surprising that thus far little or no attention should have been given to this poem, easily accessible in Braune's reprint, *Neudrucke,* XV.

It may be pointed out, finally, that Cyrilla, in Gryphius' *Horribilicribrifax,* bruised and "spitting blood" after her drubbing, whimsically exclaims: "Dar ist sen[2] in dem Walde ein Röslein roth, das hat sen geschaffen der liebe Gott."

"Das Heidenröslein ist kein Volkslied, sondern ein volksmässig empfundenes Künstlerwerk," declares Max Morris, in *Der Junge Goethe,* VI, 171. This seems true enough. *Das Röslein brechen* appears to have had a quite definite meaning in the sixteenth century,[3] and the elaborate play of fancy around an undoubtedly erotic

[1a] After this note had gone to press, further information on the *Musomachia* turned up unexpectedly. In Bolte's edition of Andrea Guarna's *Bellum Grammaticale* and its imitations (*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica,* XLIII (1908), Introd., p. 90) three editions are described, dated resp. 1622, 1639 and 1642. Fétis (*Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*) refers to editions dated 1626 and 1636. The text of the first edition, which Bolte reproduces, but not in connection with the point raised here, is slightly different in spelling and does not contain the passage beginning with *We he he . . .* , which was first added in the edition of 1639. The question of authorship is left undecided.

[2] *Sen,* originally *sein,* is here a meaningless expletive.

[3] And even earlier. Compare for example the following lines from a MS. dated 1431, and published in J. J. Eschenburg's *Denkmäler altdeutscher Dichtkunst,* Bremen, 1799, pp. 246 f., and reprinted in v. d. Hagen's *Gesammtabenteuer* II, 325:

> doch so moste ik to ju gan,
> und vrundliken mid ju kosen,
> und breken mid ju de rosen
> uppe der Minnen velde.

It is an interesting coincidence that this poem, like the *Rösken roth* lines above quoted, is in the Low German dialect. Compare further Val. Schumann's *Nachtbüchlein* (Bibliothek des Litt. Vereins, Bd. 197) p. 123, 20: das ich die bluome der liebe nit wil brechen, so lang biss uns gott ehlich zusammen hilft. For the meaning of the line *Ich fuhr mich über Rhein,* which follows the *Rösken roth* in Lauremberg's text, see the *Nachtbüchlein,* p. 432, *s. v.* Rhein, and Martin Montanus, *Gartengesellschaft* (Bibl. Litt. Ver. Bd. 217), pp. 352, 16; 402, 29. W. K.

motive—this was, of course, Goethe's conception of it—points to a professional servant of the Muse. Yet the alliterative *Röslein rot,* and its repetition, especially striking in Lauremberg's quotation, would seem more of the people, and Herder was right in finding this expression childlike, even though the word cannot possibly apply to the poem as a whole. Reference to it, in a manifestly popular form, in Lauremberg's treatise (1622; 1639; 1642), in the least artificial of Melissus' "Five Poems" (1624) and in the text of a farce (1663) is of some interest as tracing its path during the seventeenth century and suggests that, even if the poem won immortality as a *Kunstlied,* some of its early echoes may be caught in the street and on the stage as well as in the study.

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PETER LAUREMBERG AND FISCHART

Dr. Gillet kindly showed me the above notes and suggested that I add a remark on the last song fragment in his very interesting quotation from Peter Lauremberg, "we he he, Die Weinlein die wir giessen . . . den sol er wincken."

In *all* of the other very numerous sources, from early in the sixteenth century on, this text, consisting properly of only the one stanza, begins:

"Die brünnlein die da fliessen
die sol man trincken,
und wer ein steten bulen hat
der sol im wincken. . . ."

except that in Fischart's *Gargantua*[1] it runs as follows:

"(He, he,) die Weinlein die wir giessen,
die soll man trincken,
die Brönnlein die da fliessen,
die sollen schwincken,
Vnnd wer ein stäten Bulen hat,
der soll jhm wincken;
vnnd wincken mit den Augen,
vnnd tretten auff den Fuss,
Es ist ein harter Orden,
der seinen Bulen meiden muss."

I have already expressed the opinion[2] that Fischart is respon-

[1] Reprint by Alsleben (*Neudrucke,* Halle), p. 137. Cf. also *PBB.* XXXV, 447.

[2] *PBB.* XXXV, 404.

sible for the variants of his text, making the stanza suit his purpose by recommending wine rather than water (through the invention of two new lines riming with the beginning of the common version). My feeling that Lauremberg borrowed this part of his quotation from Fischart seems to be confirmed by the former's words, "egregias illas *bibaculorum letanias,*" since it is in the famous "Truncken Litanei" (*Gargantua,* Ch. 8) that we find Fischart's own version of the song. Peter Lauremberg's name may be added, then, to the small list of writers of the seventeenth century who borrowed, to a slight degree at least, from Fischart.[3]

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FROISSART'S *Le Dittié de la Flour de la Margherite*

According to Froissart, the tears shed by Herés at the tomb of her lover Cephëys produced the daisy:

Une pucelle ama tant son ami,
Ce fu Herés qui tamaint mal souffri
Pour bien amer loyalment Cephëy,
Que les larmes que la belle espandi
  Sus la verdure,
Ou son ami on ot ensepveli,
Tant y ploura, dolousa et gemi
Que la terre les larmes recueilli,
Pité en ot, encontre elles s'ouvri.
Et Jupiter, qui ceste amour senti,
Par le pooir de Phebus les nouri,
En belles flours toutes les converti
  D'otel nature,
Comme celle est que j'aim d'entente pure
Et amerai tous jours quoi que j'endure.[1]

Referring to the passage cited above, Wiese says:[2] "Nous n'avons pu retrouver ou identifier l'épisode auquel fait allusion Froissart."

The purpose of this note is to call attention to the fact that the legend of Cephëys and Herés related by Froissart bears a very striking resemblance to the myth of Adonis and Aphrodite. In describing Aphrodite's grief after the death of Adonis, who had been killed by a wild boar, Bion says:[3] "The Paphian weeps and Adonis bleeds, drop for drop, and the blood and the tears become

[3] *PBB.* XXXVII, 272, note.

[1] See *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français,* par Karl Bartsch. Onzième édition entièrement revue et corrigée par Leo Wiese, Leipzig, 1913, 87a, 68-82.

[2] See *op. cit.,* p. 518.

[3] See Bion I, 64 ff., translated by Edmonds, *The Greek Bucolic Poets,* p. 391.

flowers upon the ground. Of the blood[4] comes the rose,[5] and of the tears the wind-flower." It will be observed that both Herés and Aphrodite weep over a dead lover and that the tears shed[6] in each case are changed into flowers.

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Rose IN SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

Readers of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* have noted that the word "rose" appears frequently, and with some apparent symbolism, in the group addressed to a young man. In the first sonnet of the series "rose" is italicized:—

> That thereby beauty's *Rose* might never die.

Sonnet 109 concludes:—

> For nothing this wide Universe I call,
> Save thou my Rose, in it thou art my all.

That Shakespeare should have characterized his friend only tritely and sentimentally is incredible; the "rose" is not an epithet thoughtlessly employed in a series of impassioned sonnets, but a word of some hidden meaning.

In Mr. Alden's *Variorum* of the *Sonnets,* he calls attention to the fact that "rose" is used twelve times, and he cites various inconclusive suggestions about the symbolism of the word. Since many guesses have been made, one more may not be wholly preposterous. Let us assume that the first series of sonnets was addressed to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. How would Elizabethan Shakespeare have pronounced *Wriothesley?* What would *Rōths-ley* become on the lips of a man who disliked harsh, throaty sounds,—a man who enjoyed plays upon words, symbolisms, and figurative epithets? Would it not, perhaps, have been softened, by constant repetition, to *Rōse-ly?* Any one who experiments in pronouncing the name will find some evidence to help support this derivation of "rose."

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[4] See Bédier, *Les Légendes Épiques,* IV, 416: A propos des fleurs vermeilles nées du sang de Vivien:

> Encore le voient li palerin assis
> Qui a Saint Gile ont lor chemins tornez.

(*La Chevalerie Vivien,* edited by A. Terracher, l. 1789.)

[5] The blood of Adonis produced the anemone, according to Ovid, *Met.* 10, 735.

[6] The Heliades were so afflicted at the death of their brother Phaëthon that they were changed into poplars and their tears into amber. (Ovid, *Met.,* 2, 340; *Hygin., fab.,* 154.)

Note on the Hachette Rousseau

Another needless error in the Hachette edition of Rousseau's works calls for correction, since this most available edition is so widely used. In the *Lettre à d'Alembert* (I, 215), Rousseau discusses the *Misanthrope* of Molière; in a footnote he adds:

"Ajoutons *le Marchand de Londres,* pièce admirable, et dont la morale va plus directement au but qu'aucune pièce françoise que je connoisse."

The editor comments in this wise:

"Le titre de cette pièce en anglois est *Arden-Feversham.* Son auteur est le célèbre Lillo, dont Diderot s'est fait l'apologiste et l'imitateur."

There is here evident a confusion of two entirely distinct works of Lillo, the English title of the play praised by Rousseau being *The London Merchant.* The editor's error is the more disconcerting to the student of Diderot, in that he fails to find mention of Lillo's *Arden-Feversham* in Prof. Cru's admirable *Diderot and English Thought,* in which emphasis is correctly placed upon *The London Merchant.*

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Beowulf 62, Once More

In a note to ll. 1186-7 in the Chambers-Wyatt edition of the *Beowulf,* the editor, after citing Holthausen's quotation of the passage in the *Germania,* where Tacitus records the special regard in which a sister's son was held, objects that Hrothulf is the son not of Hrothgar's sister but of his brother, Halga. Evidently he does not regard Miss Clarke's hypothesis, that the mother of Hrothulf was Hrothgar's sister, as worthy of notice, even for refutation. Yet that hypothesis accords wel with the relations existing between Hrothgar and Hrothulf in the poem, and with Wealhtheow's evident anxiety for the future of her own children. I shoud not, however, hav recalled a theory which seems to hav won no support, wer it not that in a modest attempt of my own (*Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXVIII, 149 ff.) to support that theory I had omitted one consideration, which I wish here to present. It is this: If, in the story as it came to the hands of the *Beowulf* poet, or in a text of the poem erlier than that we hav, an incestuous origin was indicated for Hrothulf at l. 62, the desire to avoid such a blot on the scutcheon

of the Scyldings might in itself account for the mutilation of the passage—either consciously by some intermediate pious scribe, or in consequence of obscurity in the original text arising from the poet's desire to gloss over an objectionable feature of the story. Evidence is not altogether wanting that the material of the *Beowulf* has been expurgated, as Sir Gilbert Murray says the *Iliad* was, in accordance with later standards of decency and morality. The poet, it wil be rememberd, blinks this same feature of primitiv tradition in l. 881, where Sigemund and Fitela ar described simply as uncle and nefew.

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BRIEF MENTION

Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800. By Eleanor N. Adams (Yale Studies in English, LV, Yale University Press, 1917). In the *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association of America* XXIX (1914), 135-151, Professor Tucker Brooke surveyed "The Renascence of Germanic Studies in England, 1559-1689," and in an added note informed the reader that, after his article had been committed to the press, he had learned that Miss Adams "has been engaged for several years" on the study of the same subject, and that her monograph will contain a fuller treatment of "a number of the matters alluded to" in his paragraphs. This article is not recorded in Miss Adams's Bibliography (p. 201), apparently because of the defined character of that list, nor is it mentioned in the Preface of her study; and this deprives the reader of a bit of assistance to which he has a normal right.

As limits of his sketch Professor Brooke took the year 1559, when Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and the publication of Hickes's *Institutiones Grammaticae,* 1689. The publication of *A Testimonie of Antiquitie,* 1566, gives Miss Adams her first titular date, and the end of the eighteenth century is sufficiently specific to mark the termination of Hickes's dominant influence in matters and methods philological, altho she has named as her selected limit "the establishment of the first professorship of the language in an English university, 1795,"—the Rawlinson professorship of Oxford (p. 108 f.), but this was 'established' some forty years earlier than the 'election' of the first professor in 1795 (Petherham, pp. 105 f., 116). Miss Adams traces eight grammars of old English in the eighteenth century, all based on Hickes, who may be said, therefore, to be "responsible for both the faults and the merits of all eighteenth century Old English scholarship" (p. 92). More important than the fixing of a lower date for the

purpose of a partial survey is the recognition of the true beginning of this history. Miss Adams is correct in observing that since the "awakened interest in Old English literature was, in its beginnings, antiquarian and controversial," . . . "and since, after the definite need of old records for controversial purposes ceased, antiquarian enthusiasm nurtured 'Saxon' learning for several generations, we may properly begin the account of Old English scholarship with the book-collectors, Leland and Bale." John Leland, therefore, figures potentially, as he should, in 'the first row of the rubric,' altho the date of his royal commission, 1533, is not, as it might appropriately have been, placed in titular prominence. Now Bale was "famylyarlye acquaynted wyth" Leland; and he was, in turn, "encouraged and probably employed" by Parker in collecting books "with the instinct of the antiquary and the zeal of the reformer,"—a succession of unbroken first links in the chain of agents in the new enterprise. Moreover, Bale reports that Leland labored to understand the "Saxonyshe" tongue, and he himself, one may say, laid the foundation of the *Dictionary of National Biography;* and both pioneers surpassed Parker in one and another division of 'antiquarian' scholarship relating to England. The beginning of foreign, or continental, stimulus is not to be overlooked at this point. The enthusiasm of Parker and of his admirable associates, such as John Joscelyn (the archbishop's skilful secretary), William Lambard, and John Fox, was, as is highly probable, stimulated by Matthias Flacius (Illyricus), a Lutheran reformer, who in a letter from Jena, in May, 1561, urged Parker "to collect historical manuscripts for ecclesiastical purposes, and to place in safe-keeping in large libraries such books in private hands or remote places as might illustrate 'the obscured Truth of the Church'" (pp. 14, 33; Brooke, 136).

There is an interlocking of interests in this turning back to a long neglected period of the national life. The movement was of importance to the theologian's dogmatic controversy. The reformers turned to Anglo-Saxon sermons, liturgy, and ecclesiastic canons "to justify, by historical documents, their attitude towards the sacrament, the secular privileges of the clergy, and the use of Scriptures in the vernacular" (p. 14). The publication of texts for purposes of doctrinal argument led gradually to an interest in other writings of the early period, and the Reformation thus gave birth to a peculiarly native Renaissance relating to the various reaches of English philology: language, literature, history, laws, manners and customs, education, the knowledge of science, in short, all that pertains to the social, intellectual and spiritual, political and national life of a period.

For a long time some of the divisions of English philology received scant attention or were entirely neglected; none were early brought to a high state of advancement; but no philologist in a wide

or in a restricted sense of his science, can afford to be indifferent to the history of the first two and a half centuries of these studies, however much he may be inclined to regard the subsequent development of knowledge as being more immediately his concern in attaining to a vital and productive contact with progressive scholarship. The advantages of a thoroly historic method of study and investigation are so various and so unfailingly profitable that one has misgivings in making even temporary concessions to the cutting short of its beginnings the history of any subject. The history of 'Old English scholarship' is so close and vital a succession of movements, so organic a whole, that it should never be decapitated. To recapture all the thought and purpose reflected in the experiences and efforts of men like Leland, Bale, Parker, and many others onward to Hickes in laying the foundation of the historic study of English, will approve itself in the reward of valuable lessons in overcoming difficulties, in persistence of effort to attain worthy ends, and especially in the rise and progress of a department of knowledge.

This monograph is the result of a prolonged examination of books and records and it is to be heartily welcomed for its documentary accuracy. It will also profit many by creating an interest in the too much neglected books of Michel and Petheram, and it may even lead someone to undertake to revise and bring down to the present Wülker's *Grundriss,* which should be planned to include the history of the technically linguistic side of the subject. Miss Adams has excluded from her program an inviting subject for another monograph. "I do not attempt," she writes, "to estimate the scholarship of that time as compared with ours of today." The practical and descriptive grammar was at that time slavishly dependent on Latin, and before the discovery of the Indo-European relationship of languages it was possible to conjecture in all seriousness with Verstegan (1605) that Anglo-Saxon may have been the language spoken by Adam and Eve.

Miss Adams has regard to academic limits of her subject, the publication of the first book and the founding of the first professorship, and this leads one into a two-fold reflection. At one time a President of Yale University grouped Anglo-Saxon with Quaternions (I have never been able to understand his grievance against this department of the calculus) and consigned both to the limbo of intellectual exotics. (*The Princeton Review* for Sept., 1883, p. 127; see also *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Association of America* XVIII, p. xlv). Today, under the admirable leadership of Professor Cook, Yale University is a center of the most advanced and diligent study of Anglo-Saxon. Conversely, the University of Cambridge, of which Parker was twice Vice-Chancellor, and which has played a great national rôle in the promotion of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, has just now instituted an 'English Language and

Literature Tripos,' from which Anglo-Saxon is officially excluded. It is a victory won by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, and it carries its own comment. *The New Statesman* for May 26, 1917, contains a report of the matter by a Solomon Eagle, whose attempted flight into the region of wisdom is obviously sheer impertinence. Regrettably it has not been possible as yet to obtain the 'leaflet literature' pertaining to the institution of this Tripos.

J. W. B.

Defoe: How to Know Him. By W. P. Trent (Bobbs Merrill Co., 1917), suggests the question: What did Defoe write that is still of such concern to the general reader as to warrant the publication of the book designed to teach that reader "How to Know Him"? Into his book Professor Trent has put some of the results of a decade of research into the life and writings of Defoe. The book is neither designed for, nor meets the needs of, specialists; on the other hand it is doubtful whether it will attract those readers for whom Defoe is the author of *Robinson Crusoe* and who have no time for minute points of biography regarding the miscellaneous activities in business, politics and literature of a writer of two centuries since. No amount of painstaking scholarly work can revitalize the record of lawsuits and spy-work and the publication of ephemeral pamphlets, interspersed though the record be with many exclamations upon the extraordinary fecundity of the writer. Fecund Defoe certainly was; but did his productivity result in much that it behooves the general reader to know? I think not. *Robinson Crusoe,* and perhaps one or two other novels and the *Journal of the Plague Year,* and possibly *The True-Born Englishman* and *Mrs. Veal;* but these books scarcely require exegesis. As for the rest, the scores and scores of books, pamphlets, and articles on party politics, and "the state of England question," and "the complete English Trader" and the like—they are dead, utterly dead, save as here and there they have regained a shadowy existence in the mind of some enthusiastic specialist. The tastefully selected samples of Defoe's writings that are included in Professor Trent's volume will but serve in the main to confirm this impression. Not that one wishes to undervalue long years of labor; on the contrary the world of English scholars follows with interest the steps of Professor Trent's investigations and looks forward to the authoritative study that will crown his work. But in judging a volume like the present it is necessary to keep in mind the class of readers for whom it is intended. It would be a pity if, coming first upon this *Defoe,* the reader of mere average interest in things literary should be repelled from acquiring and studying other more truly popular volumes in the same series.

S. C. C.

More than any one else in his time Wordsworth expressed in vigorous prose and noble verse the ideals for which England was fighting in the Napoleonic wars, held up to execration the commercialism and corruption of selfish interests, and laid upon his countrymen the sacred duty of hope and faith in the triumph of right over might. It is its appositeness to present conditions that has led Dr. A. V. Dicey to a critical examination of Wordsworth's political tenets in an essay entitled *The Statesmanship of Wordsworth* (Oxford University Press, 1917), and to apply them for reproof, exhortation, and encouragement. The essential elements of Wordsworth's statesmanship are his faith in the triumph of righteousness, his intense love for the independence of truly national states, his ardent English patriotism, his reprobation of any state's possessing irrestible power so as to menace other states, and his conviction that France, because she sought such power, should be crushed before peace should be considered. His statesmanship is based on the principle of nationalism—and in this he was considerably in advance of his time—a principle "which during at least fifty years of the nineteenth century (1820-70) governed or told upon the foreign policy of every European country." Dr. Dicey finds the sources for this doctrine chiefly in the tract on the Convention of Cintra but also to a less extent in the *Prelude* and the sonnets.

In considering the question of Wordsworth's alleged apostacy Dr. Dicey points out that Wordsworth never did desert the Whigs for the simple reason that he never belonged to their party, and that he disapproved of them because he believed them to be disloyal. That he did not become indifferent to his doctrine of nationalism would seem to be borne out by his sonnet, *Forgive, illustrious Country* (1837), and less definitely and convincingly by John Stuart Mill's enthusiastic letter of 1831, when Mill found the poet keenly interested in all matters political and poetical. This is a thin, trickling stream we have in these later years as compared with the "pomp of waters unwithstood" that poured through his earlier poetry and prose. It is also an excuse rather than a defence that Dr. Dicey puts forward in the matter of Wordsworth's opposition to the Reform Act and the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829, when he holds that the poet feared for England the evil consequences that came to France through the Revolution. The hopes of the youthful reformer have in this respect at least given way to the fears of the reactionary old man. On the whole, however, Dr. Dicey's essay is not only an interesting tract for the times but also an illuminating discussion of Wordsworth's political message to the world. J. W. T.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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GALAHAD, NASCIEN, AND SOME OTHER NAMES IN THE GRAIL ROMANCES

(1) *Galahad*

The name of the famous Grail Winner, which under the influence of Malory and, above all, Tennyson, has become standardized throughout the English-speaking world as "Galahad," appears generally as "Galaad" in the MSS. of the Old French prose romance, *Queste del Saint Graal,* whose author invented the character, and in the other medieval romances of the Grail cycle. Now, "Galaad," as was, of course, recognized long ago, is the equivalent, in the Vulgate, of the "Gilead" of our Modern English versions. But why should the author of the *Queste* have hit upon this name as the name of his new Grail Winner, who was to supplant the older Grail Winner, Perceval? Strange to say, there has been little comment on this subject, owing to the fact, no doubt, that Arthurian scholars have generally accepted the conclusions as to the name, which are presented in the only detailed discussion of the question that we have—namely, Richard Heinzel's, in his *Über die französischen Gralromane,* pp. 134 f. (Vienna, 1892). Heinzel, to be sure, assumes in this passage that the elder Galahad, son of Joseph of Arimathea, who is, properly speaking, a character of the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (or *Grand St. Graal,* as it is frequently called), and not of the *Queste,* in which latter branch he is alluded to only once, viz., in Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances,* VI, 185—was, in some lost hypothetical source, the original Grail Winner, and that only later was the name applied to the Grail Winner that we know[1])—the Galahad who is

[1] Heinzel (p. 135) makes a generous admission respecting this theory: "Allerdings Zeugnisse dafür liegen uns nicht vor." Except Heinzel, every-

the son of Lancelot and Pelles' daughter. It would be a waste of time to discuss such baseless fancies as these, but, of course, what Heinzel says of the reasons that caused this imaginary Grail hero to be dubbed Galahad would, in essentials, apply with equal force to the real hero of that name.

Now, Galaad (Gilead) is of much commoner occurrence in the Bible as the name of a district (east of Jordan) than as the name of a person, but it does occur also as the name of three persons, respectively:[2] (*a*) Galaad, son of Machir and great-grandson of Joseph, son of Jacob. See *Numeri* (*Numbers*), xxvi, 29; xxvii, 1, and often elsewhere in this book; also *Josue* (*Joshua*), xvii, 1, 3. (*b*) Galaad, father of Jephthah, *Judicum* (*Judges*), xi, 1, 2. (*c*) Galaad, chief of a family of Gad, *I. Paralipomenon* (*I. Chronicles*), v, 14. Of these Galaads Heinzel mentions only the first. The third, it may be granted, has no importance, for his name occurs only once, and that in a mere list of names. Heinzel remarks that the first Galaad in our list is the great-grandson of Joseph of Egypt, just as the elder Galaad in the *Estoire* is said to be the son of Joseph of Arimathea. The parallel is not a very close one, but we need not linger over it, for, as I have said in the note above, nobody but Heinzel has ever doubted that this elder Galaad is a secondary creation to the younger Galaad, the Grail Winner of the *Queste*. He still further calls attention to the words which are used of this great-grandson of Joseph's in *Josue*, xvii, 1: *Galaad qui fuit vir pugnator habuitque possessionem Galaad et Basan*, and still further to *Judicum*, x, 18, *erit dux populi Galaad*, where Galaad might easily be taken for a person's name, although, as the context shows, it is really the name of the district.

In my judgment, these commendations (in one case, genuine, and in the other case, an illusion) of Old Testament Galaads are

body, as far as I know, has regarded the elder Galahad as a secondary creation.

Even in the *Queste* passage, Sommer, VI, 185, where we find the allusion to the elder Galahad, he seems to be named only in a few MSS. Cp. Sommer's collations at the bottom of the page. It is not at all likely that this allusion stood in the *Queste* in its original form, for it is practically certain that the *Queste* was composed earlier than the *Estoire*.

[2] It is not necessary for me to give all the occurrences of each name. The complete enumeration will be found in the Bible Concordances, e. g. Robert Young's (Edinburgh, 1880).

of little importance in the choice of the Grail Knight's name. As a matter of fact, I believe that Galaad, father of the renowned warrior, Jephthah, is much more likely to have attracted the attention of the creator of the Grail Knight than the great-grandson of Joseph of Egypt, who was so many times removed from the ancestor in question. If his creator did misinterpret *Judges,* x, 18, in the way that Heinzel assumes—and I think the suggestion very plausible—he would doubtless have applied the imagined exaltation of Galaad to Jephthah's father; for verse 18 is the last verse of Chapter x, and we have in the first two verses of the next chapter the mention of this Galaad, Jephthah's father, and how he begot his famous son. The confusion would have been all the more likely at the time that these romances were written, for the division of the books of the Bible into chapters was only instituted by Stephen Langton early in the thirteenth century, and even if the *Queste* did not actually antedate this innovation, we may be sure that in the very brief interval that elapsed before that romance was written, the new division into chapters had not had time to spread widely, and consequently there is virtually no probability of our author's having had a text with this division before him.[3]

After all, however, the commendations of the Biblical Galaads seem to me, as I have said, of secondary importance in determining the selection of the name of the Grail hero. If the creator of this hero had been merely seeking to identify the character in name with some "leader of the people" in sacred history, he would surely have chosen a greater chief of Israel than any one who bears the name of Galaad in the Bible—for example, Jephthah himself, or Joshua. The primary influences that determined his choice were obviously different, and, in my judgment, they were as follows:

1. He desired to continue the connection of the Grail Winner with Gales (*i. e.,* Wales), for it will be remembered that the original Grail Winner whom Galahad was destined to supplant was called Perceval of Gales. At the same time, since his hero was to be the embodiment of a religious ideal, he desired to give him a Bible name. It was the fact, then, that "Galaad" was suggestive of "Gales" that led the creator of the new Grail Winner to adopt

[3] The division of chapters into verses was not instituted until the sixteenth century. It originated with Robert Estienne (1551).

this particular name for his hero.[4] Any one who is acquainted with medieval etymologizing would feel no surprise to find a writer of that period proposing in all seriousness a real etymological connection between the two names. But it is not necessary to ascribe any such purpose to the author with whom we are dealing. He was simply doing what Geoffrey of Monmouth, for instance, had done before him. Geoffrey, wishing to connect the Britons with the Trojans and Romans, gives the supposed eponymus of the Britons in his history a name that was well-known in Roman history, viz., Brutus. "Brutus," to be sure, does not correspond perfectly to "Britannia," but it was near enough, and, as we know, it carried conviction in the Middle Ages. Similarly, the creator of Galahad, wishing to connect his hero from the land of Gales with the chosen race of the Scriptures (at least, by name), took the name "Galaad" from the Old Testament. "Galaad," too, it is true, does not correspond perfectly to "Gales," but the approximation is about as close as that of "Brutus" to "Britannia."

We are not left, however, to conjecture on the subject of the likelihood of the association of the two names in the mind of the writer in question. In the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 282, it is stated that on the death of the elder Galahad his kingdom, which had hitherto been called "Haucelice" (Hocelice and other variants), was renamed "Gales" in his honor: ". . . apres sa mort changierent il a la terre son non & lapelerent Gales pour lonor de lui, ne onques puis ne li fu chis nons changies ne ne sera iamais tant comme li siecles durera." This was, of course, just the reverse of the truth, for Galahad had really been named after Gales, not Gales after Galahad.

2. He had before him already in "Galehaut" (Galehot and other variants) the name of the bosom friend of Galahad's father[5]

[4] The frequent occurrence of Galaad (Gilead) in the Old Testament as the name of a district would, of course, aid in making it a familiar name to the romance writer.

[5] In his *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 166 ff. (Oxford, 1891), the late Sir John Rhys says that Galahad and Galehaut were originally identical. But, like most of the views regarding problems of the Grail romances advanced in that book, this idea is entirely unwarranted. The author did not know the Old French romances and so was disqualified for passing on these questions. For example (p. 166, note) he did not know that in these

(Lancelot) in the *Lancelot*—a name which he, whether rightly or wrongly,[6] no doubt, interpreted as connected etymologically with "Gales." This name is so close in sound to that of the Grail Winner, that in the MSS. of the Vulgate cycle they are occasionally confounded—so, for example, curiously enough, in the very first passage of the *Lancelot,* III, 3, where the Grail Winner's name (here said to be Lancelot's baptismal name, which he subsequently lost through sin) occurs in the MS. (British Museum, Add. 10293) which Sommer follows in his edition. This MS. here reads "Galahos," which is, of course, really the name of Lancelot's friend, whereas the other MSS. give the correct reading, "Galaaz" (Old French nominative of "Galaad"). We have the reverse confusion, III, 254 (cp. note 4). Manifestly, when the nominative form for the one name (Lancelot's friend) was "Galahos" and for the other (Lancelot's son) was "Galahas"—and both forms occur frequently—it would be impossible to keep them apart. The

romances the form "Galaad" (for "Galahad") occurs. As a matter of fact, it is the usual form. It would be idle to discuss his next identification, of Galahad with the Welsh Gwalchaved, who is mentioned in *Kulhwch and Olwen* in a list of warriors. The bare name occurs just this once in the Welsh stories, and nothing is known of the character, save that he is here called Gwalchmei's (Gawain's) brother.

[6] "Galehaut" (and its variants), in my opinion, may very well be connected with "Gales." Such a connection is undeniable in the case of "Galobrutes" ("Galobrutus"), name of one of Perceval's uncles in the *Perlesvaus,* pp. 3, 333, of Potvin's edition (*Perceval le Gallois,* vol. I, Mons, 1866). The "Brutes" in this name is taken from Geoffrey's eponymus of the Britons, and the "Galo-" is evidently intended to indicate in like manner derivation from "Gales." See, too, the name "Galobruns," p. 333 of the same romance. It is possible, though not likely, that "Galehaut" etc. influenced these two names. There can be no doubt, however, that the authors of the Arthurian romances (especially, the prose romances) fabricated names wholesale, and we may have accordingly in "Galehaut" ("Galehot," "Galeholt" etc.) the combination of "Gales" with some second element found in other proper names. Cp. such influences in "Lohot" ("Loholt"), which I have discussed in *The Romanic Review,* III, 184, note 20.—Brugger's speculations as to Galehaut being a Viking and a figure in saga, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.* XXVIII, 16 ff., rest on a very slender basis. All the probabilities are that he was created by the author of the *Lancelot,* Part I, who was working up here the old friendship *motif,* so popular in the Middle Ages in the *Athis and Prophilias* form.

confusion is particularly common in Malory, who inherited it, no doubt, from his French originals.[7]

Now, as everybody agrees, the *Lancelot* is older than the *Queste;* consequently, I believe that, in view of the conditions which I have just set forth, one may safely assert that the name of Lancelot's famous friend in the earlier romance had some influence in this matter on the author of the *Queste.*

(2) *Nascien*

This is the name of Galahad's ancestor—head of his paternal line in the genealogy of the *Estoire del Saint Graal,* I, 203. He is, of course, one of the leading characters in this romance, and we hear of him again, in retrospect, in the *Queste,* VI, 26 f., 96 f., 148 ff. He was only called Nascien (Nassien), after he was converted to Christianity. Before that his name had been Seraphe.[8] "Nascien," "Nassien" is derived evidently, though nobody seems to have observed it, from "Naasson," which figures in the genealogy of Christ, *St. Matthew,* I, 4—also, *St. Luke,* III, 32.

Heinzel (p. 142) has commented on the resemblances between Galahad and Christ. Galahad, too, is the son of a virgin and is of King David's line. He illustrates the virtue of chastity, also, like Christ. I would add still further that his ancestors, the Grail Kings, in these romances evidently typify the Holy Spirit, and so, in a sense, he, too, is the son of the Holy Spirit.[9] Altogether, I have no doubt that the authors of the *Queste, Estoire* and the episodes concerning Galahad's conception in *Lancelot,* Part III, were consciously and systematically parodying the story of Christ.[10]

[7] Cp. H. O. Sommer's edition of the *Morte Darthur,* II, 161 f. (3 vols. London, 1889-1891), for the variants of these names.

[8] Cp. *Estoire del Saint Graal,* I, 74, in Sommer's edition.

[9] The beginnings of this symbolization, of course, are plainly observable in what Robert de Borron says of the Grail Keepers in his *Joseph.*

[10] There are, of course, secular elements, besides, in the Galahad story, especially in the narrative of his conception. But the story is fundamentally a parody. It is to be remembered that the conception of Christ, himself, as a knight is familiar to medieval literature. In addition to the analogies cited above, E. Wechssler, *Sage vom Heiligen Gral,* p. 117, points also to the passage in the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (*Grand St. Graal*), I, 247 (Sommer's edition), where Christ's seat at the table of the last Supper is symbolized in the seat reserved for Galahad at the Grail table.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that one of them should have drawn on the genealogy of Christ for the name of the ancestor who heads the hero's paternal line. Wanting a name for this head of Galahad's line, he selected one (Naasson) from near the head of Christ's line. For a similar reason, no doubt, the name of Galahad's uncle, Eliezer (Eliazer) was taken [11] from one of the latest of Christ's ancestors (*St. Matthew,* I, 15).

It is interesting to observe that contemporaries recognized the source of these names, Nascien and Eliezer (and possibly others connected with Galahad, which may now be disguised by manuscript corruption), for we find the author of the prose *Tristan,* at the beginning of that romance, drawing again on the genealogy of Christ for the name of a new supposed great-nephew of Joseph of Arimathea (here confounded with Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary, as elsewhere in the romances), viz., Sadoc. The name does not occur in the Vulgate cycle and is plainly taken [12] from *St. Matthew,* I, 14.

(3) *Hebron*

Robert de Borron, as is well known to students of the Grail literature, in his *Joseph,* calls the second Grail Keeper (brother-in-law to Joseph of Arimathea) sometimes Hebron, sometimes Bron. The metre shows that Robert really uses the alternative forms and that there is no question here of scribal errors. I will not enter at this time into an investigation of the origin of these forms. I merely wish to point out that Heinzel (like other Arthurian scholars) in his discussion of the subject (see his Grail treatise, p. 98) has overlooked the fact that in the Old Testament Hebron is not simply the name of a city (or cities), but also of persons. It occurs, to be sure, only in genealogical lists. Cp. respectively, *Exodus,* VI, 18, *Numbers,* III, 19, *I. Chronicles* VI, 2, 18; XXIII, 12, 19, and *I. Chronicles,* II, 42, 43; XV, 9.

(4) *Sarras*

This is the name of the capital of the pagan King, Evalac,[13] which Joseph of Arimathea, accompanying the Holy Grail, reaches

[11] I have already pointed this out in my *Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Waluuanii,* p. xxiii, note 1 (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1913).

[12] I pointed this out pp. xxii f., of my edition of the Latin romances, cited in the previous note.

[13] He was re-named, Mordrain, after his conversion to Christianity.

with his companions on the eleventh day after their departure from Jerusalem (*Estoire,* I, 21 ff., and mentioned elsewhere in the Vulgate cycle). Heinzel, p. 138, labors with all sorts of suggested identifications of this city with various Asiatic cities. But Sarras is clearly a mere city of the imagination, and its name was obtained by simply cutting off *-in* from *Sarrasin* (Saracen) which, like *Saisne* (Saxon), as is well known, was often used by the romance-writers of the Middle Ages as a generic name for pagans of any kind. The author of the *Estoire,* with whom the name originated, has manufactured, I, 262, a King "Escos" out of "Escoce" (Scotland).[14] If he was capable of this, we may be sure that so simple a fabrication as "Sarras" from "Sarrasin" would have given him no trouble. No doubt, "Sarracinte," the name of Evalac's wife, was similarly derived.

I will add to the above a name of Biblical origin which occurs, not in the Grail romances, but in the prose *Tristan.* It was, no doubt, the example of the Grail romances, however, which caused the author of the *Tristan* to trick out certain characters in the initial episode of that romance—the story of Tristan's grandmother, Chelinde—with Bible names. We have seen how this was true in the case of Sadoc, the first of Chelinde's many husbands. It is likewise true of Sadoc's brother, Nabuzardan. Löseth's analysis, p. 4, has the form "Nabusardan," but the form with *z,* which I take from MS. 334 (Bibl. Nat.) is, as will be seen, the correct form. We have here an adoption of the name of Nebuchadnezzar's captain of the guard, who, under his master's orders, laid Jerusalem waste and carried off its people into captivity. In our Authorized Version the name is "Nabuzaradan," but in the Vulgate, which the author of the prose *Tristan* used, it is "Nabuzardan." Cp. *IV. Regum,* XXV, 8, 11, 20; *Jerem.,* XXXIX, 9, 10, 11, 13; XL, 1.[15]

[14] The writer's warning, *loc. cit.,* that the "roialme des Escotois" was named after its lord "Escos" and was not identical with "la terre d'Escoce" is, of course, a mere subterfuge, to render the *roialme* more mysterious.

[15] The name appears also in a very corrupt form, "Buza(r)farnan," in the Latin romance, *De Ortu Waluuanii,* pp. 65 ff. of my edition, referred to above. I have shown there, pp. xxiii f., how the corruption came about—also, that the author of the *De Ortu* derived the name from the

The story of Chelinde is, to be sure, of Oriental origin, as I have shown in *The Romanic Review,* I, 384 ff., but, in whatever part of the Orient it may have ultimately originated, there is no likelihood whatever of these Biblical names having been attached to it until the author of the prose *Tristan* took hold of it. He was evidently responsible for the whole nomenclature of the story in its present form.[16]

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THE BIRTH-DATE OF BEN JONSON

The seventeenth-century biographers of Jonson have little to say about the date of his birth. Fuller [1] says that he cannot find him in his cradle. Winstanley [2] attempts to give no date. Neither does Wood [3] nor Blunt [4] nor Aubrey [5] nor Langbaine,[6] but in the eighteenth century we get more definite information. On page 155 of Drummond's *Works,* 1711, is printed a copy of *Und.* vii with the

prose *Tristan.* I had not then discovered, however, that the author of the prose *Tristan* took it from the Bible.

[16] In my edition of the *Historia Meriadoci and de Ortu Waluuanii,* p. xxiii, note 3, I have noted the resemblance between this story and the Greek romances and inferred from this likeness that the source of the prose *Tristan* for the episode was Greek. It reached the French writer very probably through Byzantine channels.

After completing this article, I observe that W. W. Newell, *The Legend of the Holy Grail and the Perceval of Crestien of Troyes,* p. 59 (Cambridge, Mass., 1902), accepts Heinzel's explanation of the origin of Galahad's name, but adds: "Assonance with *Gales,* Wales, may also have had weight." This is all that he says on the subject. I have tried, however, to prove that this assonance was the chief influence involved. J. S. Tunison, *The Graal Problem from Walter Map to Richard Wagner,* p. 34 (Cincinnati, 1904), has also anticipated me, I observe, in deriving "Sarras" from "Sarrasin." He merely remarks: "'Sarras,' as the name of a city, is plainly an effort to give the Saracens a geographical point of origin."

[1] *Worthies,* 1840, II, 424.

[2] *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets,* 1687, 123.

[3] *Athenae Oxon.,* ed. Bliss, II, 612.

[4] *De Re Poetica,* 1694.

[5] *Brief Lives,* ed. Clarke, 1898, II, 11.

[6] *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets.* 1691, 282.

appended date, January 19, 1619.[7] In this copy Jonson's age is given as forty-six, and if 1619 be read as N. S. 1620, an easy calculation gives his birth as antecedent to January 19, 1574. The accepted date throughout the eighteenth century is 1574,[8] though the *Biographia Britannica*[9] is troubled by the Folio version of *Und.* vii. Whalley[10] gives 1574 without discussion or evidence, and in the nineteenth century Chalmers[11] gives June 11, 1574, the day of the month being no doubt supplied by the Folio version of *Und.* xcv.[12] The same date is found in the third edition, 1812, of the *Biographia Dramatica.*[13] Gifford[14] accepts 1574 (but not June 11), and rebukes the editors of the *Biographia Britannica* for their hesitation. Cunningham,[15] rejecting June 11, thinks that Jonson was born probably in 1572, for he notes that after 1600, the Scotch year began on January 1, and that it is unlikely that Jonson should have been born in the first three weeks of 1573. Symonds[16] says "in 1573." Fleay[17] says: "between 1572 Jan. and 1573 Jan.; probably in 1572." Ward[18] is apparently some-

[7] In the Brit. Mus. copy the month has dropped out, but other copies contain it; cf. Masson's *Life of Drummond*, 1873, 106.

[8] Chetwood, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Ben Jonson*, 1756.

[9] 1750, etc., 2775; but in Note (x), 2784, we find 1574 as "confirmed by so many concurring testimonies." The Folio reads 'seven and forty' instead of 'six and forty.'

[10] *Jonson's Works*, 1756, I, xxxiv.

[11] *English Poets*, 1810, v, 443. This date cannot possibly be right, whether 1619 be N. S. or O. S.

[12] *The Epigram to Lady Digby* is numbered xcv in Gifford, 1816, xcvi in Cunningham's nine-volume edition, and xcvii in his three-volume one. For text, see below.

[13] Baker, Reed, and Jones; I, 413.

[14] *Jonson's Works*, 1816, I, ii; cf. his note on *Und.* xcv.

[15] Three-vol. ed. (originally issued 1870), I, vii; nine-vol. ed., I, v and 155; ix, 492.

[16] *Ben Jonson*, 1888, I.

[17] *Biog. Chron. of the English Stage*, 1891, I, 340.

[18] In *Encycl. Brit.*, 10th ed.; "about the beginning (N. S.) of the year 1573." In *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Lit.*, 2d ed., 1899, II, 298-9, he says, "in the year 1573," referring to a note in Laing's ed. of *Conversations, O. Sh. Soc.*, 1842, p. 39, in which our attention is first called to the fact of the Scotch year beginning on Jan. 1. In *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., Ward says: "was born, probably in Westminster, in the beginning of the year 1573 (or possibly, if he reckoned by the unadopted modern calendar, 1572; see Castelain, p. 4, note 1)."

what uncertain. An unsuccessful attempt was made by C. T. J. Moore [19] to identify Jonson with "Benjaminus Jonson filius Martini," born at Sutterton, Lincolnshire, Aug. 12, 1574. Herford [20] gives Jonson's dates as "1573?-1637," and in the body of the article uses the words, "was born, it is said, in Westminster, in 1572-3." Aronstein [21] says that Jonson was born in 1572 or 1573, but in any case before Jan. 19, 1573. Castelain [22] thinks that the date was probably 1572, and definitively rejects June 11. Schelling [23] states without qualification "in the year 1573." Thorndike [24] says: "He was born in Westminster in 1572 or 1573."

If there is no doubt that Jonson was born before Jan. 19, 1573, there is likewise no doubt, as may be calculated from the evidence supplied by Wallace,[25] that he was born after May 5, 1572. For, if born on May 5 (or any previous day), 1572, he would have been at least one year old by May 5, 1573, and hence thirty-eight by May 5, 1610. But the deposition found by Wallace fixes his age as thirty-seven on that date. The day of his birth, then, must be sought between May 5, 1572, and January 19, 1573, a period of eight months and thirteen days.[26]

Before we proceed to a further examination of the question, it may be well to have before us the various bits of evidence usually referred to by writers on the subject.

Und. xcv (xcvi, xcvii, see note 12 above). Folio text.

An Epigram
To my Muse, the Lady Digby, on her
Husband, Sir Kenelme Digby.

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[19] *N. & Q.*, 6 Ser., v, 247. Cf. Nicholson, *ibid.*, 354, and G. F. R. B. *ibid.*

[20] *D. N. B.*, *s. v.* Jonson.

[21] *Ben Jonson*, 1906, 3.

[22] *Ben Jonson: L'Homme et l'Œuvre*, 1907, 3-4 and notes.

[23] *Eliz. Drama*, 1908, 465.

[24] *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, VI, 3 (English ed.).

[25] C. W. Wallace, *The Swan Theatre and the Earl of Pembroke's Men, Engl. St.*, XLIII., 369, note 2.

[26] I see no reason why an editor of Jonson should reject the Folio reading 'seven-and-forty' in *Und.* vii, since, though (as suggested by Castelain and myself independently) it might be due to an over-zealous editor, there is also the possibility that the poem might have been revised by Jonson himself in the following year, as I pointed out in *Anglia* XXXVII, 490. The differences between the two versions are interesting and important.

Tho', happy Muse, thou know my Digby well;
Yet read him in these lines: He doth excell
In honour, courtesie, and all the parts
Court can call hers, or Man could call his Arts.
Hee's prudent, valiant, just, and temperate;
In him all vertue is beheld in State:
And he is built like some imperiall roome
For that to dwell in, and be still at home.
His brest is a brave Palace, a broad Street
Where all heroique ample thoughts doe meet:
Where Nature such a large survey hath ta'en,
As other soules to his dwelt in a Lane:
Witnesse his Action done at Scanderone;
Upon my Birth-day the eleventh of June;
When the Apostle Barnabee the bright
Unto our yeare doth give the longest light,
In signe the Subject, and the Song will live
Which I have vow'd posteritie to give.
Goe, Muse, in, and salute him. Say he be
Busie, or frowne at first; when he sees thee,
He will cleare up his forehead: thinke thou bring'st
Good Omen to him, in the note thou sing'st,
For he doth love my Verses, and will looke
Upon them, (next to Spenser's noble booke.)
And praise them too. O! what a fame 't will be?
What reputation to my lines, and me,
When hee shall read them at the Treasurers bord?
The knowing Weston, and that learned Lord
Allowes them? Then, what copies shall be had,
What transcripts begg'd? how cry'd up, and how glad,
Wilt thou be, Muse, when this shall them befall?
Being sent to one, they will be read of all.

12mo. variants from F text in *Q. Horatius Flaccus: His Art of Poetry. Englished By Ben: Jonson. With other Workes . . . . John Benson. 1640,* p. 122.

Title To Sir Kenelme Digby. An Epigram.
2 read] take
3 Honours
4 would
6 vertue] action
8 that] those
12 others . . . dwell
13 Witnesse his birth-day, the eleventh of June,
14 And his great action done at Scanderoone.
15 That day, which I predestin'd am to sing,
16 For Brittains honour, and to Charles my King:
17-8 (Omit these two lines)
21 cheare
22 Omen] fortune
27 shall] doth
29 will
30 begg'd] made
31 them] then

MS. Ashmole 174, ff. 75-9, contains a horoscope as well as an enumeration of striking incidents in Digby's early life.

In the figure the date of his birth is given as

1603. Julij, iuxta computū vet. Anglic.
D. H. M. "
10. 17 30 4 Post Merid.

Below:

"according to the English account the 11. of July betweene 5. and 6. of the clocke in the morning, wch is the 10th day of that moneth, and 17. houres and a halfe after noone according to the reformed Calender it is so many houres after the 20th day"

MS. Ashmole 36, f. 117, contains the following lines, ordinarily attributed to Richard Ferrar. They have been several times printed, and doubtless other MS. copies exist.

An Epitaph on the Learned Sr Kenelme
Digby, who died the 11th of June 1665.

Under this Tombe the matchless Digby lyes
Digby the great, the valiant & the wise;
This ages wonder for his noble parts,
Skild in six Tongues, & learn'd in all the Arts;
Borne on the day he died, the 11th of June,
And that day bravely fought at Scanderoone,
Tis rare that one & the same day should bee,
His day of Birth, & death & Victory.

Now the editors[27] of Jonson, beginning with Whalley, and all of the more important critics, have accepted "his" for "my" in line 14 of the *Epigram,* though at the same time they have refused to accept the other 12mo alterations in the text of the poem. In other words, their position has apparently[28] been that the Folio text is the proper text except that in this line some blunder has been committed by the editor or printer. But who was the editor? Digby himself, as has been quite recently pointed out.[29] It is quite true that the proof-reading on the volume was not carefully done (though there are numerous signs that it was by no means entirely

[27] That is, the important editors. Chalmers does not, but as pointed out above, note 11, his date must be wrong either as to day or as to year.

[28] I say 'apparently,' as no full discussion of the *textual* problems offered by this poem or by the Folio of 1640 in general, has ever been published.

[29] W. W. Greg, *Handlist of English Plays,* etc., Bibl. Soc., 1900, 56.

neglected), but such a mistake as this is not likely to have been passed over. Moreover, the Folio text of *Underwoods* as a whole, is, I believe, much more reliable than it has generally been thought to be, and this fact, not yet fully demonstrated to the public,[30] constitutes a further support for the reading "my" in this instance.

What are the grounds on which editors have discarded "my"? Whalley,[31] after saying, "We have a slight corruption . . . *my* should be *his*" ("slight corruption" is good, very good), attacks Antony Wood :[32] 1) for asserting that, though Digby was born on July 11, 1603, yet Jonson changed July to June for rime's sake; 2) for asserting that the battle of Scanderoon was fought on the 16th of June; and 3) for quoting two lines of Ferrar's epitaph and yet disputing "the authority of our poet for the time of his [Digby's] birth."

The second of the three points mentioned by Whalley need not detain us, for he shows that the battle of Scanderoon was fought on the 11th of June, not the 16th, as, indeed, we know from other sources [33] than the descriptive pamphlet that formed his authority.

In regard to the first point Whalley offers no proof (probably he knew nothing of the horoscope). The notion that Jonson changed July to June for rime's sake [34] is grotesque enough, and Whalley doubtless thought that it needed no refutation. Jonson was not the man to tamper with history in that fashion.

Now, the date of Digby's birth is not recorded elsewhere than in the horoscope, the Benson version of the poem, and the epitaph.

[30] I have touched on this matter in "Studies in Ben Jonson," *Anglia* XXXVII, 486 ff.; XXXVIII, 115 ff.

[31] *Jonson's Works*, 1756, VII, 10. [32] *Athenae Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, III, 688.

[33] Digby's *Journal of a Voyage into the Mediterranean*, ed. Bruce, Camden Soc., 1868, 38.

[34] Wood, l. c., Digby "was born at Gothurst on the eleventh day * of July 1603, (1 Jac. I.) yet Ben. Johnson for rhime sake will have † it June, thus;

> Witness thy action done at Scanderoon
> Upon thy birth-day the eleventh of June."

There is no authority for the reading 'thy' in either line.

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* As in the book of nativities collected by Dr. Rich. Napier of Buckinghamshire, MS. in the hands of Elias Ashmole, esq.; and in an almanack for 1673, published by Joh. Gadbury.

† In his *Underwoods*, p. 243 [245].

Benson's version has no authority as a text,[35] but, it will be observed, might easily enough have supplied the information for Ferrar, the writer of the epitaph. He might have accepted a tradition as to the coincidence of the day of Digby's birth with that of the battle, and this tradition might have had its start in the Benson version. Of this there were two impressions, in 4to and in 12mo, and there is some reason to suppose that these two volumes were well known in the seventeenth century. The picturesqueness of the coincidence, in an age much given to laying serious as well as sportive stress on such *nugae,* would have been favorable to the persistence of a tradition of the kind.

As for the horoscope, Gifford[36] treated it with derision, but apparently had not seen it, for all that he says is with reference to a vague remark by Aubrey: "Mr. Elias Ashmole assures me from two or three nativities by Dr. Napier, that Ben Jonson was mistaken, and did it for the Rhyme sake."[37] "We have here a couple of dreamers—but they are not worth an argument," says Gifford, who believed, with the Lady of Mumpers' Dingle, that there is "nothing like Long Melford for shortness all the world over." Yet we have the best assurance[38] that the nativity given above is in Digby's own hand. There is, then, no difficulty in understanding why Digby allowed the Folio reading "my," to pass. Is it not barely possible that, as an intimate friend of Jonson, he may have known the day of Jonson's birth, just as he may reasonably be supposed to have known the day of his own? I do not see why we should disturb the Folio reading on the authority of the semi-piratical issues of John Benson or on the authority of Ferrar's

[35] Cf. my article, cited above, note 30.

[36] 1816, IX, 47 note.

[37] *Brief Lives,* ed. Clarke, I, 224. Aubrey gives the Napier nativities, which do not seem to agree as to hours with *Ash.* 174 (though Bruce, *v. infra,* says that the Ashmole volume is identical with the Napier collection mentioned by Wood. Wood does not give the nativities), nor with each other.

[38] *D. N. B., s. v.* Digby; cf. Bruce, Digby's *Journal, u. s.,* XI. Macray, of the Bodleian, agreed with Bruce. Bruce accepts the MS. as decisive with respect to Digby's birth, and thinks Ben Jonson and Ferrar mistaken. Ferrar undoubtedly was, but the point of this article is to show that Jonson was not pronouncing as to Digby's birth, but as to his own. Bruce very naturally accepted the edited text of Whalley and Gifford, and would seem to have known nothing of the Folio reading, "my."

epitaph, which may very well have derived its own authority from them.

Up to this point we have been merely re-valuing evidence that has long been known to exist. There is, however, another bit of evidence that has not been hitherto mentioned and that strongly supports the conclusions reached.

I gave *all* of the variant readings of the 12mo for a particular purpose, namely, to show that the 12mo version belongs to a quite different recension of the poem from that represented by the Folio. A few of the differences (ll. 3, 4, 12, 21, 29, 31) have no significance for our present argument, though they have a value from other points of view. The rest, however, and particularly those in ll. 13-18, are of a quite different character.

There are four ways of accounting for these differences. We may suppose, if we choose, that the 12mo readings did not proceed from Jonson, but were entirely due to copyists or printers. The supposition is a violent one, considering the character of some of them, but perhaps not absurd. Yet, if we make it, we must remember that the reading "his birthday" will go down in the common ruin; it shares the fate of the others.

We may suppose that the 12mo version is the true text throughout, that all of its readings are sound, and that the Folio readings are corrupt. This supposition does such violence to probabilities that it has been tacitly rejected by all the editors of Jonson, who take over from the 12mo only the one reading in question, and is at variance with all that we know of the history of the two volumes.

We may again suppose that the 12mo, though giving us an unrevised and hence inferior text in general, preserves the true reading in this instance, and that the Folio displays the blunder of scribe or compositor. This supposition would seem to be the one which, as earlier remarked, has been generally adopted in ignorance of the fact that the reading "my birthday" had apparently been passed by Digby and in ignorance of the true value attaching to the evidence concerning Sir Kenelm's birthday.

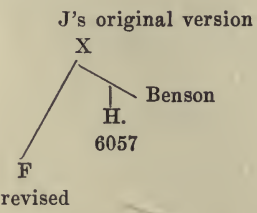
Finally, we may suppose that the 12mo represents on the whole an earlier version of the poem, which Jonson later revised into the Folio form, and that the reading "his" was a blunder of copyist or printer for which he is in no way responsible and which is easily explicable if we note the "his" occurring just above in lines 12

and 13. This is the supposition that agrees best with the argument up to this point.

Now, if we should encounter a copy of the poem which belongs to the 12mo recension and yet in this particular reading agrees with the Folio, should we not have almost what Bacon calls an *experimentum crucis?* Such a copy exists in *MS. Harl.* 6057, f. 20. The title differs somewhat, and there are enough minor differences to show that the copy was not made directly from the 12mo. But almost all of the variants in the 12mo list above are to be found in it. The important passage runs:

13. Wittnesse my birthday the Eleaventh of June
14. and his action done att Scanderoone
15. that day which I predestinde am to sing
16. for Brittains honor, and to Charles my kinge

and ll. 17-18 are omitted.



The statement that Jonson was born on the 11th of June apparently belongs to both recensions of the poem. The statement that the 11th of June was Digby's birthday is apparently wrong. The day falls within our assigned limits, May 5, 1572, Jan. 19, 1573. We have no evidence in the shape of birth registrations or certificates, but in default of these we have, if our argument is sound, made it highly probable, almost certain, that Jonson was born on the day in question, and we have established in one more important case the comparative trustworthiness of the Folio text of *Underwoods.*

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GERMAN STANZAS FROM JOH. WERLIN'S *RHYTHMORUM VARIETAS*

Among the MSS. of the Royal Library in Munich is a valuable musical work in six folio volumes, collected and written in 1646-47 by Johannes Werlin, professor in the old Benedictine monastery of Seeon near Chiemsee.[1] Its title is: *Rhitmorum varietas. Typi, exempla et modulationes rhytmorum. Opera et studia.* The first two volumes contain hundreds of single stanzas of various kinds up to 30 lines in length, in Latin and German, with the scansion on opposite pages. In Vols. III-V the industrious pater repeats the texts (sometimes adding more) and gives several thousand tunes,—from one to as many as thirty for each of the texts up to 19 lines in length.[2]

According to F. M. Böhme [3] many of the tunes are secular melodies and hymn tunes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the rest are Werlin's own compositions or exercises. Of his texts the greater part was probably borrowed. Some of his secular stanzas are from songs that were widely current in the sixteenth century. In a number of these Werlin made humorous changes; of others he gave comical parodies.[4] F. M. Böhme made use of Werlin's song fragments for his collections,[5] and I found in the Benedictine's work bits of a few of the same songs which had long before been quoted by Fischart.[6] That a part of the texts was made up by Werlin himself is evident from the following humorous confession from the end of one of his longer model stanzas (p. 1140): ". . . Wiewol auch ich/ Offt exemplificier gar liederlich/ Altfränkisch/ Vnd denckisch/ Yedoch bisweilen/ Wan der Planet/ Jupiter zum höchsten steht/ Reim ich mit sibenzehen Zeilen."

In the following I should like to call attention to some of the shorter German stanzas which seem to have been composed by

[1] Cod. germ. monac. 3636-41, paged 1-4579 as one work. (*Die deutschen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München*, 1866, p. 308 f.).

[2] The work seems to be unfinished, since the texts with 20-30 lines were not set to music.

[3] *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, p. 775 f.; Erk-Böhme, *Liederhort*, Vol. I, p. xxiv.

[4] Cf. the stanza numbered 9 below.

[5] Cf. *Altd. Liederb.*, Nos. 44, 273, 332, 451.

[6] *PBB*, XXXV, p. 428, No. 41; p. 445, Nos. 86 and 87; p. 454, No. 116.

Werlin. They show him to be something more than a mere unthinking rimester intent only upon filling out with so many words his arbitrary stanza forms, even though for his purpose the meter and the musical setting, rather than the texts, were the chief concern. He put himself plainly on the side of the " Burgersmann " against the potentates in that Great War and deplored the spread of artificial foreign influences (" À la mode ") in his country. Werlin's ardent praise of vocal music makes clear that his heart was in his work; his occupation with the songs of men did not, however, dull his ear to the music of the nightingale, as is evident from a little stanza (No. 12 below) quite in the tone of the *Volkslied* of older days. His fresh, unspoiled, really human humor makes him stand out in sharp contrast to many of the well-known authors of his century. His might have been one of the better names if he had stayed out in the world and busied his mind and pen with something different from the *Rhythmorum Varietas.*

1

P. 224: Als man zehlt sechzehnhundert
Auch sechs und viertzig Jahr,
Sich yederman verwundert
Das liegen
Vnd kriegen
In allen Landen war.

2

P. 162: Die Soldaten seind vnbeschaiden,
Das waist man laider wol:
Fluechen wie die Hayden,
Man kan ihns nit erleiden,
Sie drincken sich stets vol.

3

P. 410: Ich hab verhofft zu Münster werde Frid,
So hör ich aber laider es sey nit:
Das Römisch Reich ist fail,
Dem Feind wird es zu Thail,
Die Puncten seind unmüglich,
Zum maisten Thail betrüglich,
Geführt am Narren sail.

4

P. 614: Euch schwör ich ihr Potentaten,
Gott, der ein Burgersmann

Umm ein Stündlein finden kan,
Wirdt von euch all dise Thaten,
  Dises Mörden, Raub, und Brand,
So ihr under ewren Namen
Lasset ungestrafet ahmen,[7]—
  Fordern von ewrer Hand.

5

P. 104: Alamode macht mir bang
Weil der Teutschen Undergang
  In der newen Sucht
  Seinen Anfang sucht.

6

P. 178: Das stettige studieren
Thuet manichem verführen
Sein blödes Hiren:
  Dan wer sich nit kan massen,
  Der fehlt gar weit der Strassen.

7

P. 92: Wan ich vil Mucken hab,
Leg ich sie mir bald ab:
Mit einem Glasz vol gueten Wein
Treib ich die Mucken ausz und ein.

8

P. 420: Es ist ein Schand
Das in dem Schwabenland
  Das Bier so schlecht,
  Das ichs nit drincken möcht:
Ist gemacht ausz Haberstro,
Dessen seind die Schwaben fro
  In dulci jubilo.

9

P. 134: Ich gieng für eines reichen Hausz,
Man fragt mich wer ich were?
Ich bin ein armer Staudiausz
Ganz hungrig, durstig, und auch blausz:
Ich äsz und tränck gar gere.[8]

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[7] ahmen, cf. MHG. ämen: 'visieren,' 'endorse.'

[8] Also on p. 1750 with music and the variants: Studiosz; blosz; geren. Cf. Böhme, *Altd. Liederb.*, Nr. 42, (p. 527). It is a parody on the old song of "ein armer Schwartenhals."

10

P. 292; 294: Zu nachts leg ich mich in das Beth,
Vnd schlaff mit andern in die Wett:
Zu Morgens früe
Hab ich vil Mühe
Wolt geren offt noch schlaffen,
Hab aber vil zu schaffen.

11

P. 300: Im Beth ich mich hinwider reib
Dieweil mir meinen krancken Leib,
Die Flöh so grimmig beissen,
Dardurch die Leilach zreissen:
O hett ich einen Fund
Wie ichs vertreiben kundt.

12

P. 230: O Nachtigal
Du edler Schall
Wan kommt die Sommerszeit,
Dein süsser Hall
Zu Berg und Thal
Macht uns ein grosse Frewd.

13

P. 300: Man singt der schönen Gsänger vil
Ihr hohe Kunst ich stets preysen will,
So lang ich hab das Leben:
Ein schönes Gsang
Wans gleich ist lang
Nichts liebers ist mir darneben.

14

The poem below might be called *Das Lied von der eisernen Stange*. It is of interest as representing a type which a century and a half later appeared in its highest form in Schiller's *Glocke*. Werlin makes the smithy in its busiest minute not only visible but fairly audible. The humor in the master smith's good-naturedly gruff words is heightened by Werlin's characteristic droll distortions of certain words for the sake of the rime, as in adapting "darauff" and "Gaffer" to "Schnauffer." These verses are the only example of a "stanza of thirty lines" in the *Rhythmorum Varietas*. They are given here as in the original, except for punctuation.

P. 1254, 1256: Drey Schmid bey einem Abosz[*] stunden,
Es waren drey Kolschwartze Kunden;
Ein *Contrapunct* sie fiengen an,
Dasz in der Schmitten erklang.
Der Hamer,
Ein Jamer,
Fiel nider
Herwider,
Gab ihnen den Tact darzue.
Sie sangen,
Sie sprangen,
Vnd schwangen
Die stangen,
Es ist genue.
"Besser darauffer,
Faul Gauffer!
Ihr Schnauffer!
Den Hamer thuet schwingen!
Die Klingen
Muesz springen!
Noch höher thuet zucken!
Den Rucken
Fein bucken!
Thuet dapffer drauff' klopffen,
Faul dropffen!
Widhopffen!
Yetzt geht es schon besser
Vnd rescher,
Ihr Presser!—
Lasst nach! die Stang ist gemacht!"

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THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF *MANON LESCAUT*

The date of the first publication of Abbé Prévost's masterpiece, *Manon Lescaut,* has been often given as 1733.[1] It still is occasionally so given, but Harrisse has shown that it first appeared at Amsterdam in 1731 as Volume VII of Prévost's *Mémoires et Avan-*

[*] = Ambosz.

[1] This is the date of its first publication in France. Cf. Henry Harrisse, *l'Abbé Prévost* (Paris, 1896), pp. 173-75.

tures d'un homme de qualité.[2] Harrisse was of the opinion that *Manon Lescaut* was composed while the Abbé was a fugitive in England during the years 1728-1730,[3] but he admitted also as a possibility the hypothesis that the novel was written at the Abbey of Saint-Ouen in 1722-1723, an opinion cherished by Flaubert, whose house at Croisset had belonged to the monks of Saint-Ouen.[4] Harrisse's objection to this hypothesis is as follows: "Mais alors, il [Prévost] aurait emporté sous son scapulaire le manuscrit d'un livre aussi compromettant pour un religieux, dans les sept monastères où successivement on l'envoya, puis à Paris et en Angleterre, ne se décidant à le faire imprimer que dix ans après? C'est difficile à admettre."[5] The length of this interval is Harrisse's only objection. Is it really a serious obstacle to thinking the date of composition was earlier? Are there reasons which favor the earlier date?

With regard to the objection urged by Harrisse, it seems that Prévost, even though not distinguished for his caution, might well be granted the forethought necessary to see the scandal that such a book, written by an active member of the Benedictines, would create. When it did finally appear in France about ten years later, it was shortly confiscated by the authorities and its circulation forbidden.[6] Then, however, Prévost had fled from the order to which he had belonged, and had less reason to fear its opinion.

The existence of *Manon Lescaut* as early as 1722-1723 would explain the mysterious quarrel which took place at Saint-Ouen between Prévost and the Jesuit Lebrun, and motives of prudence may finally have induced Prévost to withdraw from publication the defense[7] he had already prepared.

A more important reason favoring the earlier date lies in *Manon Lescaut's* preëminence over Prévost's other novels, a superiority to be explained satisfactorily only by the theory that, more completely and directly than are his other works, it is an outgrowth of the author's personal experience. "Abbé Prévost," it has been said, "put his entire youth into *Manon Lescaut.*"[8] That the unhappy

[2] *Id.*, pp. 167-68.

[3] *Id.*, pp. 165-66, and Henry Harrisse, *la Vie monastique de l'abbé Prévost* (Paris, 1903), p. 17.

[4] Harrisse, *la Vie monastique*, p. 26.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Harrisse, *l'Abbé Prévost*, pp. 174-76.

[7] *Id.*, pp. 108-09.

[8] Arsène Houssaye, *Men and Women of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1852), Vol. I, p. 125.

love which furnished the basis for the novel came during the years 1719-1720, before Prévost was admitted to the Benedictine order, seems hardly to be questioned.[9] He says himself: "Vif et sensible au plaisir, j'avouerai, dans les termes de M. de Cambray, que la sagesse demandoit bien des précautions qui m'échappèrent. . . . La malheureuse fin d'un engagement trop tendre [10] me conduisit enfin au *Tombeau;* c'est le nom que je donne à l'Ordre respectable où j'allai m'ensevelir." [11] As to the nature of his experience, if not as to its details, this is sufficiently explicit. It is evident, too, that the passage has reference to the period before Prévost entered the order. As the duration of the novitiate could not be less than a year, and as Prévost took his vows before the Benedictines November 9, 1721,[12] his entry as a novice into the order must have been not later than November, 1720, and his acquaintance with the original of Manon would have come during the years 1719-1720 at the latest. His determination to enter the monastery followed doubtless very close upon the unfortunate outcome of his love, when his grief was still intense enough to make life in the outside world seem repellent. Prévost was then twenty-two or twenty-three years old. His youth and his liberty at this time [13] furnish very strong additional evidence for placing the Manon experience here rather than in any later period.

In 1722-1723 the momentary calm which had come to the Abbé after taking his vows deserted him and left him once more a prey to an emotional crisis which was but a return of the experience immediately preceding his entry into the monastery.[14] To place

[9] This question has been raised, however, by V. Schroeder in *l'Abbé Prévost, sa vie, ses romans* (Paris, 1898), pp. 11-13. M. Schroeder prefers to place the love affair years later at The Hague, and interprets as referring only to financial difficulties the "malheureuses affaires" mentioned in 1731 by Prévost as the cause of his entry into the Benedictine order (letter to Dom Clément de la Rue, cited by Harrisse, *l'Abbé Prévost*, p. 163). For the answer to this objection, see *infra*.

[10] "Un engagement trop tendre" seems to dispose of M. Schrœder's hypothesis.

[11] *Le Pour et Contre, ouvrage périodique d'un goût nouveau* (Didot, Paris, 1733-1740), Vol. IV, pp. 38-39.

[12] Harrisse, *l'Abbé Prévost*, pp. 104-05.

[13] He was not again free until eight years later, when he sought refuge in England.

[14] We have the proof in Prévost's own words: "Je n'aperçois que trop

the composition of *Manon Lescaut* at this time, so soon after the experience which formed its basis and while Prévost's heart was still torn by disappointment and grief, would make much more comprehensible the great gulf which separates this one novel from all the rest of the author's works. If we suppose nearly ten years to have passed before the composition of *Manon Lescaut,* it is reasonable to think that time would have exerted its mellowing effect, and have blunted the poignancy of his feelings, so that we should have had perhaps only another Cléveland and Fanny in the place of Des Grieux and Manon. If the composition of the novel took place in the years 1722-1723, the reason for its superiority becomes at once apparent. Written in 1729-1730, during the already well-filled English period,[15] it would be an anomaly; written

tous les jours, de quoi je redeviendrois capable, si je perdois un moment de vue la grande règle, ou même si je regardois avec la moindre complaisance certaines images qui ne se présentent que trop souvent à mon esprit, et qui n'auroient encore que trop de force pour me séduire, quoiqu'elles soient à demi effacées. Qu'on a de peine, mon cher frère, à reprendre un peu de vigueur, quand on s'est fait une habitude de sa foiblesse; et qu'il en coûte à combattre pour la victoire, quand on a trouvé long-tems de la douceur à se laisser vaincre! " (Harrisse, *la Vie monastique,* pp. 25-26.) The passage is from a letter written from Saint-Ouen at this period. It shows clearly that the old wound has not healed. In spite of his probably sincere attempts to put from his mind the bitter-sweet memories of the past, it would not be at all strange if they proved too strong for him and led him to seek the morbid pleasure of living them over again in the pages of his novel.

Another passage written by the Abbé himself is equally explicit. He says: " Cependant le sentiment me revint, et je reconnus que ce cœur si vif étoit encore brûlant sous la cendre. La perte de ma liberté m'affligea jusqu'aux larmes. Il étoit trop tard. Je cherchai ma consolation pendant cinq ou six ans dans les charmes de l'étude. Mes livres étoient mes amis fidèles; mais ils étoient morts comme moi. Enfin, je pris occasion d'un petit mécontentement, et je me retirai " (*Pour et Contre,* IV, p. 39). He fled from the order and went to England in November, 1728. The " five or six years " would bring him back exactly to the Saint-Ouen period (1722-1723). At that time his heart was still " brûlant," and the loss of his liberty brought him to " tears." What better time for the composition of such a masterpiece as *Manon?*

[15] During his first trip to England, which lasted about two years from November, 1728, Prévost had learned the language and had begun to familiarize himself with the literature; he had toured the greater part of southern England; he had composed Volumes V and VI of the *Mémoires et*

at Saint-Ouen seven years earlier, it becomes at once an intelligible and direct outgrowth of the author's own experience, the memory of which at that very time was returning to throw his soul into turmoil.

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COMMENT ON SOME POSTHUMOUS POEMS AND FRAGMENTS OF LEOPARDI

I. Letta la Vita di Vittorio Alfieri Scritta da Esso

In chiuder la tua storia ansante il petto
Vedrò, dissi, il tuo marmo, Alfieri mio,
Vedrò la parte aprica e il dolce tetto
Onde dicesti a questa terra addio.

Così dissi inaccorto. E forse ch'io
Pria sarò steso in sul funereo letto,
E de l'ossa nel flebile ricetto
Prima infinito adombrerammi obblio:

Misero quadrilustre. E tu nemica
La sorte avesti pur: ma ti rimbomba
Fama che cresce e un dì fia detta antica.

Di me non suonerà l'eterna tromba;
Starommi ignoto e non avrò chi dica,
A piangere i' verrò su la tua tomba.

Primo sonetto composto tutto la notte avanti il 27 Novembre 1817 stando in letto, prima di addormentarmi, avendo poche ore avanti finito di leggere la vita dell'Alfieri, e pochi minuti prima, stando pure in letto, biasimata la mia facilità di rimare, e detto fra me che dalla mia penna non uscirebbe mai sonetto; venutomi poi veramente prima il desiderio e proponimento di visitare il sepolcro

Avantures d'un homme de qualité and most of the first four volumes of *Cléveland*. This is much for two years. It is true that Prévost was a facile and productive writer. Moreover, *Manon Lescaut* is short. If, however, it was written at this time with the others, to what lucky accident shall we attribute the difference between it and all of Prévost's other works? In default of positive proof it seems that the balance of probability leans toward the hypothesis that the masterpiece was Prévost's first work, and that it was composed at Saint-Ouen in 1722-1723.

e la casa dell'Alfieri, e dopo il pensiero che probabilmente non potrei. Scritto ai 29 di Novembre.

This sonnet, with the comment that accompanies it, was contained among the *Carte Napoletane* left in the hands of Antonio Ranieri after the death of Leopardi.[1] It is very illuminating as to the nature of Leopardi's feelings at the time, especially when it is compared with other documents belonging to the years 1816 and 1817.

In 1816 Leopardi was unable to continue his philological work with the devotion that he had manifested in earlier years. However, he composed a number of brief articles and translations, which he desired to see published. Hence arose a correspondence with Antonio Fortunato Stella[2] and with Giuseppe Acerbi.[3] Moreover, he ventured to send copies of his translation of the second book of the *Æneid* to Angelo Mai, Vincenzo Monti, and Pietro Giordani.[4] All of these eminent men regarded the performance of their youthful contemporary as an evidence of almost unprecedented precocity. Giordani in particular was impressed to such an extent that the affair led to the famous and voluminous exchange of letters that exercised so great an influence on the career of Leopardi. Encouraged as he was by the eulogies of literary celebrities, his craving for fame and his faith in his own ability were strengthened. The so-called "literary conversion" of Leopardi, which was probably nothing more than natural development aided by external causes,[5] was coincident with the first phase of the correspondence with Giordani.

Toward the end of the year 1816, and throughout the first part of the following year, Leopardi's health grew steadily worse. According to his own statement, he was unable for seven months to do anything but walk about in solitude.[6] Sickness and inability to devote himself to the accomplishment of his cherished dreams

[1] Published in *Scritti Vari Inediti di Giacomo Leopardi dalle Carte Napoletane*, Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1910, p. 17.

[2] Editor and publisher of *Lo Spettatore* in Milan.

[3] Editor and publisher of the *Biblioteca Italiana* in Milan.

[4] Feb. 21st, 1817.

[5] Lack of ability to continue scholarly work, and the influence of Giordani and others.

[6] See *Epistolario di Giacomo Leopardi*, Vol. I, p. 91 (dated August 28th, 1817).

produced in Leopardi's mind a deep melancholy, accompanied by a foreboding of death. At the age of eighteen he was face to face with the most gloomy of prospects. It seemed as if the very efforts he had made to attain fame had, by wrecking his health, prevented the realization of his ambitions. His expectation of death, indicated in letters to Giordani, is directly stated in the poem entitled *Appressamento della Morte.*[7]

Thus we find in Leopardi, before he reaches the age of twenty years, a terrible conflict induced by his sharpened desire for a lasting literary fame and his feeling of the imminence of death. The mental tortures caused by the interplay of emotion and reflection in his sensitive nature can scarcely be imagined. It is small wonder that the foundations of pessimism were laid in his soul before the real beginning of his literary career, and that the continuation of his agony made his pessimism grow blacker and blacker as time went on.

The conflict between life and death that raged in Leopardi's heart in the years 1816 and 1817 is convincingly illustrated in this sonnet that describes his impressions after reading the life of Alfieri. It was written just at the time when his feelings must have reached a climax.[8] The first quatrain describes the effect produced upon the reader by the perusal of Alfieri's autobiography. He is anxious at once to visit the home and the last resting place of the great dramatist.[9] In the second quatrain Leopardi expresses his haunting fear of death; it is particularly terrible when we consider that a boy of nineteen years feels that his life may end before he can make a journey by no means unreasonably long. In the first tercet after a brief apostrophe to himself as a "misero quadrilustre," he proceeds to a short appreciation of the life of

[7] This poem, written in November and December, 1816, is published in full in the *Scritti Letterari di Giacomo Leopardi,* ordinati e riveduti, etc., per cura di Giovanni Mestica, Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1899, Vol. II, pp. 187-209; the first part of the first canto, with alterations, is found among the *Canti.*

[8] Nov. 29th, 1817. On December 11th Geltrude Cassi visited Recanati for the first time, and awakened the feeling of love in the poet's heart, inspiring him to write his two elegies. Although he did not lose his dread of approaching death, he doubtless secured some distraction.

[9] When Leopardi had complained of the restrictions of Recanati, Giordani had reminded him of the contentment of Alfieri in Asti; see *Epistolario,* Vol. III, p. 83.

Alfieri, in which he lays particular stress upon the fame gained by his illustrious fellow-countryman. Finally, in the three lines that conclude the poem, Leopardi utters a personal lament. He will possess no glory after death; no one will come to weep upon his tomb.

Although this sonnet is extremely interesting as a guide to Leopardi's state of mind, it is not surprising that he chose to overlook it in publishing his approved poetry. It shared the fate of the majority of his early compositions. It could hardly be claimed that a rather unpolished piece of verse like this deserves a place beside the exquisite productions of maturer years.

II. Canzone Sulla Grecia

Nostra amica, madre, nelle scienze ed arti e lettere maestra, è voce che siamo sua colonia ec. ec. si porti l'antica storia, è giusto che le siamo grati, le rendiamo quel che ci ha dato, si ec. entusiasmo di compassione e di gratitudine, stato suo presente, stato antico, pittura delle principali gesta antiche in compendio giudizioso e veramente vivo e poetico, basta che risorgano in lei le buone discipline, non è morto il suo sacro fuoco, rivivrà la Grecia, apostrofe a quelli che ve le riconducono, sieno greci, sieno stranieri tutti parimenti obbligatissimi alla infelice, esortazioni ai greci, preghiere ec. ec. lodi di quei popoli greci che si mantengono colla forza in una certa libertà, come i Minotti s'io non erro, si può anche introdurre qualche storia che formi un racconto principale nella canzone e la chiuda con un'orazione p. e. del tempo della lega Achea quando la Grecia era infelice quasi come adesso se bene bisogna nasconder l'esito di quegli sforzi che fu sfortunato. Madre della grazia e sua introduttrice nella vita. Era il mondo ec. la Grecia rivecendo dall'Egitto le cognizioni rozze e nude di grazia le ne ammatò ec. ec. Per confortarla a confidar di vincere i turchi bisogna ricordarle le sue antiche vittor. sui barbari, come fa il Petrarca appunto nella Canz. O aspettata. Turchi arabi e caldei. Del popolo infelice d'oriente ec. quantunque anche i gr. sieno orientali ed il Petr. non citi se non le vittor. sui persiani. Conquiste d'Alessandro. L'Egitto e l'Asia e tutto l'oriente ubbidiente alla Grecia. Ed anche allora eravate pochi ec. Descriz. lirica di quelle conquiste.

This rough outline is all that we possess of Leopardi's canzone on Greece.[10] Notwithstanding his fervent admiration for Greece as the most glorious nation in that ancient world which he loved so

[10] For the outline, see *Scritti Vari*, p. 54; the date given there is 1820-1821.

well, and in spite of his eagerness to pay tribute to the mother of science, art, and letters, he has left only a few tantalizing and ill-connected lines to show that he meditated the composition of a poem similar in nature to his patriotic canzoni. It would indeed be strange if Leopardi had not desired to write a poetical appreciation of Greece. The almost endless succession of eulogies of ancient, and especially of Grecian and Athenian, civilization, that are found in the *Zibaldone,* might lead us to expect a succession of poems on the value and beauty of antiquity. Instead of that he has expressed his knowledge of antiquity in the *Canti* in a multitude of subtle ways, devoting his vast store of erudition to the task of perfecting his art.

In the lines that precede this comment is found the direct evidence of an intention to write a canzone on Greece. The reader is immediately reminded of the other patriotic poems, and particularly of the one to Italy. There is a considerable likeness in the ideas that form the groundwork of the two compositions. Leopardi contemplates the greatness of ancient Greece, and contrasts it with the modern situation, in much the same way as he considers a similar discrepancy in the history of his native land. He appeals to Greeks and to the friends of Greece to save the beloved and unfortunate country;[11] in his canzone to Italy he offers himself as a defender of his native land. Again, the return to Simonides in the earlier poem[12] is paralleled by the plan to close the Grecian hymn with an oration represented as coming from the time of the Achæan League. The words that terminate the sketch are attempts to clarify his ideas, to describe the triumphs of the men of antiquity as an example and inspiration to their descendants.

There is also a striking difference between the two canzoni. The unfinished one is cold and dead in comparison with its more fortunate predecessor. That is not surprising, in view of the fact that one is a mere outline, while the other is a polished poem. However, we possess also the sketch of Leopardi's ideas as he jotted them down in preparation of the poem to Italy.[13] The contrast

[11] No doubt Leopardi was influenced by the efforts being made at the time in behalf of Greek independence.

[12] The canzone to Italy belongs to 1818.

[13] See *Scritti Vari,* pp. 18-20; the sketch is entitled *Argomento d'una Canzone sullo Stato Presente dell'Italia;* it is accompanied by a reproduction of the manuscript.

between that sketch and the later one, which forms the subject of this comment, is illuminating. The inspiration to express himself in poetic form seems to be impelling the author in his earlier outline. The rough draft of his canzone to Italy is instinct with life; in many cases he finds at the first effort the very words and phrases that he later embodies in the published poem. In the *Canzone sulla Grecia,* on the other hand, he can furnish only the bare framework of ideas. The will and the desire to do homage to the object of his veneration are present, but he cannot for the time being instil into his conceptions the breath of emotion and passion that will make them live as elements of a work of art. We may be sure that Leopardi's love for Hellas would never have allowed him to approve of anything that did not represent the true and well-rounded expression of his deep affection.

III. Ad Arimane

Re delle cose, autor del mundo, arcana
Malvagità, sommo potere e somma
Intelligenza, eterno
Dator de' mali e reggitor del moto,

io non so se questo ti faccia felice, ma mira e godi ec. contemplando eternam. ec.

produzione e distruzione ec. per uccider partorisce ec. sistema del mondo, tutto patimen. Natura è come un bambino che disfa subito il fatto. Vecchiezza. Noia e passioni piene di dolore e disperazioni: amore.

I selvaggi e le tribù primitive, sotto diverse forme, non riconoscono che te. Ma i popoli civili ec. te con diversi nomi il volgo appella Fato, natura e Dio. Ma tu sei Arimane, tu quello che ec.

E il mondo civile t'invoca.

Taccio le tempeste, le pesti ec. tuoi doni, che altro non sai donare. Tu dai gli ardori e i ghiacci.

E il mondo delira cercando nuovi ordini e leggi e spera perfezione. Ma l'opra tua rimane immutabile, perchè p. natura dell'uomo sempre regneranno l'ardimento e l'inganno, e la sincerità e la modestia resteranno indietro, e la fortuna sarà nemica al valore, e il merito non sarà buono a farsi largo, e il giusto e il debole sarà oppresso ec. ec.

Vivi, Arimane e trionfi, e sempre trionferai.

Invidia dagli antichi attribuita agli dei verso gli uomini.

Animali destinati in cibo. Serpente Boa. Nume pietoso ec.

Perchè, dio del male, hai tu posto nella vita qualche apparenza di piacere? l'amore? . . . per travagliarci col desiderio, col confronto degli altri e del tempo nostro passato ec.?

Io non so se tu ami le lodi o le bestemmie ec. Tua lode sarà il pianto, testimonio del nostro patire. Pianto da me per certo Tu non avrai: ben mille volte dal mio labbro il tuo nome maledetto sarà ec.

Mai io non mi rassegnerò ec.

Se mai grazia fu chiesta ad Arimane ec. concedimi ch' io non passi il 7° lustro. Io sono stato, vivendo, il tuo maggior predicatore ec. l'apostolo della tua religione. Ricompensami. Non ti chiedo nessuno di quelli che il mondo chiama beni: ti chiedo quello che è creduto il massimo de' mali, la morte. (non ti chiedo ricchezze ec. non amore sola causa degna di vivere ec.). Non posso, non posso più della vita.[14]

The *Zibaldone* (or the *Pensieri di Varia Filosofia e di Bella Letteratura,* as it is called in its published form) is our chief source of information regarding Leopardi's views on language, art, and philosophy. It contains very few entries later than July, 1829, and none at all after December, 1832. For this reason it is particularly important to study carefully the documents at our disposal that can throw any light upon their author's conceptions during the latter years of his life.[15] Of such documents one of the most interesting is the unfinished "Hymn to Ahriman."

The main facts of Leopardi's philosophical development are clear, especially after examination of the *Zibaldone.* In his early youth he constructed a system of thought in which he deified nature and eulogized the great illusions that characterize primitive man.[16] This conception he modified gradually as he became more mature. His notes belonging to the years 1826, 1827 and 1828 demonstrate that he had learned to understand the remorselessness of nature, and that he had begun to feel horrified at her cruelty. Up to this point he had never shown any tendency to sympathize with civilization, which he had always regarded with hatred. The chronology of his later intellectual development is somewhat uncer-

[14] For this hymn, see *Scritti Vari Inediti dalle Carte Napoletane,* pp. 114-115; it contains also a facsimile of the poet's manuscript. The date (1835) found in print, *but not in the facsimile,* is almost certainly a mistake. The mention of the author's seventh lustrum clearly indicates that he was not thirty-five; cf. Chiarini's argument for dating the poem March or April, 1833; Chiarini, *Vita di Giacomo Leopardi,* Firenze, G. Barbèra, p. 399.

[15] The most valuable sources are the *Canti* and the *Epistolario,* although the latter becomes more scanty every year.

[16] Bodily vigor, patriotism, religion, sacrifice of life for ideals, love, etc.

tain on account of lack of data, but the poem *La Ginestra* illustrates the final phase of his thought—a willingness to recognize some value in human achievement and coöperation, and an even stronger realization of the ruthlessness of nature.

It is essential to separate Leopardi's personal feelings from his philosophical tenets. Although no one could deny more thoroughly than he the possibility of happiness for man, he was willing upon occasion to admit that no general theory, whether pessimistic or optimistic, could be formed as to the works of nature as a whole.[17] We must be careful, then, to consider the pessimism expressed in his poems as applied to the fate of the human race in general, and to his own destiny in particular.[18]

The " Hymn to Ahriman " strikes an intensely personal note. It would be difficult to imagine anything more terrible than this invocation of the spirit of evil that governs the destinies of mankind and of the universe. We find in the poet's sketch a presentation, in brief compass, of the various evils that authorize him to believe in the divinity of Ahriman. He parades before us a series of woes that sums up the tortured life of ages. First he points to the condition of nature's offspring, brought into the world to reproduce, to grow old, and to die. Next he turns to the recognition of evil among primitive tribes and among civilized peoples. Enumeration of the harmful phenomena of nature paves the way for a scathing comment on the natural injustice of mankind. Here the poet pauses to reiterate his belief in the eternal triumph of Ahriman. Then he touches the supreme chord in his song of despair—the recognition by man of evil elements in his own divinities. At this point a temporary relief is offered by the consideration of love as the only thing in life that offers any possibility of pleasure.[19] Even this comfort, however, is only partial and is perhaps bestowed by Ahriman to make our position even more grievous.

[17] Cf. *Zibaldone*, Vol. v, pp. 87-89, (July 10, 1823). He means the system of the universe, in which man is only an unimportant detail.

[18] It must be admitted that Leopardi does not always maintain this distinction; in his artistic works he frequently seems to lose sight of everything except a system of pessimism.

[19] It was a firm belief of Leopardi that love was the last of the great illusions, and the only one left to modern times; cf. the poems *Amore e Morte* and *Il Pensiero Dominante*.

The last portion of the hymn contains the personal appeal of Leopardi. It includes the hopeless lament of his torn and suffering spirit, his plea for death as the only possible relief. The point in it that gives rise to the greatest amount of speculation is the question of resignation. He says: "Mai io non mi rassegnerò." This statement seems to call for explanation.

In the course of an attempt to establish a system of pessimism, Leopardi described as follows the three phases of youth: "(1) Speranza, forse il più affannoso di tutti; (2) disperazione furibonda e renitente; (3) disperazione rassegnata."[20] At the time of writing he considered that he had himself reached the third stage. Yet seven years later his soul is still in conflict, and it is hard to define the character of his resignation. The "Hymn to Ahriman" belongs to the period of the waning of Leopardi's affection for Fanny Targioni-Tozzetti. It is to be compared with *Amore e Morte, A Se Stesso, Consalvo,* and *Aspasia.* A certain similarity in the poet's attitude toward fate is evident in all of these poems. The unfinished one seems to contain less direct allusion to his feelings of love than do the others, but it is only logical to suppose that the emotional stimulus was the same. It is probable that Leopardi aimed at a stoical submission to destiny. Without feeling the slightest inclination toward reconciliation with the system of the universe as it affects the human race, he desired to bid farewell to illusion, to cherish no more hope. This idea of an austere despair is best illustrated in *A Se Stesso,* and perhaps in the later poems of the Neapolitan period. At times, however, he is impelled to raise his head proudly and to struggle against fate.[21] These outbursts belong to a passionate nature unable

[20] *Zibaldone,* Vol. VII, p. 110 (June 3d, 1826).

[21] Cf. *Amore e Morte,* lines 108-116.

> Me certo troverai, qual si sia l'ora
> Che tu le penne al mio pregar dispieghi,
> Erta la fronte, armato,
> E renitente al fato,
> La man che flagellando si colora
> Nel mio sangue innocente
> Non ricolmar di lode,
> Non benedir, com' usa
> Per antica viltà l'umana gente.

always to remain unmoved, and determined to resist. Doubtless Leopardi was beset by conflicting thoughts, now feeling resignation, now the dreadful grief that he attributed to antiquity and to ancient heroes.

It is surprising that Leopardi never finished the "Hymn to Ahriman." The supposition that he thought the personal element in it too strong is hardly tenable when we consider the intensely subjective nature of some of his work. It is barely possible that he felt a certain clash between the general statements at the beginning and the individualistic tendency of the conclusion. It seems more reasonable, however, to attribute his failure to complete the work to chance, to ill health, or to the lack of inspiration at the proper moment. We know from his own statement that he was accustomed to outline a poem suggested by inspiration, and then to wait for another similar moment to amplify his ideas and complete his work.[22]

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REVIEWS

Don Francisco de Quevedo, por EULOGIO FLORENTINO SANZ. Edited by R. SELDEN ROSE, Ph. D. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1917. xxxiv + 249 pp.

El Dr. Rose—bien reputado en los estudios de literatura española por una edición de Suárez de Figueroa (*El Passagero,* Madrid, 1914, Soc. Biblióf. esp.) calificada recientemente de primorosa por Bonilla—ha preparado la edición de este drama romántico para que sirva de texto en las clases de español. Va precedida de un Ensayo biográfico de Sanz, al que siguen una Introducción histórica, que

Cf. also *Aspasia,* lines 89-93.

> Or ti vanti, che il puoi. Narra che sola
> Sei del tuo sesso a cui piegar sostenni
> L'altero capo, a cui spontaneo porsi
> L'indomito mio cor.

[22] *Epistolario di Giacomo Leopardi,* Vol. I, p. 339 (written in 1820).

presenta el medio en que la acción se desenvuelve, familiarizándonos con los personajes que en ella intervienen, y unas notas sobre la versificación. Además en un corto prefacio el Dr. R. indica las circunstancias que hacen a esta obra muy estimable para el servicio didáctico. Creo, sin embargo, que el estar en verso le resta algunas ventajas y el uso constante de *Vos* en el tratamiento es un declarado inconveniente.

Algunas observaciones que su lectura me ha sugerido:

Pág. xxi. La venta de las joyas de la Reina no es cosa admitida (*Caduta,*[1] p. 141, n. 2).

P. xxiii. No fué Quevedo a Nápoles en 1616, sino, según parece, en 1611 (Tarsia,[2] p. 60; Mérimée,[3] p. 27; y F.-Guerra,[4] p. 76), aunque por poco tiempo; pero sí pasa con Osuna todo el año 1614 y la mitad del 1615 y en Agosto se le nombra Embajador para llevar y presentar al Rey los pliegos del Parlamento (Tarsia, p. 62; Mérimée, p. 83; F.-Guerra, p. 82).

P. xxix. No era extraño a las costumbres de la época que una viuda se retirase a un convento. Ejemplo el de la Emperatriz María de Austria, hija de Carlos V, que al quedar viuda se fué a las Descalzas Reales, donde estuvo hasta su muerte, aunque sin guardar la clausura porque va a saludar a Palacio a la Reina Margarita cuando llegó a Madrid (Novoa,[5] LX, pp. 16 y 129). Como dice el *Libro de las honras qve hizo el colegio de la Cõpañia de IESVS* (Madrid, 1603, p. 33), tuvo "si no el habito, alo menos el animo y modo de vida tan religiosa."[6]

[1] *Caduta del Conte d'Olivares*, par le P. Ippolito Camillo Guidi, Ministre de Modène en Espagne. Publicada y precedida de un estudio por A. Morel-Fatio, *Bulletin italien*, t. XII, pp. 27, 136, 224.

[2] *Vida de Don Francisco de Quevedo.* T. X de las *Obras* de Quevedo. Madrid, Sancha, 1794.

[3] *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de F. de Quevedo.* Paris, 1886.

[4] *Obras completas de D. Francisco de Quevedo,* ed. crítica ordenada e ilustrada por Aureliano Fernandez-Guerra, T. I. Sevilla, 1897.

[5] *Memorias de Matias de Novoa,* atribuidas a Bernabé de Vibanco. LX y LXI comprenden la Historia de Felipe III publicada en los vols. que corresponden a esos números en la *Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España:* LXIX, LXXVII, LXXX, y LXXXVI comprenden la Historia de Felipe IV en los volúmenes que llevan esos números en la misma Colección.

[6] Esta nota debo a la amabilidad del Dr. R. E. House, de la Hispanic Society.

P. xxix. Creo que el Dr. R. recarga de sombríos colores el cuadro de las ediciones de Quevedo antes de 1852. En el Catálogo de F.-Guerra (p. 407) hasta el año 1852 se incluyen 229 artículos. Admitido que no pueden presentarse como modelos por la corrección del texto, pero desde el punto de vista tipográfico algunas son espléndidas.

P. xxx. Villamediana, aunque otra cosa dice, p. ej., Fitzmaurice-Kelly, parece que fué muerto, no al bajar del coche, sino en el coche mismo (Cotarelo, *El Conde de Villamediana.* Madrid, 1886, pp. 135 s.).

P. xxxi. Sobre la atribución de la *Caida del Conde-Duque,* V. Morel-Fatio (*Caduta,* pp. 27 s.).

Como fuentes probables de algunos episodios sería, acaso, posible indicar: Para la muerte de Medina en el primer acto, el lance caballeresco de Quevedo en la Iglesia de San Martín de Madrid el Jueves Santo de 1611 mientras se celebraban las tinieblas, que cuenta Tarsia (*loc. cit.,* pp. 60 s.). La audiencia con el Rey a que Quevedo es llamado en la última escena del acto tercero, pudo haber sido sugerida a Sanz por cierta larga audiencia secreta que Felipe III le concedió para tratar de los asuntos de Italia (*Del Memorial de Chumacero,* en F.-Guerra, p. 204; Mérimée, p. 50).

D. Juan de Castilla fué un personaje histórico, aunque de carácter distinto al que tiene en el drama, Procurador de la ciudad de Burgos en las Cortes, y en las que solicitó una alta merced para el Conde-Duque, " hombre atronado de ningún seso ni juicio, adulador y ambicioso como los favorecidos de este tiempo " (Novoa, LXXVII, pp. 419 s.; LXXX, pp. 2 s.).

Igualmente personaje histórico el Marqués de la Grana, sujeto de cultura, valor e independencia de carácter, " ambasciator cesareo in questa corte " (*Caduta,* pp. 46, 153 ss.).

Acaso se haya servido Sanz para la preparación del drama de una obra que el Dr. R. no cita, y yo desconozco, de Adolfo de Castro, *El Conde-Duque de Olivares y el Rey Felipe IV.* Cádiz, 1846.

No creo que se pueda presentar a Quevedo siempre con una conducta austeramente irreprochable en sus relaciones con el valido. Ejemplo de la fragilidad inherente a la humana condición es su obra el *Chitón de las tarabillas,* y, dicho sea de paso, Novoa dice de Quevedo mucho mas de lo que le atribuye Mérimée en la pág. 95;

así se lee: "y el Quevedo creyendo que arribaba á mayor fortuna y que sacaría de aquí otro pellizco de dinero, como le sacó al duque de Osuna, armó un librillo insolente en que satisfacia al Conde o respondia a las calumnias que le cargaban; indigno de juicio heróico, ni aun plebeyo" (Novoa, LXIX, p. 73).

Para las observaciones del vocabulario que a continuación van, me he servido, en gran parte, del *Diccionario de Autoridades*. A él puede acudirse para más amplia información.

Verso 109: *compaña*. Es voz anticuada.

V. 210: *como un Alcalde randara*. "Alcalde" aquí no debe tomarse en el sentido de "Mayor" en la organización administrativa actual. V. Alcalde de noche (*Dic. de Aut.* T. I., p. 177), Pesquisidores, Alcaldes del rastro (Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 91).

V. 281: *que siente crecer la hierba*. No se explica este modismo que es una frase familiar y metafórica con la que expresamos que "es una persona lista, discreta, perspicaz."

V. 498: *Alas diste a mi ambición*. Modo de hablar metafórico que vale tanto como "dar aliento, osadía, ánimo o favor a otro para que se atreva a ejecutar algo que sin este amparo y patrocinio por si solo no realizaría."

V. 523: *Posada*. Tiene el significado de "casa propia de cada uno donde habita o mora." Aunque hoy no se usa en ese sentido, era muy corriente en el siglo XVII y creo que es él que ha querido darle Sanz.

V. 565: *Vengo de paz*. Frase que vale "venir sin ánimo de reñir, cuando se temía lo contrario." Lat. *Pacificum venire, adventare, ingredi*. La contestación al centinela que dice el Dr. R. es corrientemente *gente de paz*.

V. 794. Extraño, porque aunque se puede ver (Novoa, LXIX, p. 10), es rarísimo, "Lemus" por "Lemos." En la nota del Dr. R. en la p. 199 hay que hacer notar que cuando cayeron en desgracia Lemos y Borja no tenía aún influencia Olivares, pues se trata de episodios del reinado anterior que preceden y señalan la caída de Lerma y la subida de Uceda (Novoa, LXI, p. 148); y aunque Olivares formaba en aquellas emulaciones y luchas entre los primos y cuñados, Uceda y Lemos, al lado del primero, representaba entonces un papel muy inferior, como él mismo reconocía (Novoa, LXI, pp. 88, 89, 128). El Conde de Lemos no creo que tuviese

aposentos en Palacio por los cargos que desempeñaba. Sí los tuvo su madre Doña Catalina de Zúñiga y Sandoval, hermana de Lerma, "que estaba en palacio con aquel decoro y respeto que siempre habia tenido por que á sus grandes partes y virtudes, ni la variedad de los tiempos, ni los desaires de la fortuna se le atrevieron" (Novoa, LXI, p. 398).

V. 864: *cuentos de la villa.* "Cuento," en sentido familiar, "chisme o enredo que se cuenta a una persona para ponerla a mal con otra, comentarios" = "town gossip."

V. 1252: *Chanza pesada.* "Pesado," más que "heavy, stupid, serious," significa, en este caso, "molesto, enfadoso, impertinente."

V. 1265, 1275, 2776. *Bravo.* Más que "brave, excellent, fine," equivale a "raro, peregrino, singular." Lat. *Insolitus.*

V. 1280: *Loco;* metafóricamente, "que excede en mucho a lo ordinario o presumible."

V. 1286: *Tragar saliva.* Traduciéndolo "swallow saliva" no significa nada, pero es una frase con la que se expresa el no poder desahogarse ni oponerse a alguna determinación, palabra o acción que ofende, por la autoridad de la persona que la hace o dice o por otras razones de conveniencia o política.

V. 1304: *Torbellino.* Persona demasiado viva e inquieta y que hace o dice las cosas sin orden ni concierto. Acaso más que "whirlwind" daría el sentido "helter-skelter manner."

V. 1363: *Cortar las alas.* Quitarle el ánimo o aliento a una persona cuando intenta ejecutar o pretende alguna cosa. Privarle de los medios con que cuenta para prosperar y engrandecerse.

V. 2148: *Va que se le lleva el aire.* El Dr. R. dice: "He goes as if he were walking on air." "Llevarle a uno el aire" se entiende por "seguirle; complacerle en todo."

V. 2163: *Por dicha.* No "by happiness." Es una frase adverbial que vale lo mismo que "por ventura, por suerte, por casualidad, caso." Lat.: *Casu, fortuito* (V. Garcés, *Fundamento del vigor y elegancia de la lengua castellana,* Madrid, 1885, I, pp. 52, 260). En inglés "by chance."

V. 2330: *Por menos.* No "at least," sino "for less."

V. 2660: *Os le quiero seguir.* "I would follow your example there." Seguir, no el ejemplo, sino el humor. Aceptar la broma.

V. 2696: *Ya no sois uno los dos.* "Uno" vale tanto como "estrecho amigo." Lat. *Alter ego.*

V. 2912: *Al paso.* No es "immediately" sino "a la vez que se hace otra cosa, sin detenerse"; vale también "al encuentro." Lat. *In transitu, in via, obiter.*

Pag. 204. La ceremonia de cubrirse los grandes tiene lugar aún hoy. La análoga para las damas grandes de España es "tomar la almohada," sentarse delante de la Reina.

Creo que merecía una explicación la libertad poética de poner el artículo indeterminado masculino en los v. 2368 y 2810. El uso del pronombre complementario *le* por *lo* en los v. 1760 y 61 podrá extrañar. Acaso sería conveniente llamar la atención sobre la elipsis del v. 1298 y el *que* redundante del billete del Rey en la pág. 179, uso pleonástico muy común en el período clásico y a su imitación puesto aquí (V. Valdés, *Diálogo de la lengua,* Madrid, 1860, p. 161). El v. 3050 tiene una errata: el adjetivo debía ser femenino.

Erasmo Buceta.

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Young Germany in its Relations to Britain, by John Whyte. Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs No. 8. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1917. 87 pp.

Über Jungdeutschland und England kann man eigentlich nicht schreiben, ohne politische Grundfragen zu berühren; und da das in vollem Umfang in diesen Zeiten hier unmöglich ist, so bleibt dem Besprecher vielleicht noch mehr als dem Verfasser der vorliegenden Schrift das Feld eingezäunt. Ausserdem möchte der Rez. von vornherein sagen, dass seine kritischen Einwände und Wünsche eher durch Whytes Schrift angeregt als verursacht worden sind, wenngleich auch manches dieser wie jeder Erstlingsarbeit anhaftet, z. B. eine gewisse Unschärfe der Linien. Im eigensten Interesse der Arbeit wäre es schliesslich gewesen, wenn ihre guten Ergebnisse in den rechten geschichtlichen Zusammenhang gebracht worden wären, was das Schlusskapitel gut hätte tun können. Die historische Perspektive, so skizzenhaft sie auch sein mag, macht erst die Stoffsammlung zur Forschung.

Unser Gegenstand nun ist höchst interessant und fruchtbar, und Whyte hat uns mit seinen Zusammenstellungen sicher ein gut Stück vorwärts gebracht im Studium gewisser deutsch-englischen Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert. Er beschränkt sich im ganzen freilich auf die Jahre 1830-40, die er willkürlich "particularly significant years" nennt. Geht man nur einen kleinen Schritt weiter bis zu 1848, so wird einem klarer, warum das literarische und journalistische Deutschland damals gegen Frankreich und für England gestimmt und gerichtet war. Denn in grossen Zügen geht der Deutschen Zuneigung für England mit der Abneigung gegen Frankreich zusammen. In den volkstümlichsten Literaturbewegungen des modernen Deutschlands, dem Sturm und Drang, gewissen Entwicklungen der Romantik und dem poetischen Realismus von 1850-60, ist der kulturelle Grundton germanisch, unromanisch, ja antifranzösisch. In dem grossen Strom hin zum poetischen Realismus schwammen auch die Jungdeutschen, ob sie wollten oder nicht. Sie wurden von Frankreich ab- und zu England hingetrieben, jeder natürlich auf seine Weise und nach seinem Einzelschicksal. Im ganzen haben sie sich bewusst ausserhalb der deutschen Entwicklung zu stellen versucht, vor allen Heine, Börne und Mundt, haben zur deutschen Geschichte und zu Goethe eine schiefe Stellung eingenommen, und sind deshalb leicht in die Wolfsgruben der Auslandverherrlichung geraten. Von Börne und Heine lässt sich kein Deutschtum im Sinne Arnims oder Kleists erwarten; Mundt verhimmelt damals Börne, was ihn selber kennzeichnet; Wienbarg will bewusst national sein, kann es aber nicht in lebendiger Weise, weil er zusehr Dogmatiker ist; Gutzkow und Laube haben sich, wenigstens später, gesünder weiter entwickelt. Alle waren mehr oder weniger "theoretisch" veranlagt, also schlechte Politiker, daher auch oberflächliche Beurteiler des politischen Englands. Gutzkow und Mundt waren als Märker politisch nüchterner als die andern. Heine besass ausnahmsweise scharfen politischen Blick als eine ganz besondere Begabung, weshalb er allein von allen Jungdeutschen eine wirklich kritische Stellung zu England einnahm. Mundt hat die meisten intimen Einblicke in englisches Leben gehabt, ist aber von zu naivem und unselbständigem politischen Denken gewesen, um zu einem reifen Urteil über England zu gelangen.

Um das innere Verhältnis der Jungdeutschen zu England zu

verstehen, bedarf es der klaren Darstellung alles diesen und dazu noch der gründlichen Erörterung der verschiedenen Erkenntnisquellen. *Unmittelbare* Kenntnisse verschaffen nur Reisen. Je kürzer der Aufenthalt im fremden Land, desto wichtiger ist der Seelenzustand des Reisenden. Einige Urteile Heines über England sind wie einige andere, zum Beispiel von Grillparzer, der Ausfluss schlechter Laune. Auch muss gefragt werden: was weiss einer, ehe er seine Auslandsreise antritt?—*Mittelbares* Wissen bringen dann Reisebücher. Pückler-Muskaus englische Reisebriefe haben zum Beispiel stark auf Heine gewirkt, wie denn überhaupt Pücklers *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (1830) einen grossen Einfluss auf die Jungdeutschen ausgeübt haben. Raumers Buch über England von 1835 ist auch nicht umsonst geschrieben worden und hat manchen Jungdeutschen zur willigen oder unwilligen Stellungnahme veranlasst. Zur bereits erwähnten Volksströmung muss auch die literarische Mode gerechnet werden, die selbstverständlich auch wieder seelische und geschichtliche Gründe hat. Die Jungdeutschen von 1835 suchten ihr England, das ist das England von Shakespeare, Byron und Scott. Julian Schmidt will, kaum zehn Jahre später, ein England von Scott und Dickens; und Fontane wieder ein anderes. Sie suchten und fanden alle verschiedenes. Aus dem hernach das eine England herauszufinden, das "hart im Raume" liegt, ist eine ebenso reizvolle wie schwierige Aufgabe. Um einen Vergleich heranzuziehen: man muss schon ein tüchtiger Goethekenner sein, ehe man den Weg von Carlyles Goethe zu dem von De Quincey, Matthew Arnold, Emerson oder Bayard Taylor mit Verständnis gehen kann.

Das kulturpolitische Verhältnis Jungdeutschlands zu England hätte sich in Whytes Arbeit noch klarer herausgeschält, wenn das Politische vom Literarischen zunächst einmal völlig getrennt worden wäre. Natürlich darf grade bei den Jungdeutschen die Literatur nie ohne politischen Hintergrund betrachtet werden. Aber vor der abschliessenden Synthese braucht es hier der besonders eingehenden Analyse, umsomehr als es sich um grundverschiedene Persönlichkeiten handelt. Rein literarisch genommen, sind bei Whyte Shakespeare und Scott, aber auch Byron etwas schlecht weggekommen. Die Stellung *Shakespeares* in der ästhetischen Theorie eines Mundt sowie in Gutzkows Schaffen verspricht noch eine lohnende Untersuchung. Bezüglich *Scotts* neigt Whyte wie auch Price (in *The Attitude of Gustav Freytag and Julian Schmidt*

toward English Literature, Hesperia, No. 7) zur Überschätzung des tatsächlichen nachweisbaren Einflusses in Deutschland. Karl Wengers Arbeit über *Historische Romane deutscher Romantiker* (Bern 1905) hätte zur Vorsicht mahnen können. Laube (bei Whyte, S. 51) übertreibt Scotts Einfluss auf die deutsche Literatur mindestens ebenso sehr wie Julian Schmidt den von Dickens.— Tage der "Kriegsliteratur" sollten auch den Aufspürer von internationalen Einflüssen ernüchtern, und schon viele sogen. Einflüsse haben sich hinterher als enttäuschend oberflächliche Berührungen herausgestellt. Selbst die deutsche Nationalliteratur, ich meine damit die volksechte und volkstümliche, ist bedeutend spröder als die meisten Germanisten im Ausland annehmen. Die deutsche Forschung wird das hinfort wieder neu betonen, wie das zum Beispiel Ernst Elster in seiner Rektoratsrede (Marburg 1915) über *Deutschtum und Dichtung* (besonders S. 10-11) tut. Vielleicht darf ich in diesem Zusammenhang auch auf meine Shaftesbury Rezension hinweisen (*Mod. Lang. Notes* vom Dezember 1915).

Ein Wort noch über *Lord Byron in Deutschland.* Merkwürdig ist es, dass er schon in den 1840ern bei den Jungdeutschen fast vergessen ist. Adolf Böttgers Übersetzungen, Leipzig 1839, bedeuten den Höhepunkt der deutschen Byronschwärmerei. Der Jungdeutschen Nachfolger Gottschall bekennt sich erst 1847 wieder zu ihm. Sein Gegner Julian Schmidt hat noch eine Jugendschwäche in der Richtung; Price belegt das sehr interessant. Nach Gottschall müssen wir mehrere Jahrzehnte warten, ehe wir mit Karl Beibtreu zu einer neuen Byronmode gelangen. In den Vierzigern scheinen die Gestalten von Don Juan und Tannhäuser die Byronfigur aus der deutschen Literatur gedrängt zu haben.—Das zeigt zugleich, was Byron eigentlich den Jungdeutschen bedeutete. Schon Julian Schmidt (bei Price, S. 29) hat es angedeutet. Byron war ihr Held, weil er aristokratisch-revolutionär, freiheitsbegeistert und ichsüchtig, glücklich-unglücklich, faustisch und splienig zugleich war, oder ihnen wenigstens so aussah. Und nicht zuletzt lebte er sich unbekümmert vor den Philistern aus, was die meisten Jungdeutschen samt Publikum nur zu träumen wagten. So kommt es, dass er tatenschwachen Dichtern und Schönschreibern neben Napoleon als "Poet der Tat" erscheint. Die geniale Freiheitspose über alles! Byron wurde hundertmal mehr als Künstler denn als Engländer angesehen. Nur oberflächlichere jungdeutsche Lieb-

haber der englischen Literatur nannten ihn "echtenglisch." Heine allein sagte, er sei unenglisch, womit er im ganzen recht haben mag. Vergleiche dazu Arnold Schröers *Grundzüge und Haupttypen der englischen Literaturgeschichte* (2 Bändchen, Göschen, Leipzig 1906), besonders Teil II. S. 110-116. Es ist ein sehr interessanter Versuch, der grade für den Germanisten aufschlussreich ist.

Zum Schluss noch ein paar kleine Ausstellungen oder Erweiterungen. War Whytes Zitat, S. 43 und 77, über "historic Britain" nötig?—S. 29 unten meint der Verfasser, dass Heines Ausgangspunkt für seine Verherrlichung Napoleons in seinem Verhältnis zu England liege. Es ist aber umgekehrt, was leicht nachzuweisen ist.—Mundts Stellungnahme zur englischen Literatur wäre noch klarzustellen, auch seine Gattin ist dabei mit einem Roman über Aphra Behn (1849) zu nennen.—Sollte Whyte später die Haltung der jungdeutschen Zeitschriften auf sein Thema hin untersuchen, so möchte ich mir hier den Hinweis auf Ruges *Hallische Jahrbücher* und das *Deutsche Museum* (1840 ff.) von Robert Prutz erlauben. Besonders in diesem ist interessantes Material. In meiner Studie über Fontane und England habe ich bereits auf Edward Smith, *Foreign Visitors in England, their Books in three Centuries,* London 1888, hingedeutet. Auch Karl Hillebrands Schriften—an sich schon ein Genuss zu lesen!—dürften ebenso anregen wie ergänzen. Was Whyte uns bis jetzt gegeben hat, ist eine sorgfältige und brauchbare Zusammenfassung, die zur Weiterarbeit auffordert.

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The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe, edited by Killis Campbell. Boston and New York: Ginn & Co., 1917. Pp. lxiv, 332.

It is nothing less than an indictment of American scholarship that we should have had to wait so long for an edition of Poe adequately introduced and adequately annotated. There has been no lack of articles about Poe, or of highly specialized treatments of minute phases of his work and career. But if you ask, What did Poe mean by this poem or that? What is the central thought of the poem? or, in Poe's own phrase, What is the "totality of effect"

intended? you will find no single volume or edition that even approximately meets your need.

The first distinctive excellence, then, of Dr. Campbell's book, is that it is fearlessly and consistently interpretative. One does not have to agree with all of his findings to recognize the wide reading and the resolute individual exegesis that have gone into this part of his work. Criticisms, of course, may be made. The notes on *Ulalume,* for example, make no reference to the tenth stanza of Rossetti's *Portrait,* or to Wordsworth's *Desideria,* or to the interpretations proffered in Waitman Barbe's *Famous Poems Explained* (1909). The relation, too, of Poe's so-called sonnet on *Silence* and Hood's real sonnet on the same theme, though commented upon by Dr. Campbell, seems to me never to have been clearly understood. Hood begins:

> There is a silence where hath been no sound,
> There is a silence where no sound may be.

The two kinds of silence are typified, respectively, by (1) the silence far "under the deep, deep sea," and (2) the silence "in the cold grave." The first of these makes little impression on Hood: it is not the true silence. Note his sestet:

> But in green ruins, in the desolate walls
> Of antique palaces, where Man hath been,
> Though the dun fox, or wild hyena, calls,
> And owls, that flit continually between,
> Shriek to the echo, and the low winds moan,
> There the true Silence is, self-conscious and alone.

Poe takes the opposite view. He adopts Hood's twofold division of silence, but finds a superior and supreme impressiveness not in the second, but in the first kind. The second, the silence of the dead, is a finite, human, *embodied* thing, rendered terrorless by memory and the lore of tears: it is not what Baudelaire (*Rêve Parisien,* p. 236) would call "le silence de l'éternité." Compare Hood's sestet now with Poe's:

> He is the corporate Silence: dread him not!
> No power hath he of evil in himself;
> But should some urgent fate (untimely lot!)
> Bring thee to meet his shadow (nameless elf,
> That haunteth the lone regions where hath trod
> No foot of man), commend thyself to God!

In other words, the relation of Poe's lines to Hood's is much like the relation of Poe's *Romance* to Byron's *To Romance*. The theme is the same, but the American poet takes in each case a view diametrically opposed to that found in the English prototype. There is, of course, no suggestion of plagiarism.

Dr. Campbell's Introduction, with its sixty-four pages and six subdivisions, is an admirable summary. Full recognition is given to Whitty and other gleaners in the same field; the latest finds, if they are real finds, are incorporated; and the whole is elaborately and accurately documented. But certain of the references need to be supplemented or at least brought up to date. Lauvrière's great work published in 1904, is mentioned only once and in a foot-note (p. xxii). It should certainly have been listed among "the chief biographies of Poe" (p. xi) and might have been fruitfully drawn upon in the notes appended in explanation of the individual poems. There is also no mention of Lauvrière's more recent *Edgar Poe* (1911), certainly one of the best of "Les Grands Écrivains Étrangers" series.

If histories of American literature are to be cited (as on pp. lvi and lvii), room should have been made for Leon Kellner's *Geschichte der nordamerikanischen Literatur* (1913). By the same token Arthur Moeller-Bruck's article, *Poe's Schaffen,* prefixed to the ten-volume German edition of Poe (1904) might have been mentioned, if only as a palmary example of how not to do it. Gosse is cited only in his *Questions at Issue,* no note being made of his more recent Poe verdicts in *The Contemporary Review* (February, 1909), and *The Edinburgh Review* (January, 1910).

So, too, Betz is quoted (p. liii) in his *Edgar Poe in der französischen Litteratur* (1902), but, while lesser works are cited, no mention is made of Betz's later and better "Edgar Poe in Deutschland" (*Die Zeit,* Wien, April, 1905), or of Hippe's more detailed and up-to-date treatment in *Edgar Poe's Lyrik in Deutschland* (Inaugural Dissertation, 1913). To C. H. Page's *Poe in France* (p. liii) should be added George D. Morris's "American Traits as Seen by the French" (*The Mid-West Quarterly,* January, 1915), which is concerned chiefly with Poe, and the same author's "French Criticism of Poe" (*South Atlantic Quarterly,* October, 1915).

John Nichol is quoted (p. 296) as saying in his *American Literature* (1882) that Annabel Lee is "the finest" of Poe's lyrics, and

that it displays the poet's passion "at the whitest heat." But this is by no means so interesting an appraisal of *Annabel Lee* as that given by Nichol in another part of his *American Literature*. If he was to be quoted at all, it would have been better, I think, to adduce the passage from page 236 of his *American Literature*: "This [the section from the *Biglow Papers*, second series, No. x, beginning "Under the yaller-pines I house" to the close], not the *Commemoration Ode*, is the author's masterpiece. I set it beside *Annabel Lee*, and regard these two poems, totally different though they are, as the two high-water marks of Transatlantic verse."

These are minor matters. Dr. Campbell has written a book which, whether viewed as summary or interpretation, will be indispensable to all Poe students and which, as a combination of the two, is without an equal.

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Holland's Influence on English Language and Literature. By T. de Vries. Chicago: C. Grentzebach, 1916.

The title of this book is promising indeed: an authoritative statement of Holland's influence on English language and literature would doubtless be widely welcomed. It is all the more painful then when the high hopes aroused by an inclusive title are cruelly disappointed.

Is there anything in this book but second-hand information? To be sure for survey purposes the use of second-hand material is quite legitimate, if it be used only for fresh and more general conclusions, if it be presented in readable form or even simply rearranged in a handy way. But for this book one can urge none of these excuses, except in a small measure the last, and even as a mere chronological survey it would be not only useless but positively dangerous to any but a seasoned student of Dutch and English literature.

The author's conclusions are bewildering, childish almost beyond belief and too often expressed in fantastic English. Nothing could be more cruel to the author than to quote from his book

in detail. Obviously, the author is a man of strong temperament; but his weird rhetoric, even where it rises at times to a sort of eloquence, fails to conceal the futility of his attempt.

The chapters on "Holland's influence on the development of Comparative Philology" bear an uncanny resemblance to the efforts of the polyhistorians of the seventeenth century. Chapter VII is entitled: "Why the influence of England on Dutch language and literature is only of recent date, while that of Holland on English language and literature began much earlier and continued during several centuries." What can be said of a writer who speaks in one breath of "men like Skeat and De Hoog," the latter being the author of some modest studies on Dutch-English relationship? One gasps at the chapter on "How it happened that Holland exerted influence on the English language," which consists of ten pages from Skeat's *Principles of English Etymology* and eight pages from an article by Prof. W. H. Carpenter in *Modern Philology,* and at the next (why the next?) chapter on "The influence which Holland has exerted on the English language," which is made up of *forty-five* pages of words from De Hoog, all these extracts being reprinted *verbatim.* "Everybody," says the author, "who is not blinded by ignorance and prejudice against the Netherlands, will do as the good architect does. He takes all the facts together and in connection with each other, and then he is able to see what he was looking for. He sees something which touches the world's history, taking as a rule, its course from East to West, and so from the Netherlands to England, especially in those centuries, in which from 1400 till 1700, we can say that the headquarters of the World's History are in the Low Countries" (p. 174).

The author also amazes us when he speaks of "Queen Bloody Mary" (p. 182), misquotes his authorities (*Vermeulen* instead of *Vermeylen* throughout the book), describes Defoe's 'language' as having "a naive power, combined with a charming reality . . . which make him dreadful for his enemies, and a not-to-be-neglected help for his friends" (p. 328).

The book is neatly made; it is illustrated rather attractively with photographs (partly taken, without acknowledgment, from Jan Ten Brink's *History of Dutch literature*), and on the promise of its title it will be bought by most of the larger libraries. For a

number of years the author has 'interpreted' Holland to the students of several large Middle Western universities; he has also published eight lectures on "Dutch history, art and literature for Americans," lectures which, as he proudly says "are to be found in the libraries of almost all the great universities in America." Certainly, Americans are interested in Holland and her literature. But Holland deserves to have her literature interpreted with an adequate measure of real knowledge, judgment, and command of the English language.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Notes on Spenser and Chaucer

In the seventeenth century Dekker wrote a pageant with a scene that in some ways calls to mind vividly Spenser's pageant of the rivers in the *Faerie Queene* (IV, canto xi). The latter displays the wedding of Thamesis and Medway in the presence of a large concourse of rivers: Ocean and his wife, Old Tethys, together with the Nile, the Ganges, the Euphrates, and many others. In Dekker's *London's Tempe* (Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants,* Percy Soc., p. 43, second part; *Dekker,* London, 1873, IV, pp. 118 ff.) *Oceanus* appears in his "marine chariot" and "on his head, which (as his beard) is knotted, long, carelessly spread, and white, is placed a diadem." In Spenser it is Thames who thus appears:

> his "head all hoary, and his beard all gray
> Deawed with silver drops, that trickled downe alway,"
>
> (st. xxv)

and:

> "on his head like to a coronet
> He wore, that seemed strange to common vew,
> In which were many towres and castels set," etc.
>
> (st. xxvii)

This crown of his is explained later:

> "A diademe embattild wide
> With hundred turrets, like a turribant.

> With such an one was Thamis beautifide;
> That was to weet the famous Troynovant,"
>
> (st. XXVIII)

(In Middleton's *Triumph of Truth,* London appeared and "on her head a model of steeples and turrets"; Bullen's *Middleton,* VII, p. 236 f. The figure must have been very common. See a recent example in a cartoon of London, "A Lady with a Past," *Punch,* March 27, 1912.) Oceanus, in Dekker's pageant, has come to see the "noble Thamesis," his son, and the glories of "new Troy" whose:

> "high towers on tiptoe rize
> To hit heaven's roofe."

With an elaborate speech Oceanus declaims his purpose and says he could call up "Ganges, Nilus, long-haired Euphrates." In the next "presentation," he reappears with Tethys, riding on a sea-lion. Such pageants of the rivers are common enough; *e. g.,* Fairholt, p. 30, first part (Thames, Severn, and Humber); p. 274, second part (Thames); Heywood (ed. London, 1874), V, 362 (Nilus and "his brother" Thames); and see for Neptune, Dekker, III, pp. 241 ff. The similarities between Dekker's version and that in the *Faerie Queene* are only general. But it is interesting to see how closely Spenser's description approximates pageant customs and it suggests that his other pictures (in which the influence has often been noted) were derived from such pageants which he had actually seen. Indeed the tradition of these very pageants of the rivers may go back to one which afforded Spenser some of its details (although, of course, Upton's suggestion of the influence of Camden's youthful poem, *The Bridale of the Isis and Tame,* remains valid—J. Upton, *Spenser's F. Q.,* London 1758, p. 604; quoted by J. P. Collier, *Wks. of E. Sp.,* London, 1862, III, p. 275. It should be noted that the influence of pageant upon literature, while especially likely, does not preclude the reverse influence.)

Cases of borrowing the house of Fame from Chaucer's poem have been noted in Jonson's *Masque of Queens* (Ballmann, *Anglia,* XXV, p. 26; Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele,* p. 215) and in Sir William Jones's restoration of the house to its rightful owner, Fortune (Koeppel, *Eng. Stud.,* XXVIII, pp. 43 ff.). I cannot dis-

cover that anyone has mentioned the use of a similar or related figure in Dekker's *Troia-Nova Triumphans* in 1612 (Dekker's Works, III, pp. 250 ff.; Fairholt, pp. 23 ff., second part). In 1619 in Middleton's *Triumphs of Love and Antiquity* a "sanctuary of Fame" is used (Fairholt, p. 45 f., first part), but that seems to have been quite different. In Dekker's triumph, Vertue conducts the Lord Mayor safely past various dangers ("even, as it were, through the jaws of Envy") and then brings him to the "house of Fame." "In the upper seat sits Fame, crowned in rich attire, a trumpet in her hand, &c. In other severall places sit kings, princes, and noble persons, who have bene free of the Marchant-tailors, a particular roome being reserved for one that represents the person of Henry, the now Prince of Wales." Fame is the only speaker and her words are for us especially significant. She welcomes the throng to "Fame's high temple":

> "Th' hast yet but gon
> About a pyramid's foote; the top's not won,
> That's glass; who slides there, fals; and once falne downe,
> Never more rises: no art cures renowne,
> The wound being sent to th' heart."

The rest of the speech, bidding the prince to look into Fame's book, and listing the royal line of princes and dukes, I need not quote. The triumph is concluded by a song welcoming Honour "eldest child of Fame." Here we obviously have many points of similarity to Chaucer's scene; for here we find the throng of people about the house, the trumpet, the court of Fame, etc. But we remember that Chaucer's house of Fame was built upon ice and is almost unique in that respect (see Sypherd's *Studies in the H. F.*, pp. 114 ff.), although mountains of glass are common enough in folk-lore and the mountain on which Fortune's house was constructed (to which the abode of Fame in Chaucer seems in many respects indebted), according to some accounts is slippery in just the fashion described here. If, then, there is a line of tradition from Chaucer's version to Dekker, it seems to be in a pleasant tangle!—unless we may suppose that Dekker did not know the source of the tradition. Possibly the property designed by Inigo Jones for Jonson's masque (to which this pageant has no other similarity) had endured and was resurrected three years later for Dekker's special

needs. What once had been intended to resemble ice now looked like glass and the property itself suggested some of the lines; so Chaucer's influence was passed on rather unintentionally!

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MIDDLE ENGLISH *brent brows*

Jamieson, in *A Dictionary of the Scottish Language,* says that in all quotations where the adjective *brent,* meaning 'high, straight, upright,' is used in connection with 'brow' or 'brows,' it "denotes a high forehead, as contradistinguished from one that is flat; . . . smooth, being contrasted with *runkled* or wrinkled." Professor Murray gives a like general meaning to the combination (Cf. *The New English Dictionary,* art. 'brent'), in spite of the fact that he elsewhere[1] remarks that "In ME. brow is only eyebrow; there is no such sense as modern forehead, *frons,* which appears not long before Shakespeare's time and first in Scotch." The adjective 'brent' is exceedingly rare in early literature, where it is always found in combination with the plural 'brows'; it is more common in later literature, where it is found generally in connection with the singular 'brow.' Undoubtedly, I think, 'brent brow' in English literature later than about 1550 does mean a high, smooth, unwrinkled forehead; but in earlier literature 'brent brows' means *high eyebrows.* True, in one passage found in *Sir Isumbras* (ed. Zupitza and Schleich), the expression "Wythe browys brante" (l. 248), so far as the context shows, may mean either high eyebrows or high forehead; but in the *Scottish Legends of the Saints* (ed. Metcalfe, Scot. Text. Soc. 1896, No. 34, l. 19) it is certainly the former that are 'brent.' St. Pelagia is described,

> with teynder fassone & forred brade,
> with browis brent, and (ene) brycht.

Again, in *Eger and Grine* (ed. Hales and Furnivall, *Percy Folio MS.,* Vol. I, l. 943) the poet describes a fair lady,

> A fairer saw I never none,
> With browes brent, and thereto small,

[1] In *Transactions of the Philological Society,* 1888-90, Pt. I, p. 131.

where the latter part of the description could not possibly be applied to the forehead, because beautiful foreheads are generally broad and high and never 'small,' as we learn from Chaucer's description of the Prioresse whose "forhead . . . was almost a spanne brood." It is more likely that the poet is trying to say that the lady's eyebrows are high-arched and delicate, not prominent. And, finally, in one passage at least the poet does not mean a high, smooth forehead; namely, in *The Destruction of Troy* (ed. Panton and Donaldson, EETS. 39, 56). Here the 'forhed' of Helen has just been described as being whiter than snow, having neither lines nor wrinkles (Cf. ll. 3027-3029). Then the author proceeds,

> With browes full brent, bryghtist of hewe,
> Semyt as þai set were sotely with honde,
> Comyng in Compas, & in course Rounde,
> Full metely made & mesured betwene,
> Bright as the brent gold enbowet þai were.

This is a comparatively close translation of the corresponding passage in the *Historia Trojana* (Argentina, 1486, sig. d4, recto 1) of Guido de Colonna. The *frons* has just been described as being snowy and smooth, after which the account continues; *Miratur etenim in tam nitide frontis extremis conuallibus gemina supercilia quasi manu facta sic decenter eleuata flauescere vt geminos exemplata velut in arcus,* etc. It may be easily seen that 'browes brent' is an attempt to translate *supercilia . . . decenter eleuata.* With these quotations we may compare the following passage from the *Aeneis* of Gavin Douglas,

> From his blyth browis brent and ayther ene
> The fyre twinkling (VIII. xii, 14)

where the original in Vergil's *Aeneid* runs, . . . *geminas cui tempora flammas laeta vomunt.* So far as I know, this is the last appearance in English or Scottish literature of the combination *brent brows,* which, from some of the above quotations, seems to mean 'high eyebrows' and not 'a high forehead' as the dictionaries assert.

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Romeo and Juliet II, iv, 219-227

The passage reads in the Second Quarto (it is not found in the First) as follows:

> doth not Rosemarie and *Romeo* begin both with a letter?
> *Ro.* I Nurse, what of that? Both with an *R.*
> *Nur.* A mocker thats the dog, name[1] R. is for the no, I know it begins with some other letter, and she hath the pretiest sententious of it, of you and Rosemarie, that it would do you good to heare it.

Various emendations to lines 222 and 223 have been suggested.[2] Ritson proposed:[3]

"Ah mocker! that's the dog's name. R is for the — no; I know it begins with some other letter." This reading is favored by Malone,[4] who intimates that he had hit upon it independently of Ritson; it is adopted by Delius, Keightly, Furnivall, the Cambridge editors, Dowden, and others. The object of this note is to show that the general meaning of the passage favors this reading.

Editors of Shakespeare generally give very full notes concerning R as the dog's name, but, as far as I am aware, no editor offers an explanation of the nurse's inability to understand that Rosemarie and Romeo begin with R.[5] It is evident that she does not understand, for she calls Romeo a mocker when he tells her that the letter is R, and she says further, "I know it begins with some other letter." To her ignorant ear, it is not words like Rosemarie and Romeo that begin with R, but words like *army, argue, arsenic, arsenal.*[6] She starts to tell Romeo what R stands for to her, "Ah, mocker! that's the dog's name; R is for the —. Here she checks herself before the vulgar word has escaped her lips. Just so in line 212 of this scene, "'Lord, Lord! when 'twas a little prating thing:—," she checks herself in her desire to tell the incident dwelt upon by her with so much gusto in Act I, Scene iii, 38-57.

This interpretation of the nurse's interrupted remark is corrob-

[1] All the later Quartos and the Folios read *dogs name;* the rest of the passage does not vary from the Second Quarto.

[2] See Cambridge edition, 1895, vol. VI, p. 548.

[3] *Remarks Critical and Illustrative on the Text and Notes of the Last Edition of Shakespeare,* London, 1783.

[4] Edition of 1794, vol. XIV, p. 78.

[5] See Furness, Variorum Edition of *Romeo and Juliet,* pp. 140-142.

[6] This is shown by her words, "that's the dog's name," referring to the familiar, "R is the dog's letter." The quotations given in explanation of this passage by many editors show plainly that the snarling of the dog is likened to the sound of R, and the spelling of the representations of the snarling sound shows that it is the same as the first syllable of *argue.* I give some examples from Furness (pp. 140-1), *nar, er, arre.* Cf. *English Dialect Dictionary,* s.v. *arr,* v².

orated by a passage in Middleton's *Michaelmas Term,* Act I, Scene iii, 381-3.[7]

Easy. How like you my Roman hand i' faith?
Dustbox. Exceedingly well, sir, but you rest too much upon your R, and make your ease too little.

That the ignorant have continued to regard R as the initial of such works are *argue* and *army,* is illustrated by an anecdote[8] related in *With the Connaught Rangers, in Quarters, Camp, and on Leave,* by General E. H. Maxwell, C. B., London, 1882:

"The adjutant of the Connaught Rangers, Arthur Maule, gave orders to his batman to have his initials burnt on his horse's hind-quarters. I suppose Paddy did not know what initials meant, for Maule, on proceeding with his batman to inspect the nag, found B. R. beautifully clipped and burnt on the charger's hind-quarters. 'What does B. R. mean?' said the astonished officer. 'My initials are A. M.' 'Arrah, sure, sir,' said the rather offended groom, 'B. R. stands for British Army.'"

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Virginia in *Eastward Ho*

It has not been pointed out that in Seagull's extravagant description of Virginia in *Eastward Ho*[1] the authors made use of travelers' accounts of Virginia, found in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations.*[2] The parallels follow:

Seagull. . . . For as much redde copper as I can bring, . . .

Hakluyt: 'Copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red' (III, 255).
'Our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder' (III, 258).
'We exchanged a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fiftie Crownes' (III, 247).

Spendall. Gods me! and how farre is it thether?
Seagull. Some six weekes sayle, no more, with any indifferent good winde. . . . Ther's a foreright winde continuall wafts us.

Hakluyt: 'After once we are departed the coast of England, wee may passe straightway thither, without danger of being driven into any of the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serveth to bring us thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Januarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they have in a few or none of other journeys.

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[7] *The Works of Middleton,* edited by A. H. Bullen, vol. I, p. 261.
[8] My attention was called to this anecdote by my colleague, Professor H. B. Lathrop.
[1] *Eastward Ho* by Jonson, Chapman, and Marston [Belles-Lettres Series, D. C. Heath & Co.], p. 71.
[2] Published six years before *Eastward Ho.* Quotations from the Hakluyt Society's reprint, with references to the first edition.

Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, having but an indifferent winde, and return continually in twenty or foure and twentie dayes at the most' (III, 178).

Hakluyt describes the temperate climate[3] of Virginia, her abundant viands,[4] the free life,[5] as in the golden age, and ease of advancement[6] there, and the southern route[7] to the colony, much as they are described in the play; but the resemblances are not definite enough to justify quotation. In general, to observe that the three authors founded on fact even a sailor's exaggerated description of Virginia again reminds us how much writers of travel have aided dramatists and poets.

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A NOTE ON *Il Penseroso*

The references to Hermes and to Plato (*Il Penseroso,* 85-95) in the description of the night's reading of the contemplative man deserve more careful annotation than they have hitherto received. Editors more familiar with Plato than with Hermes have contented themselves with a note identifying Hermes, mentioning the association with his name of the Hermetic philosophy, and suggesting that the following verses refer to Plato's *Phædo.*

A careful reading of the latter does not, however, justify the annotation. Though Plato does discuss the probable dwellings of excarnate souls, he does not, either in the *Phædo* or elsewhere, describe the dæmons of fire, air, water, and earth, who are connected with the planets. His reticence in this regard has apparently been noticed by some of the more conscientious editors, who hazard a conjecture that in verses 93-96 we have a reference to some medieval speculation. Thus Todd suggests "some reference to the Gothick system of Demons, which is a mixture of Platonism, school divinity, and Christian superstition." This opinion is echoed by Masson, and by several other modern editors. To none of them apparently has it occurred that the reference is to the Hermetic writings previously alluded to in verse 88.

That, however, appears to be made evident by a reading of the extant Hermetic books. In *The Key* (14) we read, "Now from one source (ἀρχή) all things depend. . . . Three, then, are they: God, . . . Cosmos, and man." Of the Cosmos we are told (*The Perfect Sermon,* III, 1) "That, then, from which the whole Cosmos is formed consists of four elements—fire, water, earth, and air." Of the Cosmos, each of the strata or layers is peopled with daimons innumerable—"choirs of daimons," they are called (*Definitions of Asclepius to King Amon* 13). "And under Him is ranged the

[3] III, 279.
[4] III, 249.
[5] III, 246, 248, 269, 273.
[6] III, 153, 280.
[7] III, 281

choir of daimons—or rather choirs; for these are multitudinous and very varied, ranked underneath the groups of stars (ὑπὸ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων πλινθίδας) in equal number with each one of them." Through these daimons the stars exercise their influence upon the lives of men, controlling all the activities of earth, for, to use Milton's phrase, their

> power hath a true consent (connection)
> With planet or with element."

Of the daimons it is said (*Definitions of Asclepius to King Amon,* 14) "To all of these has been allotted the authority over things upon the earth; and it is they who bring about the confusion of the turmoils of earth—for states and nations generally, and for each individual separately." Their chief function seems to be to act as God's retributive agents. "They watch over the affairs of men, and work out things appointed by the Gods—by means of storms, whirlwinds and hurricanes, by transmutations wrought by fire and shakings of the earth, with famines also, and with wars requiting man's impiety."

From the foregoing citations, it is evident that the source of Milton's ideas about the daimons was neither Plato nor medieval speculation, but the mixture of Neo-Platonic and Oriental mysticism now generally called the Hermetic philosophy.

Though speculative, this was certainly not medieval. It antedated considerably the earliest of the patristic writings, Justin Martyr about the middle of the second century A. D. classes Hermes "among the most ancient philosophers" (*Cohortatio ad Gentiles,* XXXVIII). Of the other church fathers, nine quote more or less at length from the Hermetic books—Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, and Suidas. It is noteworthy that Lactantius (*Divine Institutions,* I, 6, 1) seems to refer to the *Definitions of Asclepius to King Amon,* 15-16, cited above, in which the functions of the daimons are described.

The patristic writings were well known to Milton. Many of them he quotes in his prose works; and the *Common-place Book* preserved in the Cambridge manuscript contains no less than six citations from Lactantius. It is not improbable, therefore, that Milton's interest in Hermes was awakened by his reading during the luminous holiday of the Horton period of the church fathers.[1]

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[1] Milton's reference to Hermes was much more intelligible in the seventeenth century than it is today. In Milton's time Hermes's name was one to conjure with, for it was regarded with the deepest reverence by the Rosicrucians; these and their faith in Hermes were stock themes for satire. See, for example Butler's *Hudibras,* Part II, Canto III, 651 ff.

The *Pupilla Oculi*

In my article "The Speculum Vitae: Addendum," printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, June, 1917, reference was made (p. 152) to a fourteenth century compendium for the use of parish priests known as the *Pupilla Oculi* which seemed to possess some interest for literary history from the fact that it was ascribed to John de Burgh, the Chancellor of Cambridge in 1384, when we have some reason to believe that the University was concerning itself with popular religious literature; and also from the fact that, whatever its origin, it was placed in many parish churches for the use of curates, during the fifteenth century when the literature provided for the people was in general carefully supervised because of Lollardry.

At the time of writing the article in question, the only authority for Burgh's authorship of the *Pupilla* was the ascription found in the edition printed in 1510. It is the purpose of this note to quote the following heading which is affixed to an index found in the copy of the work in Cambridge University Ms. Ee. 5. 11 (f. 24 f.): "Hec tabula facta per fratrem Willelmum Sudbery monachum Westmoñ super pupillam oculi editam per magistrum Johannem Burght et magistrum Alanum Tylneye."

This heading is quoted from the article by Dr. J. A. Robinson, "An Unrecognized Westminster Chronicler" (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1910-8, p. 74, n. 3), in which he is treating the work of Sudbery. This person was a student of his abbey at Oxford, 1373-4, one of those who drew up the great Inventory of the Westminster vestry in 1388 (printed by Dr. Wickham Legg), etc., etc. It would appear that his opinion on the authorship of the *Pupilla Oculi* would be as good as any that could be found.

The authoritative character which the *Pupilla* apparently received makes it of special interest for contemporary literary history. It is a very common book in English libraries, but no copy in America has so far come to my attention. I should be grateful for information as to where it could be consulted in this country.

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BRIEF MENTION

Wordsworth's Theory of Poetic Diction: A Study of the Historical and Personal Background of the Lyrical Ballads. By Marjorie Latta Barstow (Yale Studies in English LVII. Yale University Press, 1917). The critics of Wordsworth have, for the most part, given currency to the judgment that the poet had done better if he had not attempted to expound his theory of poetic diction, which, after all, is contradicted, it is declared, by his own

practice. In becoming traditional this judgment has been a barrier to an unbiased study of the subject, altho there has also been a growing tendency in recent times to interpret the poet's discussion of the matter more liberally and to justify his statements by a sympathetic assumption of what he must have meant by them. But Wordsworth's reflections on the principles of his art, tho strongly personal and reflecting a commanding originality, were due to facts and circumstances that pertain to literary history. As indicated by the sub-title of Miss Barstow's monograph, there is an historical prelude to be surveyed as well as a set of immediately personal circumstances; and above all the character and habits of the poet's mind must be profoundly considered.

To believe Wordsworth capable of advocating a theory of poetic diction that does not bear the stamp of a cultivated judgment and that is easily perceived to be incompatible with good art, and therefore necessarily contradicted by his own practice, should never have been possible in the light of such internal evidence as is offered, for example, in a passage of his "Letter to *The Friend*" (1809): "Mark the superiority, the ease, the dignity, on the side of the more advanced mind, how he overlooks his subject, commands it from centre to circumference, and hath the same thorough knowledge of the tenets which his adversary, with impetuous zeal, but in confusion also, and thrown off his guard at every turn of the argument, is labouring to maintain! If it be a question of the fine arts (poetry for instance) the riper mind not only sees that his opponent is deceived; but, what is of far more importance, sees *how* he is deceived. The imagination stands before him with all its imperfections laid open; as duped by shews, enslaved by words, corrupted by mistaken delicacy and false refinement,—as not having even attended with care to the reports of the senses, and therefore deficient grossly in the rudiments of her power. He has noted how, as a supposed necessary condition, the understanding sleeps in order that fancy may dream. Studied in the history of society, and versed in the secret laws of thought, he can pass regularly through all the gradations, can pierce infallibly all the windings, which false taste through ages has pursued." The poet's prose exhibits a mind intolerable of hasty and unreasoned judgments. He is never in the slightest degree disposed to relax his adherence to intellectual and emotional integrity. In his papers "Upon Epitaphs" (1810), for example, may be found doctrine enough to explain the whole man; thus certain observations are excused on the ground that may "bring the ingenuous into still closer communion with those primary sensations of the human heart, which are the vital springs of sublime and pathetic composition, in this and in every other kind." And then follows "a criterion of sincerity," by which a writer may be judged: "For, when a man is treating an interesting subject, or one which he ought not to treat

at all unless he be interested, no faults have such a killing power as those which prove that he is not in earnest, that he is acting a part, has leisure for affectation, and feels that without it he could do nothing."

Wordsworth is his own interpreter. Every expression in the Advertisement or in the Preface that has given rise to disputation may be satisfactorily cleared up by placing against it his own commentary to be found in some other connection. What he says, for example, of epitaphs he obviously holds to be true of all poetry: "In a permanent inscription things only should be admitted that have an enduring place in the mind: and a nice selection is required even among these." And many passages make clear the character of his particular revolt against the seductive influence of Pope, "whose sparkling and tuneful manner had bewitched the men of letters his contemporaries, and corrupted the judgment of the nation through all ranks of society. So that a great portion of original genius was necessary to embolden a man to write faithfully to Nature upon any affecting subject if it belonged to a class of composition in which Pope had furnished examples" ("Upon Epitaphs"). And how finely he separates the function of the restraints of meter from the freedom and possible caprice of poetic diction, and argues against the view of "those who still contend for the necessity of accompanying metre with certain appropriate colours of style in order to the accomplishment of its appropriate end, and who also, in my opinion, greatly underrate the power of metre in itself" (Preface). Wordsworth is constantly admonishing his readers to test his propositions by deep and sympathetic reflection, hoping to avert the consequences of the "callous playfulness of a poetical critic, ... whose sole art consisted in turning about the canting dictionary of criticism" (Disraeli). Wordsworth's distinction between the function of meter and that of diction and style gives the key to the right understanding of Crabbe's workmanship, which is conservative on the one hand, and on the other hand startlingly progressive and closely allied to the art of Wordsworth. Hazlitt rejected *The Village* and Jeffrey *The Excursion;* both would have been accepted by a judgment schooled in the profound reflections of Wordsworth. The "dictionary of criticism" undergoes changes, but it remains a professional apparatus, necessarily useful and inevitably also to some degree detrimental to soundest criticism. Even so just a critic as Sir Walter Raleigh in his strictures on Wordsworth's order of words "imposed by metre and rhyme" is rather professional than penetratingly reflective on the poet's conception of the effects of metrical expression, of "the power of metre in itself." No poet has more definitely extolled the "charm/ Of words in tuneful order, found them sweet/ For their own sakes, a passion and a power," and admitted to a high function "the turnings intricate of verse."

Wordsworth revolted against the influences traceable in his early poems (see Legouis, 133 ff.), and whatever 'devices' of his early style he retained were surely justified, in his peculiarly profound and original manner, as aids to his best art.

To justify a rehandling of a subject that has been so long discussed, Miss Barstow makes clear her conviction that the poet's 'theory' has more meaning than "commonly meets the eye"; that it has not been interpreted with sufficient regard to its relation with "the best traditions of English literature"; that the conscious art of the 'experiment' has been too generally supposed to comprise a liberal share of caprice; and that the poet's theorizing and practice have a "supreme value for the art of English poetry" that has not been duly estimated. It has remained to show more conclusively, the reader of this monograph will agree, that the 'theory' announced in words that could be and have been misunderstood represented the poet's early steps in the historic and scholarly study of the poetry of the past, which gradually ripened his judgment as to the poet's selective use of the real language of men, and necessary regard for actual psychology in aiming to find the "genuine language of passion." Sentences like the following are as strictly Wordsworthian as his most "highly individualized" poetry: "For the language arising out of repeated experience and regular feelings is a more permanent and a far more philosophical language than that frequently substituted for it by poets."

Miss Barstow has made a creditable and exceedingly useful contribution to the complete study of her subject. She unites with grace an adequate strength of style, and manages her argument with attractive clearness. A desired compactness of form is, however, wanting at many places; her facility of expression has, it would seem, tended to betray her into what at times borders on diffusiveness. This is not a serious charge, for the reader is never delayed without compensation. There is, however, a slight structural infelicity that may disturb the more systematic reader. He will encounter some interrupting comment and incidental reference by which the limits of what has been offered especially by J. L. Moore and E. Legouis are occasionally less precisely shown than would be required to give point in the most effective manner to Miss Barstow's own modifications and additions. Space is not available for an analysis of this ample treatise. The chapters are entitled: Poetic Diction in "Our Elder Poets"; Poetic Diction in "Modern Times"; Wordsworth's Poetic Development previous to the meeting with Coleridge; Coleridge and his Circle; Coleridge and Wordsworth; The Lyrical Ballads,—a sum total of about two hundred pages.

A survey of the historical background of the 'theory' brings to light the essential agreement between Wordsworth's revolt and

the previous changes in the national code of 'poetic diction.' Miss Barstow does not fail to put a fresh emphasis on illustrative matter. She finds Daniel pleading for "the language and tunes of our own people" (p. 15), and "a reform in France with a notable anticipation of Wordsworth's preference for the language of the lower and middle classes" (p. 26), and keeps the reader in mind of the Royal Society's interest in the scientific clearness and simplicity of the language (p. 28),—an important indication of the movements that gave rise to neo-classicism, and which were to recur, in all the essentials of a revolt against artificialities, to establish romanticism.

An attempt is made to credit the poet with an additional "early style," but this minor matter is not handled with Miss Barstow's usual skill. The chapters dealing with the poet's personal associations supply much that is very pertinent to the main argument, which culminates in a critical chapter on the art of the particular ballads which constituted the famous "experiment." These ballads are minutely analyzed with respect to vocabulary, syntax, narrative and lyrical technique, and compared in these features with the "old ballads." In no other way is a measure to be obtained of the poet's consciously artistic subjection to a definite *genre*. Nothing is more certain than that "the language of the *Lyrical Ballads* is as much the result of conscious art as the language of *Paradise Lost*" (p. 172), and that the disputed words of the Advertisement were therefore so plainly justified that the persistence with which they have been misconstrued must be forever numbered with the less excusable vagaries of literary criticism. J. W. B.

Canon P. H. Ditchfield, in the preface to his *The England of Shakespeare* (E. P. Dutton & Co.,) bewails the fate that his book should have so formidable a rival and competitor as *Shakespeare's England,* recently produced by a group of Oxford scholars and experts. Quite needlessly, for the appeal of his book is to beginners, certainly not to scholars, that of the two-volume Oxford work is to advanced students. The good canon reminds one constantly of the English school master who is guiding a group of serious-minded boys through the England of the spacious times of Elizabeth and is elaborately drawing upon a well-stocked memory of Shakespearean quotation and contemporary allusion, in order that their vacation thus spent may be both interesting and instructive. He covers some twenty different topics, such as religion, the court, the city and the country, the universities, the army and the navy, agriculture, sports, social conditions and popular superstitions; and he skips over the surface of these matters with the light and easy grace of one unburdened by the latest products of scholarship.

Nothing is too vast to be confined within the nutshell of a chapter. Thus all non-dramatic Elizabethan literature is treated in ten pages, and the drama and the theatre in sixteen! Moreover, we run across such remarkable pronouncements as that Jonson's "two tragedies, *Sejanus* and *Cataline,* were worthless," and that we connot be certain what use was made of the rear stage and the gallery above it.

How delightfully like certain educators of English youth, too, is the canon's excursion into the realm of fancy with his fine aristocratic flavor, as shown in the following:

"Across this (the Avon bridge built by Clompton) the poet must often have wandered, and I seem to see him clinging to his mother's hand strolling along the bank of the stream, watching the graceful swans and listening to her voice as she discourses to him of the lore of birds and flowers, and of the stories of olden times, unfolding the pages of history and of the part which the Ardens and Shakespeares may have played in the national annals. Mary Arden was of gentle birth and good family. There was a Sir Thomas Arden, squire of the body to Henry VII, a brother of Robert, great uncle of the poet's mother." Thus is our Shakespeare made acceptable to high-born English youth. And how he tries to encourage the potential Shakespeares among his pupils by this splendid example:

"A visit to the large schoolroom makes one picture in imagination the clever, bright, brown-eyed boy sitting at his desk pouring (*sic*) over the *Metamorphoses,* Lily's grammar, or writing in the Old English Script."

When, however, we reflect that this is the twenty-third of Canon Ditchfield's books, we need not wonder that it is superficial or that such misprints as "no" for "one," p. 19, l. 18, and "*Malpy*" for "Malfy," p. 247, l. 1, should be found.

J. W. T.

The *Manual and Notebook for English Composition* by James F. Royster and Stith Thompson (Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1917) is designed to make indolent students profit by the correction of their themes. The book is divided into five parts: Punctuation, Spelling, Sentence Structure, Grammar, and Diction, each part being followed by blank pages ruled in parallel columns. In the first column the student is expected to copy an error pointed out by the theme corrector, and opposite it the correct form. The principle of the book is, therefore, to bring into close proximity the rule and a blank page for a record of the student's violation of it.

In the execution of the plan one can find much to commend. The copious lists of theme-subjects and of books and periodicals are

serviceable, and the tabulation of errors has, in the main, been done with judgment and thoroughness. Some fault, however, is to be found with the style of the work. What shall we say of the sentence, "What is good use in one language level may be bad use in another" or of such compounds as "all word-newcomers"; "a punctuation practice that is neither too old-fashioned nor too new"; "those who do not wish to proclaim themselves low-mannered." Conciseness does not excuse the logic of "Good colloquial usage is the body of words habitually used in easy discourse by people of good speech manners," nor does it justify the unqualified statement that "*skedaddle* is more forceful and more picturesque than *depart*."

With regard to the purpose of the work one must withhold full approval. In the hands of an ill-trained but ambitious student the *Manual and Notebook* should be an extremely valuable means of self-help. As a general text-book for a large class, it seems likely to add immensely to the labor of the instructor, for it is obvious that the students who do not take the corrections on their themes seriously will not take this book seriously, unless driven to it by constant inspection and conference. Why not set the standard of the course so high that the student who is loftily indifferent to marginal comment will mend his ways or fail? It is disheartening to find such a method as the authors describe proposed for college men. The coddling of our students has gone far enough, and the burdens of our instructors in English are already too great. Only the awkward squad, in imminent danger of being dropped from the class, should need such a notebook.

J. C. F.

Entre las publicaciones de la *Revista de Filología Española* aparece la *Antología de prosistas castellanos* de D. R. Menéndez Pidal, colección que en 1899 había visto la luz, en edición oficial desde hacía tiempo agotada. Se presenta ahora bastante adicionada y corregida. Consta de una cincuentena de textos bien entresacados, atendidos el valor estético y las peculiaridades del lenguaje. Comienza con tres trozos de la *Crónica General* y se extiende hasta el Conde de Toreno. Fácilmente se comprenden las grandes dificultades que una selección de esta índole impone, salvadas de modo cuidadoso para ofrecer, en tan reducido espacio, un cuadro general de la evolución de la prosa desde los tiempos del Rey Sabio hasta el primer tercio del siglo XIX. Acaso echo de menos el nombre de Juan de Valdés. A cada autor precede una sugestiva introducción y las notas son luminosas, bastantes y de ejemplar sobriedad. Es, pues, una obra altamente útil para la labor pedagógica. E. B.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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CHAUCER'S *CLERKES TALE*

Until Professor A. S. Cook argued for the use of the *Ménagier de Paris* as an intermediary (see note at the conclusion of this article), no one had ever advanced serious doubt that the only written source followed by Chaucer in the *Clerkes Tale* is Petrarch's Latin translation of Boccaccio's tenth novel, tenth day of the *Decameron*. Chaucer's work seems in places so close a translation of Petrarch, and in general so strictly dependent on him for order of details, that the matter of relationship between Chaucer and Petrarch, and Petrarch and Boccaccio, had almost been laid aside as settled.

The usual belief is that the main part of the *Clerkes Tale* is a rather close translation of Petrarch's *De obedientia ac fide uxoria Mythologia*, itself a free translation or redaction of Boccaccio, though the story acquires much originality in its telling at Chaucer's hands.[1] Additional proof that Petrarch's version was Chaucer's source, thinks Skeat, is furnished by the fact that quotations from Petrarch appear in appropriate places in the margins of the Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS.[2]

The possibility of Chaucer's having known the *Decameron* is regarded as so lacking in proof that it is not seriously considered. Skeat takes Tyrwhitt to task for wondering why Chaucer should have owned an obligation to Petrarch instead of to Boccaccio.[3]

In the following comparison of passages in Chaucer, Boccaccio, and Petrarch I give instances in which, to say the least, certain

[1] For representative conclusions see Skeat's *Chaucer*, III, pp. 453-4; J. W. Hale, *Note on Chaucer's Clerk's Tale*, Chaucer Soc., *Originals and Analogues*, p. 173; Lilian Winstanley, *The Clerke's Tale and the Squiere's Tale*, Cambridge, 1908, p. lxxxv.

[2] Skeat's *Chaucer*, III, p. 455. [3] *Ibid.*, III, p. 455.

phrases of Chaucer's are closer to the Italian than to the Latin. Sometimes the English is so near the Italian and so different from the Latin that the resemblance is striking. In a few cases more or less important details are not in the Latin, and are in both Italian and English. Since it will be disputed by no one that the *Clerkes Tale* is in general a close rendering of Petrarch, such occasional resemblances between Chaucer and Boccaccio are certainly rather startling and may be highly significant.

The text followed for both Petrarch's and Boccaccio's tale is that published by the Chaucer Society.[4] Page references are to this publication. Italics are, of course, my own.

Resemblances to Boccaccio do not begin to appear until rather late in Chaucer's tale, not until the "pars quarta" is reached, in fact.

> But whan thise tydinges cam to Grisildis,
> I deme that *hir herte was ful wo.*
> But she, y-lyke sad for evermo,
> *Disposed was,* this humble creature,
> *Th'adversitee of fortune al t'endure.* (ll. 696-700.)

> La donna sentendo queste cose, e parendole dovere sperare di ritornare a casa del padre, e forse a guardar le pecore come altra volta aveva fatto, e vedere ad un' altra donna tener colui al quale ella voleva tutto il suo bene, *forte in sè medesima si dolea;* ma pur, come *l'altre ingiurie della fortuna aveva sostenute,* così con fermo viso *si dispose a questa dover sostenere.* (pages 163-4.)

> Quae fama cùm ad Griseldis notitiam peruenisset, tristis ut puto, sed ut quae semel de se suisque de sortibus statuisset, inconcussa constitit, expectans quid de se ille decerneret, cui se & sua cuncta subiecerat. (p. 164.)

The likeness between "I deme that hir herte was ful wo" and "forte in sè medesima si dolea," together with the departure of the English from "tristis ut puto," is apparent. It is true that "I deme" is a close rendering by Chaucer of Petrarch's "ut puto," but in what follows from Chaucer there are words and locutions which are remarkably near Boccaccio's. While "adversitee of fortune" may, of course, have been suggested by "de se suisque de sortibus," since "sortibus" could well be translated "fate" or

[4] *Originals and Analogues.*

" fortune," nevertheless " ingiurie della fortuna " is obviously much closer to Chaucer's phrase. " Dispose " and " disposed " strike the eye at once.

But shortly if this storie I tellen shal,
This markis writen hath in special
A lettre in which he sheweth his entente,
And secrely he to Boloigne it sente.

To th'erl of Panik, which that hadde tho
Wedded his suster, preyde he specially
To bringen hoom agayn his children two
In honurable estaat al openly.
But o thing he him preyde outerly,
That he to no wight, though men wolde enquere,
Sholde nat telle, whos children that they were,

But seye, the mayden sholde y-wedded be
Un-to the markis of Saluce anon.
And as this erl was preyed, so dide he;
For at day set he on his wey is goon
Toward Saluce, and lordes many oon,
In riche array, this mayden for to gyde;
Hir yonge brother ryding hir bisyde.

Arrayed was toward hir mariage
This fresshe mayde, ful of gemmes clere;
Hir brother, which that seven yeer was of age,
Arrayed eek ful fresh in his manere.
And thus in greet noblesse and with glad chere,
Toward Saluces shaping hir journey,
Fro day to day they ryden in hir wey. (ll. 704-28.)

Gualtieri, il quale diligentemente aveva i figliuoli fatti allevare in Bologna alla sua parente, *che maritata era in casa de' conti da Panago* (essendo già la fanciulla d'età di dodici anni, la più bella cosa che mai si vedesse, e il fanciullo era di sei) *avea mandato a Bologna al parente suo pregandol che gli piacesse di dovere con questa sua figliuola e col figliuolo venire a Saluzzo, e ordinare di menare bella e orrevole compagnia con seco, e di dire a tutti che costei per sua mogliere gli menasse, senza manifestare alcuna cosa ad alcuno chi ella si fosse altramenti.* (p. 167.)

Miserat iam ille Bononiam cognatum que rogauerat, ut ad se filios suos adduceret, fama undique diffusa uirginem illam sibi in coniugium adduci. Quod ille fideliter executurus, puellam iam nubilem, excellentem forma praeclarôque conspicuam

> ornatu, germanumque suum simul annum iam septimum agentem, ducens cum eximia nobilium comitiua, statuto die iter arripuit. (p. 164.)

A comparison of the above passages will be somewhat more complicated than any made so far, for the reason that the incident of Walter's sending for his children comes in Boccaccio at a later point than it does in Petrarch or in Chaucer. Chaucer follows Petrarch by telling of Walter's message directly after he has told of Walter's getting the false bull from Rome, and before he has described Griselda's sorrowful return to her father's house. Boccaccio, on the other hand, follows a different narrative method by inserting what information he chooses to give concerning the message almost parenthetically after he has written of preparations for the new wedding being completed.

The rather long passage from Chaucer is noteworthy not only as showing details that are not grouped at this point in Petrarch's story, and are grouped in the later description by Boccaccio, but also as affording a glimpse of Chaucer's method in the handling of his translation. Petrarch's fifty-one words of bald and indifferent Latin are expanded into 176 words of English that almost place the little cavalcade accompanying the children before our eyes.

In the message which Walter sends to Bologna, according to Petrarch's abstract of it, there is nothing about honorable accompaniment,[5] nor any injunction, except an implied one, to keep the true identity of the girl secret. Yet Chaucer has these small details almost exactly as they are in Boccaccio. Moreover, Walter's relation by marriage to the House of Panago is not specifically mentioned at this point by Petrarch, and is mentioned by Boccaccio and Chaucer. "Pregandol" in Boccaccio and "preyde" occurring three times in the Chaucer passage attract notice.

At first blush it might appear certain that Chaucer has here expanded one of Petrarch's passages, adding details from Boccaccio. However, it is only fair to consider possible places in Petrarch to which Chaucer may have gone for hints of the information he has collected in this expansion. We find that Petrarch mentions the relationship of Walter's sister to the Count of Panago when he

[5] Of course, Petrarch says that the Count did start for Saluzzo "cum eximia nobilium comitiua" (p. 164), but he does not say that Walter requested or directed this.

says that the girl is taken to her for rearing: "ad sororem suam, quae illic Comiti de Panico nupta erat." [6] Furthermore, Chaucer's words in the passage before us are closer to the Latin than to the Italian, so far as the expression of this relationship is concerned. A hint for another matter could have been obtained by Chaucer at the same early point in the Petrarch version. When the girl is sent to the sister, Petrarch, following Boccaccio, mentions this injunction to keep the child's identity secret: "ut cuius filia esset a nemine posset agnosci." [7]

That Chaucer had these earlier passages from Petrarch in mind when he wrote of Walter's message to his kinsman is entirely probable; the following of Petrarch in the description of relationship makes this almost certain. But the fact remains that the account of Walter's message in Chaucer is not like that in Petrarch, and is almost exactly like that in Boccaccio. We may grant that Chaucer could naturally have felt the impulse to expand his bare Latin text at this point, and we may grant that for the details he assembles here he might have obtained hints at various places in Petrarch, but we may well ask how he happened to put these details together in just such a way that they made the original expanded version as it appears in Boccaccio. If this is mere coincidence, it is surely a most amazing example.

> 'The smok,' quod he, 'that thou hast on thy bak,
> Lat it be stille, and *ber it forth with thee.*'
> But wel unnethes thilke word he spak,
> But wente his wey for rewthe and for pitee. (ll. 834-7.)

> Gualtieri, che maggior voglia di piagnere avea che d'altro, stando pur col viso duro, disse: "e tu una camicia *ne porta.*" (p. 165.)

> Abundabant uiro lachrymae, ut contineri amplius iam non possent, itaque faciem auertens, & "camisiam tibi unicam habeto," uerbis trementibus uix expressit. (p. 165.)

Besides the suggestion of "ne porta" in "ber it forth with thee" there is also worthy of notice the fact that Chaucer here departs from Petrarch's details, and that his change, brief though the space is in which it is made, affects the character of Walter.

[6] *Originals and Analogues*, p. 161. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

The flowing tears and trembling voice, which are hardly a happy artistic addition on Petrarch's part, are not duplicated in Chaucer, where the actions of Walter are much more like those in Boccaccio's version.

Here again, however, we must consider a possible hint from another passage in Petrarch. The phrase "ber it forth with thee" could conceivably take inspiration from the Latin preceding that which has been quoted. Griseldis, speaking of her dowry several lines before Walter's final short speech, says: "at quid iubes dotem meam mecum ut *auferam*." [8] "Auferam" is, of course, equivalent to "bear forth," and it is possible that Chaucer made Walter use Griseldis's own word when he came to make him speak of the "smok." But this cannot explain the change Chaucer makes in the episode which brings it closer to Boccaccio's conception.

> I have no wommen suffisaunt certayn
> *The chambres for t'arraye in ordinaunce*
> After my lust, and therfor wolde I fayn
> That thyn were al swich maner governaunce; (ll. 904-7.)

> . . . e tu sai che io non ho in casa donne che mi *sappiano acconciare le camere* nè fare molte cose che a così fatta festa si richeggiono; e perciò tu, che meglio che altra persona queste cose di casa sai, *metti in ordine* quello che da far ci è, . . . (pp. 166-7.)

> . . . domi tamen foeminas ad hoc opus idoneas non habeo, proinde tu, quamuis ueste inopi, hanc tibi quae mores meos nosti, optimè suscipiendorum locandorumque hospitum curam sumes." (pp. 166-7.)

Line 905 of Chaucer little suggests any idea in "ad hoc opus idoneas" nor in the Latin preceding the quotation I have made, but furnishes a striking parallel with the Italian. Indeed, one could hardly translate "acconciare le camere" more literally than by "the chambres for t'arraye," and "in ordinaunce" suggests inspiration from the Italian "in ordine," although the Italian words do not occur in the phrase corresponding to the English. The Latin "ad hoc opus" is indefinite, but the phrase mentioning the preparation of the rooms is specific. How is it that when Chaucer wished to become specific he again utilized detail exactly

[8] *Originals and Analogues*, p. 165.

as it appears in Boccaccio? It is true that in Petrarch Walter speaks of placing the guests,[9] and of according them honor after their ranks; and it is to be admitted that this could have suggested "chambres" to Chaucer. But there is still a tantalizing likeness in idea and words between Chaucer and Boccaccio.

> O thing biseke I yow and warne also,
> That ye ne prikke with no tormentinge
> This tendre mayden, as ye han don mo;
> For she is fostred in hir norishinge
> More tendrely, and, to my supposinge,
> *She coude nat adversitee endure*
> *As coude a povre fostred creature.*' (ll. 981-7.)

> . . . ma quanto posso vi priego, che quelle punture, le quali all'altra, che vostra fu, già deste, non diate a questa; chè appena che io creda *che ella le potesse sostenere*, sì perchè più giovane è, e sì ancora perchè in dilicatezze è allevata, *ove colei in continue fatiche da piccolina era stata.* (p. 168.)

> . . . unum bona fide te precor ac moneo, ne hanc illis aculeis agites, quibus alteram agitasti. Nam quod & iunior & delicatiûs enutrita est, pati quantum ego auguror non ualeret. (p. 168.)

The Latin furnishes a close source for ll. 981-5 of Chaucer in the above extract. The last two lines, however, Chaucer has expanded from the Latin in a way that suggests very definitely the Italian, as I have attempted to show by italicization. This resemblance is small but striking.

The lines of Chaucer are the subject of a remark by Mr. Skeat relative to the refined modesty of Griselda, especially in referring to herself as "mo."[10] Miss Winstanley thinks that in the portraying of modesty in Griselda here Chaucer makes a departure from Petrarch which brings him closer to Boccaccio.[11] She has no

[9] Cf. "locandorumque," p. 167.

[10] See *Chaucer*, v, p. 350: "Chaucer, who throughout surpasses his original in delicacy of treatment, did not permit himself to be outdone here; and Boccaccio also has the word *altra*. The use of *me* would have been a *direct* charge of unkindness, spoiling the whole story."

[11] See *The Clerke's Tale and the Squiere's Tale*, p. lxxxiii, note 3: "It will be noticed that Boccaccio does not make Griselda refer to herself directly but very delicately as 'all'altra, che vostra fu' and 'colei'; Petrarch puts this much more bluntly: . . ."

hesitation in ascribing whatever of restoration she finds in Chaucer in this instance to "sheer force of poetic insight." [12]

> Thise ladyes, whan that they hir tyme say,
> Han taken hir, and *in-to chambre goon,*
> And strepen hir out of hir rude array,
> *And in a cloth of gold that brighte shoon,*
> With a coroune of many a riche stoon
> Up-on hir heed, *they in-to halle hir broghte,*
> *And ther she was honoured as hir oghte.* (ll. 1058-64.)

> Le donne lietissime levato dalle tavole, con Griselda *n'andarono in camera,* e con migliore agurio, trattile i suoi pannicelli, *d'una nobile roba delle sue la rivestirono, e come donna,* la quale ella eziandio negli stracci pareva, *nella sala la rimenarono.* (p. 169.)

> . . . raptimque matronae alacres ac fauentes circum fusae, uilibus exutam suis, solitis uestibus induunt exornantque, plaususque laetissimus & fausta omnium uerba circumsonant, . . . (p. 169.)

Here besides an expansion of the Latin which makes the whole incident more like that in Boccaccio's version than that in Petrarch's we find in Chaucer two small details which Boccaccio uses but which Petrarch does not. That Chaucer might by his own inspiration have Griselda taken out of the hall for the dressing preparatory to her rehabilitation is to be admitted, but the fact remains that Petrarch is absolutely silent as to the detail, and that Chaucer is astonishingly close to Boccaccio. Moreover, there is a definite similarity between Italian and English words, such as "camera" and "chambre," "sala" and "halle," "n'andarono" and "han goon." It may be freely granted that these are inevitable words in each case, and that they might have been used naturally by Chaucer to describe the episode. But the combination of these identical words and the information found in Boccaccio and Chaucer, though not in Petrarch, merits careful judging. We have met before in our small array of parallel passages resemblances which might be explained as chance occurrences. But the evidence is cumulative. We have not only found mere echoes of Boccaccio in Chaucer; what is more important, we have found Chaucer more than once using actual bits of information, small though they may

[12] *Ibid.*, p. lxxxiii, note 3.

be, which cannot come from Petrarch and which seem to come from Boccaccio. Such is the case with the passage just discussed.

In making a comparison such as has been essayed, one feels the lack of a critical edition of Petrarch's Latin. The text printed by the Chaucer Society [13] is almost surely not exactly like that which Chaucer must have used.[14] The old question of whether Chaucer actually received his manuscript from the hands of Petrarch or not need not concern us here. The indication seems to be that wherever Chaucer obtained his manuscript of Petrarch's Latin it was very possibly corrupt in some details, though in how many we cannot say. Fortunately, however, such probable corruptions as have been pointed out by Mr. Hendrickson consist of changes in single words, such as the substitution of " honestatis " for " honestatus." [15] It is entirely probable then that any divergence between the Chaucer Society text and Chaucer's own, even though both were at some time corrupted, would not explain Chaucer's apparent reversions from Petrarch to Boccaccio. It is most unlikely that whole phrases and ideas in Petrarch would be so changed by mere corruption.

I have made a studious attempt to refrain as much as possible from argument as to the how and why of any resemblance between Chaucer and Boccaccio which cannot well be explained by recourse to Petrarch. Nor shall any systematic explanation be undertaken now. A few of the resemblances are possibly elusive enough to be called only curious coincidences in the narrative methods of two great story-tellers. If the parallels were granted the very lightest importance possible, they would be at least highly interesting small revelations of the way in which Chaucer's genius is nearer to Boccaccio's than to Petrarch's. But it would seem that more than this degree of importance is possible and to a greater or less degree probable, whatever the exact explanation for the phenomena may be. The bulk of the parallels is fairly large, and many of them, as we have seen, are much more than elusive in character; indeed, they are often definite. Actual facts and sometimes characteristic modes of expression not found in Petrarch apparently get from Boccaccio to Chaucer in some mysterious way. Did Chaucer have some written material to supplement his supposed main source, the Latin of Petrarch?

[13] From *Francisci Petrarchae Opera*, Basileae, 1581.

[14] G. L. Hendrickson, *Mod. Phil.*, IV, pp. 190-2.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

In any explanation the following are among possibilities that might have to be considered.

1. Chaucer actually saw the *Decameron* in the original.

2. In some way Chaucer saw Boccaccio's story of Griselda in the original Italian but separated from its place in the framework of the *Decameron*.

3. Chaucer saw an English or French translation of the *Decameron* or of the separate Griselda story as Boccaccio told it. In this connection may be quoted the interesting passage in Sacchetti in which he seems to say that the *Decameron* was translated into both English and French, though unfortunately the text is so bad that we cannot be sure of exactly what he means. Gaps in the text are due to *lacunae* in the manuscript.

> . . . e riguardando in fine allo eccellente poeta fiorentino messer Giovanni Boccacci, il quale descrivendo il libro delle Cento Novelle per una materiale cosa, quanto al nobil suo ingegno . . . quello è divulgato e richio . . . che insino in Francia e in Inghilterra l'hanno ridotto alla loro lingua, e grand . . .[16]

4. Chaucer had a manuscript of Petrarch's Latin in the margins of which were quotations from Boccaccio's Italian, just as there are now in the margins of the Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS. of Chaucer quotations from Petrarch (see above).

Perhaps none of these is the most likely possibility. All four are highly tentative offerings. By a consideration of the first and third the most startling and far-reaching questions are raised, for if Chaucer knew the *Decameron* in its entirety, why did he not filch a large amount of material from it, as we should naturally expect him to have done? This might very possibly be bound up with the very vexing problem raised by Chaucer's strange neglect to mention the name of Boccaccio, much as he uses him.

However, thus much seems at once apparent. The similarities between Boccaccio's and Chaucer's tale of Griselda which cannot be explained by means of Petrarch are of such number and character that they cannot be lightly dismissed as ordinary coincidences due to Chaucer's sheer genius for divining a better original through

[16] See *Proemio del Trecento Novelle* of Franco Sacchetti. I quote from the edition *Delle Novelle di Franco Sacchetti*, Londra, 1795, p. 4. For calling my attention to this passage I am indebted to Professor J. D. M. Ford.

a free redaction. Even if they are regarded as coincidences, they are surely far from ordinary, so much so, in fact, that the laws of chance must suffer much stretching to cover the facts in the case. If, on the other hand, the similarities are not regarded as coincidences, it seems that they must be regarded as evincing some sort of contact, direct or circuitous, between Chaucer and that part of the *Decameron* at least in which the story of Griselda is related. In our present state of knowledge we are apparently unable to settle upon the way in which such contact could best have been established, but the possibility of its existence is none the less real and none the less significant.[17]

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[17] After this article was in its present form, Professor Cook's arguments for the use of the *Ménagier* were published (*Romanic Review*, VIII, 210 ff.). I do not feel, however, that Professor Cook's parallels between Chaucer and the *Ménagier*, numerous as they are, can be successfully used to explain Chaucer's departure from Petrarch, apparently in favor of Boccaccio, here gathered together. Only one of Professor Cook's findings touches very directly any likeness I have found between the English and the Italian. This is contained in the following passage from the French, which may be compared with the last group of parallel passages in the article above: "Les dames et damoiselles joyeusement plourans prirent leur dame Grisilidis et tantost l'enmenèrent *en une chambre* et lui dévestirent ses povres robes et vestemens et la revestirent des autres et la receurent à marquise comme il appartenoit" (*Ménagier*, ed. 1846, I, 124). Professor Cook notices the parallel in "en une chambre" (No. 21, *Romanic Review*, VIII, 215). In other ways, however, Chaucer is here closer to Boccaccio than he is to the French author, as may be easily seen. On the whole, after a careful examination of passages in the *Ménagier* corresponding to those I have quoted from Boccaccio and Petrarch, I have come to the conclusion that the *Ménagier*, whatever its relationship to Chaucer may be, is not the key to the present particular problem.

SOME FURTHER SHAKSPERE ALLUSIONS OR PARALLELS

Henry King, Bishop of Chichester, published his volume of "Poems" in 1657 and re-issued the unsold copies, with considerable new material appended, in 1664. One or two of his pieces had been printed earlier, separately. I shall here report, under dates of first printing, various real or apparent parallelisms between passages in these poems by King and passages in Shakspere's works, in the belief that some of them at least should take their place in any future revision of *The Shakspere Allusion Book*. In several of the cases here noted, doubtless, no direct contact need be supposed; and the passage from King is offered accordingly rather as an illustration than as an allusion. The Shakspere references are based on Macmillan's Globe Edition, 1911; the King references, on the collected edition of *The English Poems of Henry King, D. D.*, Yale University Press, 1914.

(1) 1638. Men who a rustick plainnesse so affect,
They think God served best by their neglect.
Holding the cause would be profan'd by it,
Were they at charge of learning or of wit.
And therefore bluntly (what comes next) they bring
Course and unstudy'd stuffs for offering.
To my honoured Friend Mr. George Sandys.
[p. 102, ll. 91-96.]

[Cf. *King Lear*, II, ii, 101-110.]

(2) 1649. As Earth-quakes fright us, when the teeming earth
Rends ope her bowels for a fatall birth.
A Deep Groane, Etc. [p. 159, ll. 13, 14]

[Cf. *1 Henry IV*, III, i, 27-33.]

(3) *Charls* nev'r endur'd the Truth which he profest,
To be unfixt by bosome interest.
An Elegy upon the most Incomparable King Charls *the First.* [p. 138, ll. 31, 32.]

[Cf. *Macbeth*, I, ii, 63, 64.]

(4) 1657. Was ever stomack that lackt meat
Nourisht by what another eat?
Silence. A Sonnet. [p. 21, ll. 7, 8.]

[Cf. *Richard II*, I, iii, 296, 297.]

(5) You may assoon imprison the North-wind;
Or catch the Lightning as it leaps; or reach
The leading billow first ran down the breach;
Or undertake the flying clouds to track
In the same path they yesterday did rack.
The Retreat. [pp. 23, 24, ll. 2-6.]

[Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, IV, i, 71-77.]

(6) Had there appear'd some sharp cross-garter'd man
Whom their loud laugh might nick-name Puritan,
Cas'd up in factious breeches and small ruffe,
That hates the surplis, and defies the cuffe.
To his Friends of Christ-Church upon the mislike of the Marriage of the Arts acted at Woodstock. [p. 28, ll. 11-14.]

[Cf. *Twelfth Night*, II, v, 167, etc. Perhaps some light is here cast on the question of Malvolio's Puritanism.]

(7) Cross Planets did envie
Us to each other, and Heaven did untie
Faster than vowes could binde. O that the Starres,
When Lovers meet, should stand oppos'd in warres!
The Surrender. [p. 30, ll. 19-22.]

[Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, Prologue to Act I, l. 6.]

(8) And since that is already thine, what need
I to re-give it by some newer deed?
Yet take it once again. Free circumstance
Does oft the value of mean things advance:
Who thus repeats what he bequeath'd before,
Proclaims his bounty richer then his store.
The Legacy. [p. 31, ll. 7-12.]

[Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II, ii, 128-135.]

(9) With this cast ragge of my mortalitie
The Legacy. [p. 31, l. 19.]

[Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, V, i, 64.]

(10) Since my cross Starres and inauspicious fate.
Valentines day. [p. 34, l. 9.]

[Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, Prologue to Act I, l. 6; V, iii, 111.]

(11) 'Tis ten to one this dancing spirit may
A devil prove to bear thy wits away.
To One demanding why Wine sparkles. [p. 42, ll. 21, 22.]

[Cf. *Othello*, II, iii, 283-285, 291-293, 297.]

(12) And make thy glowing nose a Map of Hell
Where Bacchus purple fumes like Meteors dwell.
To One demanding why Wine sparkles.
[p. 42, ll. 23, 24.]

[Cf. *1 Henry IV*, II, iv, 351; III, iii, 28-37.]

(13) So breaks the day, when the returning Sun
Hath newly through his Winter Tropick run,
As You (Great Sir!) in this regress come forth
From the remoter Climate of the North.
Upon the Kings return from Scotland.
[p. 45, ll. 1-4.]

[Cf. *Richard III*, I, i, l. 2.]

(14) I ne'r was drest in Forms; nor can I bend
My pen to flatter any, nor commend . . . . . .
You are my friend, and in that word to me
Stand blazon'd in your noblest Heraldry.
A Letter. [pp. 57, 58, ll. 1, 2, 5, 6.]

[Cf. *1 Henry IV*, IV, i, 1-8.]

(15) If that the passant Lord
Let fall a forc't salute, or but afford
The Nod Regardant.
A Letter. [p. 58, ll. 21-23.]

[Cf. *As You Like It*, V, iv, 76-102.]

(16) *Paradox. That Fruition destroyes Love.* [pp. 69-73.]

[The argument of this piece parallels *Sonnet* CXXIX, and perhaps *Cymbeline*, II, v, 9-13.]

(17) I would sin oft, and on my guilty brow
Wear every misperfection that I ow.
To my Sister Anne King, who chid me in verse for being angry. [p. 74, ll. 7, 8.]

[Cf. *1 Henry IV*, III, ii, 142-144; *Hamlet*, I, v, 79.]

(18) Well I am charm'd, and promise to redress
What, without shrift, my follies doe confess
Against my self.
To my Sister Anne King, who chid me in verse for being angry. [p. 74, ll. 13-15.]

[Cf. *1 Henry IV*, III, i, 190.]

(19) But like an ugly Amorist, thy crest
Must be with spoyles of Youth and Beauty drest?
An Elegy Upon the immature loss of the most vertuous Lady Anne Rich. [p. 76, ll. 21, 22.]

[Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, V, iii, 92-96, 102-105.]

(20) What is't I envy not? no dog nor fly
But my desires prefer, and wish were I;
For they are free.
An Essay on Death and a Prison.
[p. 109, ll. 31-33.]

[Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III, iii, 30-42.]

(21) For being newly born
He hayles th' ensuing storm with shrieks and cryes.
An Elegy Occasioned by sickness.
[p. 116, ll. 28, 29, *et pas.*]

[Cf. *King Lear*, IV, vi, 182-187.]

(22) It is a weary enterlude
Which doth short joyes, long woes include.
The World the Stage, the Prologue tears,
The Acts vain hope, and vary'd fears:
The Scene shuts up with loss of breath,
And leaves no Epilogue but Death.
The Dirge. [pp. 120, 121, ll. 31-36.]

[Cf. *As You Like It*, II, vii, 139-166.]

(23) Thus constantly the Obsequies renew
Which to thy precious memory are due . . . .
To offer up our sighs upon thy Tomb,
And wet thy Marble with our dropping eyes
Which till the spring which feeds their current dries
Resolve each falling night and rising day
This mournfull homage at thy Grave to pay.
An Elegy, etc. [pp. 121, 122, ll. 9, 10, 42, 46.]

[Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, V, iii, 14-17.]

(24) 1664. Their Life is meerly Time and Fortunes sport.
On the Earl of Essex. [p. 126, l. 22.]

[Cf. *1 Henry IV*, V, iv, 81.]

(25) And that no Bladders blown by Common breath,
Shall bear them up amidst the Waves of Death.
On the Earl of Essex. [p. 126, ll. 23, 24.]

[Cf. *Henry VIII*, III, ii, 358-365. The general tone of the whole passage in King suggests this scene at many points.]

To these allusions or illustrations in King's poems should be added this parallel in one of his sermons:

(26) "The verdict of our Sinnes finds and concludes us Beasts. . . . . Rebellious as the unyoaked Oxe, and like the Horse (in *Ieremy*) *neighing* after forbidden Beds; like the Lion in Fury, the Ape in

> Affection, the Wolfe in Rapacitie, the Beare in Gluttony, and the Swine in Drunkennes."
>
> *A Spital Sermon of Deliverance*, 1626.

[Cf. *King Lear*, III, iv, 95-97.]

It will be observed that in the course of these twenty-six references only twelve plays are mentioned, and only five of these more than once; viz., *Romeo and Juliet* and *1 Henry IV*, six times each; *King Lear*, three times; *Merchant of Venice* and *As You Like It*, twice each. Doubtless other gleaners in the field of Henry King's works will find echoes of other plays; but meanwhile it seems reasonable to stress this bit of evidence that the better known and liked plays to-day were also the favorites in the seventeenth century.

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MOLIÈRE'S BORROWINGS FROM THE *COMÉDIE DES PROVERBES*

Even a casual reading of Montluc's *Comédie des Proverbes* suggests that it exerted some influence on Molière, for such striking phrases as "qui ne se mouche pas du pied" and "la tête plus grosse que le poing et si elle n'est pas enflée" occur both in this play and in the work of the master, but it has not been clearly established how far this influence goes, or what its nature may be. The *Comédie des Proverbes*, first published in 1633,[1] had gone through twelve editions before Molière's death. The fact that it is not mentioned in La Grange's *Registre* does not exclude the possibility of Molière's having acted it at the Illustre Théâtre or during his wanderings in provincial France. As there had been few works since Rabelais in which wit flowed so continuously, this *verve* and its richness in popular expressions may well have attracted Molière's attention. At the same time, as it is almost entirely composed, according to its author's purpose, of familiar saws and fossilized epithets, resemblances to it could scarcely be avoided by a writer

[1] M. E. Roy in *la Vie et les œuvres de Charles Sorel*, Paris, 1891, p. 253, has shown the error of earlier writers who place the first representation of this piece in 1609 or 1616. It was probably first acted only a year or two before its publication.

at all given to aphorisms. To prove relationship a large number of parallel phrases must therefore be collected.

Despois, following in some instances Auger and earlier writers, notes here and there in his edition [2] of Molière, thirteen distinct cases of resemblance, but he does not gather them together, nor discuss further the question of Molière's indebtedness to this play. I think a conclusion may be reached by a study of the following list, which consists of the cases indicated by Despois and twelve others, three of which have been pointed out by Livet; [3]

Molière	*Comédie des Proverbes* [4]
1. *Etourdi,* II, 5. Vous tuez donc des gens qui se portent fort bien.	III, 3. Ceux que vous avez tuez se portent bien.
2. *Dépit am.,* II, 6. ne sont encor pour moi que du haut allemand.	III, 1. pourveu qu'on ne nous entende non plus que le haut allemand.
3. *Précieuses,* Sc. 2. sortir d'ici les braies nettes.	III, 5. ils n'en ont pas tiré leurs brayes nettes.
4. *Sganarelle,* I, 12. C'est prendre la chèvre un peu vite.[5]	II, 3. tu prens la chèvre.
5. *Mar. forcé,* I, 6. tu n'as seulement qu'à nous donner ta main, avec la croix dedans.	III, 3. donnez-moi donc la pièce blanche, ou bien je ne vous dirai rien.
6. *Tartuffe,* II, 2. ne disant mot, je n'en pense pas moins.	*Prologue.* le perroquet de maistre Guillaume qui ne dit mot et n'en pense pas moins.
7. *Ibid.,* II, 3. n'est pas un homme, non, qui se mouche du pié.	I, 6. un homme qui ne se mouche pas du pied.[6]

[2] *Grands Ecrivains,* Paris, Hachette, 1873-1886. The cases mentioned by him are those numbered below 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24.

[3] *Lexique de la langue de Molière,* Paris, 1895-1897.

[4] *Ancien Théâtre français,* Paris, Jannet, 1861 (Bibl. Elzévirienne), IX, 6-98.

[5] Cf. *Bourgeois gentilhomme,* III, 10, "t'a fait prendre la chèvre."

[6] In both cases such a man is considered a desirable match for an attractive girl.

8. *Ibid.*, v, 3. les envieux mourront, mais non jamais l'envie.	III, 7. l'envie ne mourra jamais, mais les envieux mourront.
9. *Ibid.*, v, 3. t'as esté au trépassement d'un chat, t'as la vue trouble.	II, 5. Tu as esté au trepassement d'un chat: tu vois trouble.
10. *Ibid.*, IV, 3. votre petit chien Brusquet.	III, 7. le chien à Brusquet.
11. *Misanthrope,* I, 1. rayez cela de vos papiers.	III, 3. rayez cela de sur vos papiers.
12. *Ibid.*, IV, 4. déloger sans trompette.	*Ibid.* desloger sans trompette.
13. *Méd. malgré lui,* I, 1. un traître qui me mange tout ce que j'ai?—Tu as menti: j'en bois une partie.	II, 3. ils ont la mine de ne manger pas tout leur bien, ils en boiront une bonne partie.
14. *Ibid.*, I, 1. votre peau vous démange.	III, 5. la chair leur demange.
15. *Ibid.*, I, 1. vous avez envie de me dérober quelque chose (*i. e.*, a beating).	II, 5. si tu m'importunes davantage, tu me deroberas un soufflet.
16. *Ibid.*, I, 5. le velà tout craché comme on nous l'a défiguré.	III, 3. vous ressemblez toute crachée[7] à une beauté.
17. *Ibid.*, I, 5. ne lantiponez (synonym of lanternez) point davantage.	*Ibid.* ne lanternez pas davantage.
18. *Ibid.*, II, 1. tous ces médecins n'y feront rian que de l'iau claire.	II, 3. ils ne feront que de l'eau, encore sera-t-elle toute claire.
19. *Avare,* III, 1, vous tenir au cul et aux chausses.	I, 7. vous le tenez au cul et aux chausses.

[7] Livet gives several examples of this expression, none so old as this; for its use in the sixteenth century, cf. Holbrook, *Modern Philology,* XIV, 156.

20.	*Ibid.*, III, 6. mauvaise herbe croît toujours.	III, 5. mauvaise herbe croist toujours.
21.	*Bourgeois gent.*, I, 2. plus cruelle que n'est le tigre aux bois.	III, 3. plus farouche que n'est la biche au bois.
22.	*Ibid.*, III, 4. Il le gratte par où il se démange.	II, 3. vous les gratez bien où il leur demange.
23.	*Ibid.*, III, 5. j'ai la tête plus grosse que le poing, et si elle n'est pas enflée.	I, 5. j'avons la teste plus grosse que le poing, et si elle n'est pas enflée.
24.	*Scapin,* III, 5. je ne prétends pas qu'on me fasse passer la plume par le bec.	II, 3. je luy ay bien passé la plume par le bec.
25.	*Ibid.*, V, 3. mon congé cent fois me fût-il hoc.	II, 6. cela m'est hoc.[8]

There is no evidence that Molière modeled any of his plays directly on the *Comédie des Proverbes,* nor that he used its language to any considerable extent, but it is extremely probable that he was acquainted with the play and that he learned from it the dramatic value of certain phrases and epithets, to which he gave permanent fame by incorporating them into his own plays.

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MILTON AND *EZEKIEL*

The general likeness of *Lycidas* 113-131 and *Ezekiel* XXXIV, 2-10 has not been sufficiently considered by Milton's commentators. Both claim to be inspired utterances, one being spoken by Saint Peter, the other by the prophet in the name of God. Though one is in poetry and the other in prose, both are in form pastorals. In both the unfaithful pastors are charged with feeding themselves and not the sheep. The latter in both instances are represented as diseased, scattered, and preyed upon by wild beasts. The tone

[8] Livet's examples are more recent than this. Other cases of resemblance such as *aga,* mentioned by Despois, *queusi, queumy, malgré ses dents,* etc., seem too slight to be valuable as evidence.

of both passages is one of righteous indignation, deepening at the end to one of sombre menace.

The last two lines of the passage in *Lycidas,* more than any other two lines in Milton's poetry, have exercised the ingenuity of critics, in the attempt to explain what Milton meant by the "two-handed engine." Warburton suggested that Milton referred to Saint Peter's sword, here metamorphosed into the two-handed sword of romance. "This supposition," Warton says, "only embarrasses the passage." The "engine," he thinks, is not a sword at all, but "the axe that was to cut off Laud's head." But, since Laud was not beheaded till 1645, whereas *Lycidas* was written in 1637, such an identification would imply an oracular gift in Milton that even he, with his far from modest estimate of his own gifts, would not have claimed. With equal assurance Newton identifies the instrument with the axe "laid at the root of the trees" (*Matt.* III, 10). This, as Masson says, ignores the fact that this weapon is at the door of a building, and not at the root of a tree. Masson himself identifies it as the two houses of Parliament. Gilfillan assures us that it is "the sword with two edges issuing out of Christ's mouth" (*Rev.* I, 16).

Apparently the critics have been misled by the adjective "two-handed" into an attempt to find a retributive weapon dignified enough for Deity and yet possessed of effectiveness analogous to that of a double-barrelled gun. As a matter of fact there is probably no special significance in the term "two-handed" except that the weapon is represented as a trenchant one, and, perhaps, big and heavy, like the swords in use at the end of the Middle Ages. Huge two-handed swords had been popular with the Scottish knights in the fourteenth century, and some of these Milton may have seen.[1]

Whatever the origin of the symbol, Milton always refers to the instrument of God's correction as a two-handed sword. Such was Michael's, which he "brandished with huge two-handed sway," felling "squadrons at once" (*Paradise Lost,* VI, 251). Now Michael represents God's justice, as is suggested by his name, which means

[1] A fine example of such a sword hangs today in the Banquet Hall of Edinburgh Castle. Its entire length is six feet; the blade four feet and three inches, and the hilt twenty-two inches. It is such a weapon as might easily impress a less imaginative person than Milton as a sword requiring superhuman strength to wield, and so suggestive of the "armoury of God." *Paradise Lost,* VI, 321.

"Who is like God," and his sword, which Milton tells us (line 321) was given him "from the armoury of God," was the sword of God's justice. If we could be certain that the "engine" of *Lycidas* was also the sword of God's justice—a supposition that Masson declares to be absurd—we should clear up the mystery of what Milton meant in this controverted passage.

That indeed the "engine" of *Lycidas* and the sword of Michael were each the sword of God's justice, and hence identical, seems reasonable from the fact that they probably had the same origin in the chapter of *Ezekiel* above referred to as having conceivably inspired Milton's invective against the clergy. Here (*Ezekiel* XXXVI, 11-18) the prophet represents God as promising to become a good shepherd to Israel, gathering the scattered sheep, and feeding them in "a good pasture"; "but I will destroy," he says, "the fat and the strong, I will feed them with judgment."

The last assertion is both a promise and a threat; and both are contained in the last word. It is the Hebrew word *mishpat,* rendered in different connections in the authorized version by three English words—judgment, ordinance, justice. That it is a word of varied meanings is shown still more plainly by the Septuagint, which renders it by no less than five different words, *κρίμα, κρίσις δικαίωμα, δικαιοσύνη, ἐνδίκησις.* In this particular passage the word justice most adequately translates it; and in the Jewish translation of the scriptures it is properly so rendered. The announcement that *mishpat* ('justice') would henceforth be administered in the fold, coupled with the scathing denunciation of the unfaithful shepherds which had preceded, could hardly have escaped Milton seeking a biblical precedent for denouncing and threatening the corrupt clergy of his day.[2]

[2] That Milton's knowledge of Hebrew equipped him for recognizing the veiled threat contained in the Hebrew words there can be no question. We know that he owned a Hebrew Bible, given him by his tutor, Young, as early at 1625. And in his Latin poem *Ad Patrem* composed at Horton he wrote,

> Tuo, pater optime, sumptu
> Cum mihi Romuleæ patuit facundia linguæ
> Et Latii veneres, et quae Jovis ora decebant
> Grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis,
> Addere suasisti quos jactat Gallia flores,
> . . . . . .
> Quæque Palæstinus loquitur mysteria vates.

Granting that Milton may have found the suggestion of a veiled threat in the Hebrew text, it remains to show that he had biblical authority for making the instrument of God's justice upon evil-doers both in the elegy and the epic, a sword. Such authority any one of several passages in the Old Testament would furnish. Perhaps the most striking example occurs in the famous "sword-song" of *Ezekiel* (XXI, 14 ff.), which, in spite of its obscurity, its abrupt transitions, and its strange anthropomorphism, contains one perfectly clear image—that of Jehovah's sword in action. It is evidently personified; and, though not self-directed, is sentient, like the "two-handed engine" that "stands ready to smite" in the elegy.

The exact meaning of the line in which the sword is ordered to be doubled and trebled is quite obscure. Translated literally, the words mean, "Let the sword be doubled a third," where the symbol is meant to suggest the intensity and energy of the divine punishment. Perhaps in the word *hikaphal* ('let it be doubled') Milton found a suggestion of the adjective "two-handed" that he employs in both the elegy and the epic.

Without, however, urging the rather remote possibility of a verbal influence of the Hebrew text, we may summarize our conclusions as follows. Because the editors of Milton have been men less familiar with the literature of Israel than with the Greek and Latin classics, and because they knew less of the Old Testament than of the New, they have hitherto ignored in their annotation of Milton's arraignment of the Anglican clergy a passage in *Ezekiel* which very possibly may have inspired it. Upon examination, the two passages in question appear strikingly alike. The likeness appears, not only in their common pastoral quality, in the practical identity of the charges they embody against the spiritual guides of the people, and in the somber mood they express, but also in the fact that both end with the suggestion that a stern retributive justice will be meted out to the unfaithful shepherds.[3]

[3] That Milton's diatribe may have been inspired by Ezekiel seems the more probable in view of the extent of Ezekiel's influence upon him. Ezekiel's visions, with their elaborate symbolism, suggested, no doubt, by the products of Babylonian art with which as an exile he was surrounded, appear to have made a deep impression on Milton's imagination. The picture of "The chariot of Paternal Deity" (*Paradise Lost*, VI, 750 ff.), to

If the probability that the Hebrew pastoral inspired Milton's arraignment be granted, then it becomes at once apparent that the combined promise and threat with which the Hebrew passage ends establishes a probability that the two-handed engine of the elegy is identical with the sword of Michael in the epic, for the former also is obviously a means of retributive justice. The reasonableness of such an identification is further attested by the fact that Milton had scriptural authority for making the weapon of God's justice a sword.

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DIE FORM *INDE* IM MITTELFRÄNKISCHEN

Auf. S. 49-50 meiner Schrift über die Konjunktion *und* (*Hesperia* Nr. 8), habe ich eine Anzahl literarischer Denkmäler angeführt, welche das dem mittelfränkischen Dialekt eigentümliche *inde* aufweisen. Ich benutze hier die Gelegenheit, noch einige nachzutragen. Wie früher, mache ich auch hier keinen Anspruch darauf, ein vollständiges Verzeichnis der *inde*-gebrauchenden Schriftwerke zu geben. Es ist mir lediglich darum zu tun meine Behauptung, dass die Form *inde* der mittelfränkischen resp. der kölnischen Mundart eigen sei, weiter zu bestätigen.

(1) *Fiebersegen* aus dem 12. Jh., hrsg. von Karl Regel, *ZfdPh.* VI, 94-98. Wie die Formen *dat, dit* neben sonstigem verschobenem *t, hilf, helfen* beweisen, ist das Denkmal in den nördlichsten Teil Moselfrankens oder in das südliche Ripuarien (Vgl. Formen wie *durg* = *durch, de* = *der, he* = *er*) zu setzen. Die Konjunktion ist durchgehends *inde*.

(2) Der *Arnsteiner Marienleich* aus der Mitte des 12. Jhs. (Vgl. Jellinghaus, *ZfdPh.* XV, 348), zum ersten Mal hrsg. von Benecke, *ZfdA.* II, 193 f., dann von Müllenhoff und Scherer in den *Denkmälern*. Wie Jellinghaus S. 348 bemerkt, "besteht in diesem Gedicht eine sprachliche Verschiedenheit zwischen Versen 1-109 und von da bis zum Schlusse." Im ersten Teil findet sich neben Formen

mention but a single instance, is a poetic paraphrase of Ezekiel's vision in the first chapter of his prophecy. So, if Milton in composing the elegy borrowed from Ezekiel, he was simply anticipating what afterwards he did on a larger scale, and more unmistakably.

wie *de = der, her = er,* das einmal belegte *inde* (Benecke schreibt *unde*), alles Eigentümlichkeiten des Mittelfränkischen. Im zweiten Teile, Z. 151, kommt *dad* für *dat* mit unverschobenem Dental vor. Daneben steht auch unverschobenes *p* in *gescheppen* (Z. 170), *scheppere* (Z. 200), was wieder nach Mittelfranken hinweist. Diese ausgeprägten Kennzeichen des Mittelfränkischen machen es unmöglich die Heimat des Gedichts in Arnstein an der Lahn zu suchen. Vgl. die Worte Steinmeyers (Anmerkungen zu den *Denkmälern,* S. 241) "die Annahme, der Wiesbadner Psalter sei in Arnstein geschrieben, entbehrt jeder Sicherheit, da die alten Bücherkataloge des Stiftes ihn nicht erwähnen."

(3) *Gottfried Hagens Reimchronik der Stadt Köln,* verfasst um 1270 (Vgl. E. Dornfeld, *Untersuchungen zu Gottfried Hagens Reimchronik,* Germanistische Abhandlungen, 40. Heft, S. 18) weist nur die Form *ind* auf, die man öfters des Metrums wegen zu *inde* ergänzen muss (Dornfeld S. 226, 229). Man sucht mit Recht die Heimat des Dichters im Nordwesten des ripuarischen Gebietes (Dornfeld, S. 223).

(4) In dem Gedicht *von Christi Geburt,* hrsg. von Carl Kraus (*Deutsche Gedichte des 12. Jhs.,* Halle, 1894, S. 3 f.), steht stets *iñ* als Form der Konj., die wohl in *ind*(*e*) aufzulösen ist. Schönbach, *ZfdA.* XXXIII, 360, "lokalisiert das Gedicht in der Kölner Gegend, was durch den Reim *geschieden: geciden* (46) neben *geschach: sach* (14) bestätigt wird" (Kraus, S. 71).

(5) *Die Lilie,* eine mittelfränkische Dichtung in Reimprosa, hrsg. von Paul Wüst in den *deutschen Texten des Mittelalters,* Band XV, Berlin 1909. Die Hs. ist im 13. Jh. hergestellt, aber die Vorlage wird wohl (Wüst, S. viii) der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jhs. zuzuweisen sein. Wüst (S. XI, xxii) glaubt mit ziemlicher Sicherheit den Dialekt des Gedichts zwischen der Linie Linz-Sinzig-Ahrtal-Prüm und der sogenannten Benrather Linie lokalisieren zu können. Die Konjunktion lautet mit wenigen Ausnahmen (Wüst, S. XX) *inde, in.* Die kleinern Stücke wie *die drei Blumen des Paradieses, der dreifache Schmuck der seligen Jungfrauen, das himmlische Gastmahl* und *die Warnung vor der Sünde,* welche in derselben Hs. stehen, gehören nicht dem mittelfränkischen Dialekt an (Wüst, S. XV). Die Form *inde* (neben häufigem *und, unde*) ist wie manches andere auf das Konto des mittelfränkischen Schreibers zu setzen.

(6) "Die Sprache der Tristan Hs. *N* ist in den mittelfränkischen Dialekt übertragen sowohl lautlich, als auch im Wortschatz, es ist wohl speziell Köln und Umgegend als Heimat des Dialekts anzunehmen; so steht V. 2892 *strozze* (Kehle), ein dem köln. Dialekt eigentümliches Wort; auch zahlreiche *û* für *ô; ai* für *â, ei* für *ê; inde* und *in* für *unde, of* für *oder* sind allgemein durchgeführt." K. Marold, *der Tristan Gottfrieds von Strassburg,* Teutonia, 6. Heft, S. xliv.

(7) Die Hs. A 11 der *sächsischen Weltchronik,* welche nur auszugsweise (S. 239-246) im 2. Bande der *deutschen Chroniken des Mittelalters,* Hannover 1876, mitgeteilt ist, gebraucht stets die Form *in, inde,* "Die Sprache ist mittelfränkisch etwa aus der Gegend von Köln" (S. 8).

(8) *Ein niederrheinischer Bericht über den Orient,* zum ersten Mal vollständig von Röhricht und Meissner, *ZfdPh.* XIX, 1 f. veröffentlicht, ist, wie die Herausgeber bemerken, eine am Anfang des 15. Jhs. in kölnischer Mundart abgefasste Schrift. Die Form der Konjunktion ist durchgängig *ind.*

(9) In Oskar Schades *Sammlung von geistlichen Gedichten des XIV und XV Jahrhunderts vom Niederrhein,* Hannover 1854, weisen die ersten elf Gedichte sehr häufig die Form *inde, ind* auf, nur das letzte hat soweit ich sehen kann ausschliesslich die Form *und, unde.* Das Fehlen des *inde* ist wohl oberdeutschem Einfluss zuzuschreiben, der sich gerade um diese Zeit (Anfang des 16. Jhs.) in kölnischen Schriften bemerkbar macht. Die anderen Gedichte gehen alle auf ältere Vorlagen zurück. Das neunte, *Sibillen Boich,* ist, wie Schade (S. 294) richtig bemerkt, "kein niederrheinisches, sondern ein in diesen Dialekt übertragenes"; vgl. den Reim *daz: was* (163), *laz: daz* (352) neben *dat: furbaz* (310), *dat: Messias* (537). Die Form der Konjunktion *ind* (neben zehlreicherem *und* aus der Vorlage) wird demnach vom Schreiber herrühren.

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CONCERNING THE RELATION BETWEEN *EXODUS* AND *BEOWULF*

That the numerous verbal correspondences between *Exodus* and *Beowulf* cannot be accidental is universally and very properly conceded. It has furthermore been commonly assumed that it was the *Exodus* poet who borrowed from the great epic of *Beowulf*,[1] which used to be regarded as, after *Widsith*, practically the oldest Anglo-Saxon poem of importance. It seemed indeed very reasonable to suppose that the Biblical poem was indebted to the secular epic for a number of those decorative features for which there appeared to be no warrant in its source or sources. That the author of *Exodus* did know secular heroic poetry, cannot be doubted. Positive proof is afforded by the well-known agreement of l. 218: *habban heora hlencan, hycgan on ellen,* and *Finnsburg* 11: *habbaþ ēowre linda, hicgeaþ on ellen,* from which it should not be inferred, of course, that he drew on the Finnsburg poem. But, on the other hand, the *Exodus* poet shows such an extraordinary imagination and such a unique power of expression, that we must certainly reckon with a high degree of originality on his part. Professor Schücking in his recent monograph *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungslehre der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache* (1915), pp. 12 ff., 38 ff., laid his finger on one of the most frequently cited instances of phraseological correspondence, viz. *enge ānpaðas, uncūþ gelād, Ex.* 58, *Beow.* 1410 and showed good reason why the *Exodus* passage should not be considered an ill-advised imitation, expressing at the same time the conviction that the current view of the higher antiquity of *Beowulf* could not be maintained on literary grounds. The point is well taken, and it seems to me that a brief re-examination of the material in question would not be a superfluous undertaking. Though fully aware of the dangers attending the hunting for parallels, we should not blind ourselves to the fact that the use of 'parallel passages' as a test of literary relationship cannot be invalidated by its misuse.

[1] Cf. Strobl, *Germ.* xx, 292 ff.; Groth, *Composition und Alter der altengl. Exodus* (1883), pp. 29 ff.; Sarrazin, *Beowulf-Studien*, pp. 158 ff.; Kail, *Angl.* xii, 22; Brandl, *Angels. Literatur*, p. 1009

I. References to Scenery and Natural Phenomena

1. The march of the Israelites through the desert,

Ex. 56 oferfōr hē mid þȳ folce fæstena worn,
land and lēodweard lāðra manna,
enge ānpaðas, uncūð gelād.

Also in another context, *Ex.* 313, *uncūð gelād.*
The procession of Hrōðgār and his band to the Grendel mere,

Beow. 1408 oferēode þā æþelinga bearn
stēap stānhliðo, stīge nearwe,
enge ānpaðas, uncūð gelād,
nēowle næssas, nicorhūsa fela.

(See also 2333 f.)

As Schücking has shown,[2] the expression *enge ānpaðas, uncūð gelād* corresponds well enough to *per viam deserti* of the Latin text (which is considered the ultimate source),[3] *Exodus* XIII, 18 (cf. *in extremis finibus solitudinis,* XIII, 20), and is entirely suitable in its context, since the poet's idea of *desertum* seems to have been that of a secluded, lonesome, inaccessible, forbidding region. (*land and lēodweard lāðra manna* is apparently due to a confused reminiscence of *Exodus* XIII, 17.) It is certainly more likely than not that the phrase is original in *Exodus* rather than in *Beowulf.*[4] That the author of *Beowulf* did not attach quite the same meaning to *enge ānpaðas* must be admitted to be quite probable. (Cf. Schücking, *l. c.,* p. 44.)

2. The bloody waters of the Red Sea are repeatedly brought before the reader in violent word-pictures. There is no mention

[2] And even before him Mürkens, *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik,* II, 70.

[3] On the question of the sources see Mürkens, *l. c.,* pp. 68-77; Holthausen, *Arch.* CXV, 162 f.; Moore, *M. Ph.,* IX, 83-108; but especially Bright, *M. L. N.,* XXVII, 97-103.

[4] Of course, it could be conceivably derived in both cases from an earlier poem, perhaps Cædmon's own *Exodus.*—May I take this opportunity to correct a remark found in Holthausen's edition of *Genesis A?* On p. ix of the introduction we read: "Die Genesis wurde früher allgemein Cædmon zugeschrieben; diese sonst aufgegebene Ansicht findet neuerdings in Klaeber und Sarrazin wieder Verteidiger." That my name does not belong there will appear from *ESt.* XLI, 106 f., XLII, 335.

of the blood in the Vulgate, but the idea could very naturally have suggested itself to the poet. It is indeed found in Avitus.[5]

Ex. 449 *wæron beorhhliðu blōde bestēmed, / holm heolfre spāw, hrēam wæs on ȳðum;* cp. 456 *atol ȳða gewealc,* 463 *flōd blōd gewōd.* Even the air is filled with blood: 573 *ealle him brimu blōdige þūhton;* 477 *wæs sēo hæwene lyft heolfre geblanden, / brim berstende blōdegesan hwēop. . . .*

In *Beowulf,* the surface of the Grendel lake is stained with blood as a result of the slaying of Grendel's mother. 1593 *þæt wæs ȳðgeblond eal gemenged, / brim blōde fāh;* and so Beowulf tells in his report: 2138 *holm heolfre wēoll.* This feature is, of course, part of the original story, as is seen from a comparison with the *Gretissaga,* ch. LXVI: 'Grettir struck at him and cut open his lower breast and stomach so that all his entrails fell out into the river and floated down the stream. The priest who was sitting by the rope saw some débris being carried down all covered with blood and lost his head, making sure that Grettir was killed.' (G. A. Hight's translation.) It is not surprising, then, to find a similar description after the death of Grendel: 847 *Ðær wæs on blōde brim weallende, / atol ȳða geswing eal gemenged / hāton heolfre, heorodrēore wēol.* The same feature appears in connection with Æschere's death: 1422 *flōd blōde wēol . . . hāton heolfre.* (Cp. also the expressions occurring in different contexts, 548 *hrēo wæron ȳþa,* 464 *ofer ȳða gewealc.*)

It must be confessed that the verbal agreement between the two groups is not particularly close, and that no conclusion either way can be drawn from these correspondences, interesting as they are.

3. *Ex.* 344

Dægwōma becwōm
ofer gārsecge (?), Godes bēacna sum.
Beow. 569 Lēoht ēastan cōm,
beorht bēacen Godes, brimu swaþredon.

Proves nothing.[6]

[5] *De Transitu Maris Rubri,* 693: *rubro miscetur sanguine pontus,* cited by Moore, *MPh.* IX, 97. Of distinct interest is Professor Moore's comment on the case: "If we knew that the author of *Exodus* was acquainted with the Latin poem, and did not know that he was acquainted with *Beowulf,* we should not be safe in asserting that he was imitating *Beowulf* in this particular, even though the resemblance to the English epic is greater than to Avitus. But the situation is just the reverse of that" etc., *l. c.,* p. 98.

[6] Cf. *Andr.* 241 f., *Guðl.* 1265 ff.

4. *Ex.* 24

. . . gesægde . . .
hū þās worold worhte wītig Drihten,
eorðan ymbhwyrft and ūprodor
gesette sigerīce.

Beow. 90 . . . sægde . . .
92 cwæð þæt se Ælmihtiga eorðan worh(te), . .
94 gesette sigehrēþig sunnan ond mōnan.

Cf. *Angl.* XXXV, 115. The *possibility* of imitation on the part of the *Beowulf* poet is not to be denied.[7]

II. Minor Features of the Narrative

5. *Ex.* 170 *hwīlum of þām werode wlance þegnas / māton mīlpaðas mēara bōgum.* This exhibition of "horsemanship" (which is followed by the picture of the king riding in front of his host, not unlike Byrhtnōð, *Mald.* 17 ff.) has been declared an echo of *Beowulf* 864-6,916 f. (Bright, *MLN.* XXVII, 16), see especially *Beow.* 916 f.: *hwīlum flītende fealwe strāte / mēarum māton.* But

[7] *Ex.* 563 *gesittaþ sigerīce be sæm twēonum.* This corresponds, it seems, to *Exodus* XXIII, 31 *ponam autem terminos tuos a Mari rubro usque ad mare Palæstinorum* (cf. Mürkens, p. 76) and XXIII, 30 (*donec . . .) possideas terram.* Similarly, *Ex.* 443 *ac hīe gesittaþ be sæm twēonum / oþ Ēgipte inca* (?) *þēode / land Cananēa.* There is a strong temptation to trace back to these *Exodus* passages the famous phrase *be sæm twēonum*, 'by the two seas'—'between the seas' (cf. Goth. Mc. vii, 31 *miþ tweihnaim markōm Daikapaulaios* = *ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὁρίων Δεκαπόλεως*)—i. e. 'on earth,' which occurs also *Beow.* 857 (= *ofer eormengrund* 859), 1297, 1685, 1956, *Guðl.* 237 (entirely colorless formula), 1333, *Par. Ps.* 71.8 (= a mari usque ad mare). It has been explained (cf. Rau, *Germanische Altertümer in der ags. Exodus*, p. 17) as an expression that originated in the continental home of the Anglo-Saxons, meaning 'between the North Sea and the Baltic' (in other words, an ancient counterpart of 'Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen'). In three of the *Beowulf* passages it could be construed as an allusion to the Cattegat and the Baltic. But the phrase seems rather too specialized for an old native, spontaneous formation. The idiomatic way of expressing the broad, general idea involved seems to be indicated by passages like *Beow.* 91 f. *eorðan . . . swā wæter bebūgeð* 1223 f. *efne swā sīde swā sæ bebūgeð / windgeard weallas, Andr.* 333, *Met. Boeth.* 9.41, 16.9 f., or *Annolied* 445 *merigarte* (see Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*[3] II, 195), etc. However that may be, even if the expression did not originate with the author of *Exodus*, its use in *Beowulf* might well be due to the example of the former poem.

the idea may very well have been called forth by the frequent references to Pharao's *currus et equites* (*equitatus*), *Exodus* XIV, 9, 17, 18, 23, 28, cp. XV, 1.

The same use of *metan* (cp. Lat. *metiri*) is seen in *Ex.* 104 *līfweg metan,* in *Beow.* 514 *māton merestrāta,* 924 *medostigge mæt,* 1633 *foldweg māton* (*El.* 1263 *mīlpaðas mæt*), but nowhere else.[8]

6. *Ex.* 183 *hæfde him ālesen lēoda dugeðe / tīrēadigra twā þūsendo,* 188 . . . *wigan āghwilcne / þāra þe hē on þām fyrste findan mihte.* (Cp. *Exodus* XIV, 7 *tulitque sexcentos currus electos*). See also l. 228.

Beow. 205 *hæfde se gōda Gēata lēoda / cempan gecorone þāra þe hē cēnoste / findan mihte.*

To be regarded inconclusive.

7. At the approach of their enemies the Israelites are terrified, *Ex.* 200 *for þon wæs in wīcum wōp ūp āhafen,*[9]

atol æfenlēoð, egesan stōdon. (See l. 165: *atol æfenlēoð.*) Cp. *Exodus* XIV, 10 *timuerunt valde, clamaveruntque ad Dominum.* (The expression occurring in the same verse, *levantes filii Israel oculos* is reflected by l. 178 f. *frēond onsēgon / lāðum ēagan landmanna cyme.*)

At the discovery of Grendel's ravages lamentations are heard at the Danish court,

Beow. 128 *þā wæs æfter wiste wōp ūp āhafen,*
micel morgenswēg.

The similarity between these two passages is striking. If there has been borrowing, it can hardly be presumed to have been on the part of the *Exodus* poet.

8. All the Egyptians are overwhelmed by the sea,—*Ex.* 456 *nē ðær ænig becwōm / herges tō hāme;* 508 *for ðam þæs heriges hām eft ne cōm . . . ænig tō lāfe. . .* (cp. *Gen.* 2019). This is in accordance with the Biblical account, *Exodus* XIV, 28 *nec unus quidem superfuit ex eis.*

[8] The combination *wīcsteal metan, Ex.* 92 reminds us of *castrametari, Exodus* XIII, 20, XIV, 2. It should be noted that a clear Latinism occurs *Ex.* 266 *ne willað ēow andrædan, Exodus* XIV, 13 *nolite timere.* Cp. the analogous unidiomatic rendering of *nolite* in Old High German by *ni curet* (*curit*) found many times in *Tatian.*

[9] Cf. also *Heliand* 3710 f.: *thō warð thār allaro sango mēst, / hlūd stemnia afhaban;* 4991 f. *thō warð an thena formon sīð / hanacrād afhaban.*

Of the encounter of the Hetware with Bēowulf we are told: *Beow.* 2365 *lȳt eft becwōm / fram þām hildfrecan hāmes nīosan.*[10] Evidently an elaboration not altogether credible in view of the real facts, ll. 1212 ff.

III. Miscellaneous Parallels

9. *Ex.* 214 *eall sēo sibgedriht somod ætgædere.*

Beow. 387 *sēon sibbegedriht samod ætgædere;* 729 *swefan sibbegedriht samod ætgædere.*

The phrase is equally applicable to Beowulf's band and to the Israelites; that it is not merely copied in *Exodus* might be inferred from a corresponding remark made with regard to the Egyptians, *Ex.* 190 *wāron inge(?) men ealle ætgædere / cyningas on corðre.*

10. *Ex.* 261. The combination *eorla unrīm* is eminently fitting in referring to the enemy's army, *sīde hergas* 260; *Beow.* 1238 *unrīm eorla,* used of the Danes guarding the hall at night, involves an obvious exaggeration. The identical expression is not met with in any other OE. poem.

11. *Ex.* 262 (*him eallum wile*) *mihtig Drihten ðurh mīne hand*[11] (. . . *dādlēan gyfan*). Cp. *Exodus* XIII, 16 *extende manum tuam,* etc.

Beow. 558 (*heaþorās fornam*) *mihtig meredēor þurh mīne hand.*[12]

The expression is forced in *Beowulf,* though not necessarily unoriginal.

12. *Ex.* 293 *ofest is sēlost / þæt gē of fēonda fæðme weorðen.*

Beow. 256 *ofost is sēlest / tō gecȳðanne, hwanan ēowre cyme syndon;* 3007 *nū is ofost betost / þæt we þēodcyning þār scēawian.*[13]

The use of the phrase *ofost is sēlost is* unquestionably more natural in the first instance than in the second and third.

13. *Ex.* 570 *līfe gefē[g]on, þā hīe oðlǣded hæfdon / feorh of fēonda dōme, þēah ðe hīe hit frēcne genēðdon, / weras under wætera hrōfas.*

Beow. 1655 *ic þæt unsōfte ealdre gedīgde; / wīge under wætere weorc genēþde / . . .* ; cp. 959 *frēcne genēðdon.*

14. Other correspondences could be quoted, such as

Ex. 28 *ðone yldo bearn ār ne cūðon,*

[10] Cp. *El.* 142 f., *Jud.* 311 f.

[11] See *Jud.* 198.

[12] See *Fat. Ap.* 59 f.

[13] *Andr.* 1565 *ofost is sēlost.*

Beow. 70 *þone yldo bearn āfre gefrūnon* (cf. *Angl.* xxxv, 467), or *Ex.* 300^{b} *mere stille bād,* 551^{b} *here stille bād; Beow.* 301^{b} *flota stille bād,* or to instance words recorded in these two poems only, *fæderæðelo Ex.* 361, *Beow.* 911; *þengel, Ex.* 173, *Beow.* 1507.

But no light is obtained from these or others that might be added, since they either fall in the general category of formulas or are non-committal as to the question of originality or imitation.

The net result of the foregoing survey seems to me a confirmation, though not a very forceful one, of Schücking's iconoclastic theory; the balance of probability inclines at least slightly in favor of the priority of *Exodus.* That the linguistic evidence is not in the least at variance with this chronological sequence should not be overlooked.[14]

Thus the three poems of *Genesis, Daniel, Exodus* may with reasonable certainty be considered to antedate the *Beowulf.*

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REVIEWS

The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne. By Edmund Gosse, C. B. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1917.

Algernon Charles Swinburne. Personal Recollections by his cousin Mrs. Disney Leith. With extracts from some of his private letters. New York, G. P. Putnam, 1917.

Posthumous Poems by Algernon Charles Swinburne. Edited by Edmund Gosse, C. B. and Thomas James Wise. London, William Heineman, 1917.

All the best qualities of Mr. Gosse's fine talent—his delicate style, his mature judgment (rarely failing), his ability to synthesize a store of personal reminiscence into vivid portraiture—are happily blended in his latest work; one is reluctant to offer any adverse

[14] Richter's statement in his *Chronologische Studien zur angelsächsischen Literatur auf Grund sprachlich-metrischer Kriterien,* pp. 90 f. is curiously suggestive: ". . . steht Exodus dem Beowulf . . . nahe, ist aber wohl etwas jünger als Beowulf, von dem es auch bereits beeinflusst erscheint."

comment upon a book so delightful, so gracefully accomplished. Two characteristics found often in his work here fail him, however; he has allowed prejudice to interfere with his usual marked sense of proportion and he has carried tactful reticence to the point where it leaves his work so obviously incomplete that one must, albeit reluctantly, hold that his *Life of Swinburne* cannot permanently remain as the authoritative biography of the great poet. It was a praiseworthy ambition to restrain the account of Swinburne's life within the limits of one volume and the plan to publish the correspondence separately has the excellent effect of helping to keep the narrative within reasonable compass; but the effort to be brief has been carried too far and many matters of interest and importance are passed over with little or no notice. Resisting the temptation to review the work in an "appreciative" way, I shall confine myself to what may be called the technicalities of the subject.[1]

In his commendable desire not to revive old half-forgotten scandal and gossip Mr. Gosse has gone to the opposite extreme of over-reticence in dealing with portions of Swinburne's earlier life and in touching so lightly upon the periods of "racketing" in London he neglects data (notwithstanding that opportunity is given to read between the lines) that are essential for the study of the poet's temperament, his work, and his "legend." It is unnecessary to press this point further.

Mr. Gosse harbors strong feeling as to the influence of the thirty years of life with Watts-Dunton upon Swinburne's genius. He gives abundant evidence of the mastery obtained over Swinburne by the lawyer-romancer. Swinburne might well have died many years ago, but for the shelter and guardianship that were so generously bestowed. Perhaps his life was saved; but there were attendant disadvantages. Watts-Dunton checked with an austere regard of control the poet's familiar smile towards objects of old affection; he kept from him "Bohemian" friends (among whom Mr. Gosse was apparently included) and restrained him within narrow bounds; and the "sturdy little old man" into which the "crimson mackaw" of the 'sixties had grown submitted

[1] See, for a notice of the kind that I do not here attempt, the article by John Bailey in *The Quarterly Review*, July 1917, p. 228 f. This is the best review of the new Swinburne material that I have seen.

meekly. It is plausibly suggested that Swinburne's violent reaction from the poetry of Walt Whitman and his unfortunate and needless break with Whistler were due to Watts-Dunton's dislike of the poet and the artist. With equal probability Mr. Gosse might have accounted on the same grounds for the change in Swinburne's opinion of Byron. And I have little doubt that the amusing Imperialism that Swinburne developed in later life can be charged to the same influence. But that Watts-Dunton urged Swinburne into the field of poetry of nature-description, as Mr. Gosse suggests, is a view that it would be harder to substantiate. I am able to call attention to a striking instance of this unfortunate influence. It will be remembered that when William Bell Scott's *Autobiographical Notes* appeared in 1892 Swinburne allowed the indiscretion of that book to call from him a violent and regrettable attack upon his dead friend.[2] There is in my library the copy of the *Autobiographical Notes* that formerly belonged to Swinburne.[3] On the flyleaf of volume two there are about twenty penciled jottings in the handwriting of Watts-Dunton, calling attention to errors and absurdities in the text, and on the margin of many pages there are marks of query and amazement. These jottings and marginalia quite closely parallel Swinburne's published attack. Beyond doubt Watts-Dunton put Swinburne up to it.

Upon these or similar matters Mr. Gosse touches with quiet irony. Though he never resorts to such personalities as would involve a breach of good taste and though the full force of his feeling is apparent only to the attentive reader, he nevertheless betrays himself into several obviously false judgments of Swinburne's literary work during the second half of his life. He has barely a word of praise for anything written after 1879. Grant that Swinburne's best poetry is the fruit of the years before life

[2] "The New Terror," *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1892, p. 830 f. Swinburne made some sort of *amende* for this diatribe by not including it in the *Studies in Prose and Poetry*, 1894, his last volume of miscellaneous essays. Though the primary blame almost certainly attaches to Watts-Dunton, Swinburne entered heartily into the business. In the privately printed *Letters to Edmund Gosse*, series v, p. 22, he calls poor Scott a "lying, backbiting, drivelling, imbecile, doting, malignant, mangy old son of a" ——. But, as Francis Hodgson (wasn't it?) with sweet charity said of one of Byron's onslaughts, "The poor dear soul meant nothing of all this."

[3] Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, item 689.

at The Pines began and that his later work is largely extravagant and repetitious; grant, too, that Mr. Gosse is much nearer the truth than is Mrs. Leith, who writes (p. 251 f.): "The time of his vivid and fiery youth was not that of his best production. It was in the little home at Putney . . . that the great imperishable works of his life were brought forth";—yet *Marino Faliero,* which properly regarded stands in sentiment and philosophy with *Songs before Sunrise* and *Erechtheus,* should not have been passed over without comment; *Mary Stuart* should not have been placed so far below the earlier members of the Scots trilogy; *Tristram of Lyonesse* should not have been subjected to criticism so frivolous and so worthless.[4] In sum, when dealing with the writings of the Putney period Mr. Gosse's critical acumen deserts him.

During his middle years Swinburne indulged himself in a series of personal and literary quarrels. Mr. Gosse sums up adequately the Rossetti-Buchanan controversy, but gives no explanation of its recrudescence in 1875, in which Rossetti had no share.[5] The

[4] Mr. Gosse appraises rightly the *Prelude,* which appeared separately in 1871. For the mediocrity of almost all the remainder he blames the Putney influence. He does not seem to know that "The Sailing of the Swallow" was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* March 1877, p. 287 f.—two years before life at The Pines began. No part of the poem is less excellent than this canto.

[5] The facts seem to be as follows. An anonymous poem (which at the subsequent trial was acknowledged to be the work of the Earl of Southesk) called *Jonas Fisher: a Poem in Brown and White* (Trübner, 1875) contained an attack upon Rossetti and his school (Part iii, stanzas 188 f.). Swinburne is alluded to in this passage as the "prurient paganist" who "hymns of morbid immorality." At this time Swinburne had close relations with *The Examiner* of which his friend William Minto was editor. (Earlier in the same year they had withstood together the attacks of *The Spectator* upon Swinburne's sonnets on Napoleon III.) Now, on November 20, 1875, there appeared in *The Examiner* (p. 1304) the four-line *Epitaph on a Slanderer,* without any context. This was by Swinburne. On November 27 appeared a review of *Jonas Fisher,* which, on the authority of certain correspondents, was declared to be the work of Mr. Robert Buchanan or the Devil. On December 4 *The Examiner* published Buchanan's denial of the authorship. On December 11 appeared Swinburne's extraordinary pseudonymous letter *The Devil's Due,* which he also circulated privately in pamphlet form. Acquaintance with details of the earlier controversy with Rossetti is needed to appreciate this satire. If, when it is reprinted along with other scattered prose pieces a sufficient commentary is not attached, I shall take that occasion to publish some notes on the

quarrel between Swinburne and Furnivall, which began over the question of the authorship of *Henry VIII* is pretty stale gossip now, but at least we should have had an impartial account of it, and this Mr. Gosse does not give.[6] There is no reference to the quarrel with Churton Collins, whose name is not mentioned in the book. Yet at one time, drawn together by common interest in the Elizabethans, the poet and the professor were on terms of quite close friendship. The cause of the break between the two is doubtless the reason for Mr. Gosse's silence.[7] Swinburne's relations with Tennyson have never been closely recounted; there is little or nothing on this matter in the *Life*.[8] The controversy

subject. For the present it is too large a theme to enter on. *The Devil's Due* was the cause of the suit for libel won against *The Examiner* by Robert Buchanan in July 1876.

[6] Mr. Gosse never hints that, however coarsely the controversy was conducted by Dr. Furnivall, the primary blames rested on Swinburne, who was guilty of gross inaccuracy of statement in his study of the problem. There is no complete account of the discussion in print; perhaps I may return to the subject some day. Swinburne and Furnivall had formerly been on friendly terms; I have a presentation copy of a number of the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, sent to Swinburne by Furnivall.

[7] Swinburne took up his unwieldy cudgel in defense of Mr. Gosse after Collins' truculent but by no means unfounded attack upon the inaccuracies in certain of Mr. Gosse's public lectures. The *Letters from Swinburne to John Churton Collins* (1910) are among the most valuable and delightful of the private issues. In a foreword Mr. Gosse gives a brief account of the rupture between the two men but does not mention the part that he himself played in the controversy. He states (p. 9) that "relations between Swinburne and Collins were broken off for the rest of their lives." This is not strictly true; at a melancholy little dinner some years afterwards Watts-Dunton brought them together again for an evening. The *Life and Memoirs of John Churton Collins* contains letters from Swinburne and interesting reminiscences of him. The friendship had been cordial; "I don't see why you should Mr. me," Swinburne writes, "unless you esteem my friendship less than I do yours" (*Letters to Collins*, p. 16, March 9, 1875).

[8] The inner history of the relation between the two has not been told; will it ever be? What was the inception of Swinburne's bitter feeling towards the Laureate that found expression in a passage in *Under the Microscope* so drastic that for once Swinburne was persuaded to cancel what he had written? Was part of this suppressed passage used in the *Tennyson and Musset?* What moved Swinburne to write the parody *Disgust?* Why was he so sharply satiric on the occasion of Tennyson's acceptance of a peerage? These and other such questions need an answer.

precipitated by Arnold's essay on *Byron,* in which Austin, Collins, Henley, and Lang, as well as Swinburne, had a share, was too interesting a matter to be ignored.[9] So also was the more general question of Swinburne's relations with the late poet-laureate, from the time of the publication of *The Poetry of the Period* to Alfred Austin's defense of Tennyson after the publication of Swinburne's essay on *Tennyson and Musset,* an affront that Swinburne never forgave.[10]

More information would have been welcome on certain of Swinburne's friendships: on his relations with J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, who withstood with him the brunt of Furnivall's onslaught;[11] on Simeon Solomon, whose portrait of Swinburne is among the illustrations, but who is not mentioned in the text;[12] and on Adah

On the other hand, Tennyson had his own, more or less private, opinion of Swinburne's work. It is said that, having read aloud his poem *Lucretius,* he looked up at his audience and said, "What a mess little Swinburne would have made of this!" It is typical of Swinburne's innate generosity that when Tennyson died he forgot old rancour and sang of him worthily in a *Threnody;* the old poet's eightieth birthday, too, he greeted properly.

[9] I have in hand a separate account of this interesting controversy.

[10] Austin published a "Vindication of Tennyson" in *Macmillan's Magazine,* 1885, republished in *The Bridling of Pegasus.* See also his *Autobiography* ii, 2 f., where he miscalls Swinburne's article "Tennyson and Victor Hugo."

[11] In Mr. Gosse's *Life* (p. 249-250) the part taken by Halliwell-Phillipps is not indicated. He entered the controversy only when, Swinburne having proposed to dedicate his *Study of Shakespeare* to him, Furnivall wrote demanding that he decline to accept the dedication. This very properly Halliwell-Phillipps refused to do. Furnivall thereupon drew him into the fray with his pamphlet *The "Co." of Pigsbrook and Co.* Halliwell-Phillipps wrote to Browning, the President of the New Shakspere Society, protesting against this insult. Browning replied that he was in no way responsible for Furnivall's behavior. Halliwell-Phillipps then published the correspondence that had passed between the two.

[12] The poem *Erotion* was written for a picture by Solomon. The artist made an illustration (it must be declared very unsatisfactory) for *At a Month's End* when that famous poem appeared in *The Dark Blue* (1871, i, 217). In the same periodical (i, 568 f.) Swinburne published some "Notes" on Solomon's *Vision of Love.* These were never reprinted by him but may be found in Badger's collection entitled *A Pilgrimage of Pleasure,* [1913].

Isaacs Menken, whose name is associated in various connections with the poet's and who is barely mentioned.[13]

It remains to point out a few minor errors. Mr. Gosse speaks of the chorus of "singing huntsmen" in *Atalanta* (p. 117); it is in fact of young girls. He calls Swinburne's earlier essay on *Byron* "little known" (p. 142); it is probably far better known (through Arnold's familiar quotation from it and because of its own merits) than is the later one of 1884. He speaks of the "delay of eleven years" before *Ave atque Vale* "was at length included in the volume of 1878" (p. 168). The elegy appeared in fact almost immediately after Baudelaire's death, in *The Fortnightly Review,* January, 1868. He is incorrect in referring the lines "Thou, too, O little laurelled town of towers" in the *Song of Italy* to Siena (p. 173). The allusion here is to San Gimignano; Siena is mentioned later by name.[14] He declares that the prose pamphlet *Note of an English Republican on the Muscovite Crusade,* 1876, is "disagreeable in tone" (p. 233). The piece is an attack upon the pro-Russian group, headed by Gladstone and Carlyle, during the Russo-Turkish war, and is an important item in the history of Swinburne's opinions of Carlyle (a matter too summarily dismissed by Mr. Gosse, though treated by him at greater length elsewhere).[15] It contains a rhetorical attack on the memory of Napoleon III, but there is in it also that fine idealism that characterizes even the most extreme of Swinburne's political utterances, and in one passage—on the martyrs of liberty—it rises to heights of eloquence. Students of Herbert Spencer will remember his praise of this *Note;* it deserved better at Mr. Gosse's hands.

[13] A matter of bibliographical and textual interest has not been settled. In his Swinburne bibliography Mr. Wise sets down the *Unpublished Verses* of 1888 and the probably spurious French verses called *Dolorida,* piratically circulated in 1883 under the title *In the Album of Adah Menken.* He does not record the existence of an eight-page pamphlet, without publisher, place, or date, that contains both these pieces together. Nor has he (or apparently anyone) noted that the *Unpublished Verses* are an odd jumble of lines that occur in Swinburne's *Hesperia.*

[14] See G. A. Jones, "Notes on Swinburne's *Song of Italy,*" *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXXII, 206.

[15] See his foreword to the edition of *Liberty and Loyalty* (a prose attack on Carlyle and Ruskin found among Swinburne's papers after his death), privately printed for the Bibliophile Society of Boston, 1913.

Mr. Gosse speaks (p. 63) of Swinburne's lost "three-act comedy" *Laugh and Lie Down;* read rather "three acts of a comedy." (See the letter to Edwin Hatch, February 17, [1858]). He says (p. 127) that in *Chastelard* Swinburne omits the "characteristic detail" of Chastelard's carrying Queen Mary's copy of Ronsard upon the scaffold. On the contrary, Swinburne makes much of this incident; see *Chastelard,* Act v, Scene i. He misquotes (p. 143) and spoils the cadence of the last sentence of the essay on Byron. He misquotes Wordsworth badly on p. 200. He says (p. 249) that only the first act of *Mary Stuart* was in existence when Swinburne went to Putney; on the contrary, part of Act iv had been in print since 1868. He omits any reference to *Rosamund, Queen of the Lombards.* Finally, Mr. Gosse says that *Dead Love* has never been reprinted (p. 335); it may be found in Mosher's *Bibelot* and in the Badger volume previously referred to.[16]

The final impression that the book leaves upon one who has looked with a great deal of care into the incidents of Swinburne's life is that it is not, cannot be allowed to remain, the definitive biography of the poet. The portrait presented, even though the writer's finest efforts have been expended upon the painting of it, is too one-sided; it is touched up and gone over with almost too careful art. There is a paucity of fact which some later biographer, equipt with the necessary information and fortified with the as yet unpublished correspondence (by no means all of which was available to Mr. Gosse),[17] will be able to supplement and atone for. One need scarcely add that when that final biography comes to be written an important source for much personal detail will be the present *Life;* but in the end it will be as one of the authorities, not as *the* authority, on its subject that Mr. Gosse's book will be known.

[16] Of mere misprints I find only three in Mr. Gosse's book: Sir E. T. Cook's name spelt with a final e (p. 155); 1910 for 1909 as the year of Swinburne's death (p. 317; curious but attributable to Lord Redesdale); and "every" for "ever" (p. 330).

[17] For example, the material collected in Mrs. Leith's book, noticed below; the material in the possession of Mrs. Watts-Dunton; the material in the Recollections of Swinburne by Messrs. Kernahan and Compton-Rickett which is announced as forthcoming and which I shall notice at some future date.

It is pretty well understood, and I have seen manuscript evidence that confirms the vague general impression, that the Swinburne family did not endorse the study of Swinburne's character in Mr. Gosse's *Portraits and Sketches* (1912)—in fact, resented it; and it is significant that they contributed little or nothing to the biography. These considerations probably lie back of the publication, almost simultaneously with Mr. Gosse's work, of Mrs. Leith's book, to which we may now turn. Note first that it is badly named. The "Recollections," an expansion of those published in 1910, fill only thirty-five pages and are of much less interest than the letters and extracts from letters to his family which occupy the bulk of the volume. The editorial work is execrable. The arrangement (if it can be so called) is puzzling, notwithstanding Mrs. Leith's introductory explanation. I have found no clue to her method of selection of excerpts. In many cases passages that must have been of great interest and that did not require suppression for personal reasons are omitted. Many of the letters do not bear the year in which they were written; to some of these Mrs. Leith has supplied dates, not always accurately. With a little research the correct date of nearly every letter could have been fixed.[18]

[18] The following notes on the date of these letters may be of service to some students of Swinburne. The Oxford letters (p. 57-62) are misdated 1860; Swinburne left Oxford in November, 1859; the letters probably belong to 1858 or (which is less likely and depends upon the possibility that Mr. Gosse misdates the *Sir John Franklin*) 1859—P. 62: this letter is of 1869, the only year in which Swinburne visited Jowett at Oxford in the spring.—P. 68: 1871, the year in which the visit to Pitlochry with Jowett took place.—P. 85-6: after 1869, the year of the letter from Victor Hugo to which reference is made (See Hugo, *Correspondance*, Calmann Lévy, p. 338).—P. 86: 1874, when *Quatrevingt-treize*, to which allusions are made, was published. (I owe the identification of the references to my colleague, M. Charles Vatar).—P. 90-2: 1866, from obvious references in these two letters to the turmoil caused by *Poems and Ballads*.—P. 92: almost certainly 1873, from account of reading *Bothwell* to a group of friends.—P. 93-4: this letter belongs to the 'seventies.—P. 98-101: 1867 (account of first meeting with Mazzini).—P. 103: 1870 (reference to the *Ode on the Proclamation of the French Republic*).—P. 104: 1868 or late in 1867 (offer of a seat in Parliament).—P. 105: 1872 (Mazzini's death).—P. 111: possibly 1869 (reference to a "down-looking photograph" of himself).—P. 177: 1869 (reference to the nearly fatal swimming adventure at Étretat).—P. 199: 1874 (Morley's review of *Bothwell*).—P. 123-6: both letters belong to 1874 (death of Procter).—P. 140: 1903 (reading proof for the collected

The correspondence reveals the singularly attractive side of Swinburne's character by which he was known to members of his own family; in style it is far removed from the ponderous alliteration and antithesis of Swinburne's formal prose. It is as purely personal in tone as the correspondence with Bullen Collins, Gosse, Hatch and others is literary and controversial. They cast light on various matters concerning which there is little or no information in Mr. Gosse's book. From them we learn of Swinburne's legal studies at Oxford; indeed a whole series of letters is from Oxford. Another group supplements Mr. Gosse's brief statement that in 1855 Swinburne spent several weeks in Germany. Charming glimpses are afforded of the tender relationship between the poet and the little boy whose presence shed so soft a light over the little household at The Pines. All the letters were worth publishing; but they should have been published entire.

One instalment (the half-title indicates that more are to follow) of Swinburne's *Posthumous Poems* has now appeared. Various reviews [19] have erred in stating that these pieces have been printed from MSS. found after the poet's death. On the contrary, a considerable number had already appeared in print and had not been admitted by the poet into his collected works.[20] The most impor-

edition).—P. 152-4: 1881 (the year of the publication of Carlyle's *Reminiscences*).—P. 185: 1876 (first visit to Sark).—P. 210: 1869 (visit to Vichy).—P. 235: 1880 (reference to Swinburne's *Ode to Victor Hugo*).

[19] *E. g., The Nation*, N. Y., September 27, 1917.

[20] The information that Mr. Gosse should have supplied may be given, at least in part, here. *A Carol for Charity* appeared in a fashionable volume of the 'nineties to which various prominent writers contributed; at the last moment my note on this has gone a-glimmering and I must be content with this unsatisfactory statement. *Landor at Florence* was published by Mr. Gosse in the *Life*. There, too, appeared part of *Sir John Franklin* and part of *Recollections*. *Gentle Spring* may be found in the *Royal Academy Catalogue*, 1865, p. 20. (A transcript of this sonnet, made for me by Miss G. H. Campbell, differs in unimportant particulars from that here given.) *In the Twilight* occupies by itself one of the Wise pamphlets, 1909. *To a Leeds Poet* is in *The Ballade of Truthful Charles and other Poems*, Wise, 1910. *Æolus* was privately printed in 1914. *Truthful Charles*, after appearing in *The St. James Gazette*, July 18, 1889, was printed in the Wise pamphlet to which it gave the title, mentioned above. *New Year's Eve, 1889*, is in *The Athenæum*, August 15, 1891. *Memorial Verses on the Death of Karl Blind* are in *The Fortnightly Review*, September, 1907. The *Ode to Mazzini* was printed by Wise, 1909, and by

tant part of the book is the series of eleven "Border Ballads," the composition of which, according to Mr. Gosse, dates back to 1862-63,[21] but which Swinburne, after frequent periods of indecision, left unpublished at the time of his death. Seven of these, with a brief foreword by Mr. Wise, were privately printed in 1912 by the Bibliophile Society of Boston. To those then made available to a limited number of readers are now added four more: *The King's Ae Son, Lady Maisie's Bairn, Weariaswa'*, and *The Earl of Mar's Daughter,* the last being hardly more than an effort to reconstruct the original unsophisticated form of a ballad already well known. Another important poem already printed by the Bibliophile Society of Boston is the *Ode to Mazzini,* dated on internal evidence 1857 and therefore the earliest known of Swinburne's poems. It is now reprinted from a MS. bequeathed by Miss Isabel Swinburne to the British Museum, which contains the passages missing in the MS. from which the Boston text was taken. The third very noteworthy poem, a genuine literary "find" and an achievement well worthy to take permanent place among the poet's works, is *The Death of Sir John Franklin,* apparently written (though this has, since the publication of Mr. Gosse's *Life,* been questioned on no very good grounds) in competition for the Newdigate Prize. In his preface Mr. Gosse tells us that there are in existence certain productions of Swinburne's merry Muse for the publication of which the time is not yet ripe, but that as "the world is growing less and less censorious and more and more willing to be amused" they may be published some day. Be that as it may, there are a number of serious poems that might well have been included in this volume. *The Ballad of Bulgarie,* an attack upon Gladstone and Bright which Swinburne sent to a newspaper in 1876 and circulated in 1893 in a privately printed pamphlet, relates to the same matters that are considered in the *Note of an*

the Bibliophile Society of Boston, 1913, in both cases with the inferior text. *Disgust* is in *The Fortnightly Review,* December, 1881. The various Border Ballads had been privately printed by Mr. Wise before several of them were issued together by the Bibliophile Society of Boston as mentioned in my text.—The warning may be added that no bibliography of Swinburne that I know of is strictly accurate.

[21] This fact necessitates a revision of critical opinion with regard to the development of Swinburne's genius. See, *e. g.*, Hugh Walker, *Literature of the Victorian Era,* p. 557.

English Republican which Swinburne once thought of reissuing with the *Ballad* added to it. *The Ballade of Villon and Fat Madge,* privately issued by Mr. Wise in 1910, belongs to the series of Villon translations that appeared in the second series of *Poems and Ballads.* In a foreword Mr. Gosse declares that the character of the piece renders it impossible ever to present it to the general public. The public has worse things within reach and it is a pity that the translations from Villon are not rounded out by the publication of this vigorous piece of work. *Reminiscence: Leighton, Burton, and Mrs. Sartoris* is a short piece of no great merit, but it ought to be reprinted because of its autobiographical interest. *Czar: Louis XVI: Adsit Omen* is a late piece [22] that illustrates the long continuance of Swinburne's anti-Russian feeling. *The Epitaph on a Slanderer* I have referred to above.[23] A "limerick" on A. H. Clough is of some interest.[24] An early translation of part of Bernard of Cluny's *Hymn* is a worthy companion to the version of the *Dies Irae,* included among these posthumous poems.[25] It is to be hoped that all these, as well as the prose pieces included in the private issues,[26] will appear in later posthumous collections.

[22] *Reminiscence* is in the *Truthful Charles* collection (Wise); *Czar* may be found in *The Living Age,* February 11, 1905, reprinted from *The Pall Mall Gazette.*

[23] In the *Truthful Charles* pamphlet; also in Wise's *Literary Anecdotes,* II.

[24] In the *Truthful Charles* pamphlet Mr. Gosse states that this "limrick" is there printed for the first time; but I have seen the thing in print more than once, as have doubtless many people.

[25] The *Hymn* may be found in Mrs. Leith's book, p. 36-7.—Several of the poems printed by Mr. Gosse require commentary for their comprehension. This is especially the case with *The Ballade of Truthful Charles,* which is, of course, an attack upon Parnell, but the point of which is lost unless the following fact is known. During the trial growing out of the "revelations" regarding "Parnellism and Crime" published in the *Times,* Parnell was asked by counsel for the government, "Why, sir, did you tell the House of Commons . . . . that secret societies had ceased to exist in Ireland?" to which he replied: "It is possible that I was endeavoring to mislead the House of Commons on that occasion." Hence the refrain of Swinburne's *Ballade:* "I meant to cheat you when I said it." See Herbert Paul, *A History of Modern England,* Macmillan, 1906, v. 171.

[26] The prose pieces are of not much consequence. They include a number of stories intended for the projected *Triameron, A Criminal Case* (an unsavory story, realistic and modern), *A Record of Friendship* (on Rossetti. especially his behaviour after the death of his wife; Mr. Gosse seems to

By far the most important of the unpublished writings is, however, the long series of letters to various correspondents which contain much valuable literary criticism and comment and should be given to the world at an early date.[27]

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Las Bvrlas Veras. Comedia famosa de Ivlian de Armendariz. Edited with an Introduction and Notes, and with some account of the Life and Works of Armendariz, by S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG, PH. D. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Department of Romanic Languages and Literatures; Extra Series, No. 5.) Philadelphia, 1917.

Tres comedias del Siglo de oro que llevan por título, o subtítulo, *Las Burlas Veras* tiene ya publicadas el señor Millard Rosenberg, y la debatida cuestión de su autenticidad parece al fin esclarecida. Por llevar título común y haber sido inaccesibles a los precedentes investigadores, se han venido considerando aquellas tres comedias como una sola, generalmente atribuida a Lope de Vega. En los prólogos a sus respectivas ediciones de *La Española en Florencia o burlas veras y amor invencionero, Las Burlas Veras* del Museo Británico, y *Las Burlas Veras* de la Biblioteca Palatina de Parma, el profesor Rosenberg prueba que a Calderón pertenece la primera; la segunda, a Lope de Vega; y a Julián de Armendáriz, la última. Consérvase, además, otra comedia del período clásico con el título de *Burlas Veras y enredos de Benito,* de autor anónimo, cuya publicación igualmente prepara el señor Rosenberg.

En el prólogo a su presente edición de la comedia de Armendáriz, resume lo que concerniente a las otras dos producciones homónimas de Calderón y Lope de Vega había ya expuesto al publicarlas; bosqueja la biografía de Julio de Armendáriz, de cuya vida y obras apenas si se encuentra alguna que otra ligera referencia en nuestras historias literarias: ni siquiera el nombre del poeta mencionan Schack, Schaeffer y Fitzmaurice-Kelly, y sólo en una nota le nombra

me to have exaggerated the interest of this very brief note); and a few other things.

[27] Since completing this notice I have seen Mr. Heinemann's announcement of a forthcoming collection of Swinburne's letters, edited by Mr. Gosse.

Ticknor incidentalmente. Como el manuscrito carece de fecha, no contiene indicio alguno de cuándo hubo de escribirse, y nada se sabe acerca de su representación, el colector, no pudiendo fijar la fecha precisa de su composición, la supone hacia 1610. Tocante a su representación, ninguna noticia se tiene, si bien, por la reputación que Armendáriz se había conquistado como autor dramático, así como por el singular mérito de esta deliciosa comedia, y el haber pasado a ser el nombre de uno de sus personajes—*Lamparilla*—seudónimo de cierto famoso actor de la época, el señor Rosenberg no duda que llegara a estrenarse y aun representarse frecuentemente. Cuanto a que el manuscrito de esta comedia sea autógrafo o simple copia, difícil es de aclarar no habiendo llegado hasta nosotros ninguna otra comedia manuscrita (o impresa) del poeta, con la cual pudiera compararse su escritura; no obstante, por varias razonables conjeturas, el colector la considera como copia, y fiel, hecha por un amanuense. Finalmente, declara el señor Rosenberg que el argumento de la obra es pura invención del poeta, sin base alguna histórica o precisas fuentes literarias.

La presente edición está basada en el manuscrito de la *Collezione di Commedie Spagnuole,* vol. XLII, de la Biblioteca Palatina de Parma, único conocido de esta comedia. El colector ha conservado la ortografía original, modernizado la puntuación y acentuado los homónimos, pronombres interrogativos y el pretérito perfecto y el futuro de los verbos. Hemos de someter a su consideración las siguientes enmiendas del texto:

468–469: porque, bien considerado
(pues ha tanto que murió),

552: pues ya es tan gustosa.

601–602: ¡Cómo! ¿que no me altere? *¡Per deum viuum,*
que os e de hazer en el delito complice!

604: y aunque te suelten libre; ten buen animo.

769–770: ¿A la carcel todauia,
Celio?

772: ¿Qué más ponen á vn rozin

1082–1084: porque demas de ofrecerte
fruta, pesca, es que, más caza,
tendrás para entre los dos

pues además de quedar estas tres últimas líneas conforme al texto del manuscrito, que se inserta al pie de la página, su sentido será así

cabal; el verso 1083, tal como está editado, ni tiene desde luego la significación que le da el comentarista, ni al parecer ninguna otra.

1137: ¿Qué tenemos? ¿qué se ordena?
1255: Pues yo entro.
Vete seguro.

No dudosa, como le parece al colector, sino segura es esta corrección, pues sin ella el verso no consta.

1455: era poco sacar cinco.
2482: diere dichoso fin á tanto escandalo.

Enmienda ésta más conforme con el manuscrito y con el sentido de la frase.

Respecto a las notas, parece arbitraria la del verso 331, puesto que a nuestro entender debe leerse:

Yo, la berdad, aunque amargue.

Igualmente lo es la del verso 600, ya que la expresión "peor está que estaba" ha sido siempre bien corriente. Errónea también la correspondiente al 909: por "dar una torta" entienden los muchachos "dar una bofetada," y por tanto *tortearle* a uno la cara significa simplemente "abofetearle." En cuanto al 1009, es peregrina la conjetura de que, en tal lugar, *niñeruelos* puedan ser "niñuelos." Lo más probable es que deba leerse "viñeruelos." La nota al verso 1280 no sirve sino para empañar la meridiana claridad del texto. En la correspondiente al 2461 se consideran *sigun, siguro, sigundo, quesiera, desimular, deligencias,* como errores del copista, cuando, en verdad, así solían escribirlas a menudo los autores mismos del período clásico.

En cuanto a la puntuación del texto, indispensable es en los siguientes pasajes la coma, que falta; en la mayoría, tan necesaria que, sin ella, no conservan aquéllos su verdadero sentido: *Sueilla* (v. 59); *¿Tu* (66); *vos* (381); *media* (630); *sé* (859) *Tiende, Jupiter,* (1364); *Quitarétele* (2127).

Erratas de imprenta, en las notas, sólo dos hemos hallado, y la primera proviene de la obra que el colector cita: *bien,* por "buen" (p. 37), y *murmur-ara de manaña* (p. 152).

Plácemes, y muy calurosos, merece el señor Rosenberg por esta nueva e importante contribución a las letras castellanas.

M. Romera-Navarro.

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Practical German Lessons, For Beginners in High Schools and Colleges. By PAUL H. GRUMMANN. Chicago and Lincoln, The University Publishing Company, 1916. 351 pp.

In our present embarrassment of riches a new German grammar must present more than ordinary claims for distinction if it is to escape the fate of mediocrity. The present work can certainly claim something on the score of originality. The author owes allegiance neither to the "direct" method nor any of its varieties, but bases his work on what he calls the "cumulative" method. Each successive lesson forms, as it were, a grammar *in petto*. Each begins with a brief section on pronunciation and a German reading lesson. To these succeed a paradigm of declension or conjugation, a rule or two of grammar, a rule of gender, and a vocabulary, followed by German-into-English drill apparatus. The main object in view being constant review, the author does not hesitate to repeat constantly. Thus the pronunciation of *sp, st* is given in four lessons, the complete paradigms of *Baum* and *Magd* occur twice, *Prinz* is declined in full twice in the same lesson, while Mixed Nouns are set forth three times (153, 175, 201), not without inconsistency of treatment.

The book's second claim to originality is the introduction to German forms through the English forms. Before the student takes up the present of the German strong verb, or the personal pronoun, or the reflexive, he finds before him the corresponding English form, thus making his way to the unknown through the known. Nowadays so few students come prepared in English grammar that these little reviews, which are carried through systematically, will undoubtedly be of real pedagogical assistance.

The "cumulative" method depends of course on careful grading for its success, and in the main Grummann's book answers this demand. The pupil is constantly called upon to review that which goes before. The statement of the facts is concise, tho not always clear. The author occasionally errs on the side of brevity and much-needed explanations are omitted, as in the discussion of the Accent of Modals (270-271) and of Indirect Discourse (245), where one looks in vain for anything on the sequence of tenses. The vocabulary has been carefully graded, the 750 English words being very well selected. The English-into-German is, however,

quite mechanical. No attempt is made to arrange the exercises into connected sentences of narrative or descriptive character, a device so useful for vitalizing the work of younger or even of older pupils. In places, indeed, both German and English sentences have a woodenness that yields nothing to Cook's Otto.

More than 60 per cent. of the book is given to grammatical analysis, a group of drill questions in each lesson being the only concession to the direct method. Such a work is of course better adapted for older than younger pupils. In addition, as will be shown below, the author makes constant use of such mnemonic devices as analogy, which call for considerable maturity on the part of the learner. For this class of students, it is certainly a fair question as to whether such a scattered form of presentation as the author's method prescribes is well suited. At least, it would certainly have been useful if a part of the abundant space in the grammar had been set aside for an appendix, to contain a resumé of the more usual forms.

Turning from arrangement and method to execution, there is here and there need of careful revision. Thus, as regards the pronunciation, "rounding" is distinctly a better term than "protrusion" in describing the genesis of *o, u,* etc. (7, 18). Final *e* is not simply unstressed (48), it is *murmured* (Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik,* p. 103). *K* does not fairly represent final *g* in German usage (119), Hempl to the contrary notwithstanding ("nur in Schlesien und im Süden"—Vietor, *Aussprache d. Schriftdeutschen* 16). The statement regarding the pronunciation of *sp, sk, st* (200) is valueless, as it is impossible for the pupil to tell from the rule and examples just when *s* represents the *sh* sound. Nothing is said about the use of the digraph before *t* (*läszt*) (Cf. introduction to Duden's *WB.*). On page 227 it should be noted that also the pronunciation of *g, ge* there given occurs only in words of French origin. The pronunciation of the nasalized vowels in *Garçon, Karton, Cousin* (233, 254) is not correctly indicated.

The tendency to abbreviate leads not seldom to obscurities, as in the statement (37) that "feminine nouns have a tendency to lose their endings" or that plurals denoting "kinds or grades of things end in *e*" (130). The author seems uncertain whether to describe the English case as "accusative" or "objective" (9, 20, 39). It is not good usage to say that an Umlaut is "added" (108), or that

wissen is a "new verb" (101) (later it is correctly listed among the past-presents—114), nor to describe the *e-i* interchange ("breaking") as Umlaut (41). The *t* in *meinetwegen* does not go back to *r*, but to *n* (Cf. Curme 186); the plural *Dinger* does not necessarily express either "pity or contempt" (131); *gesund* does not "always" compare with Umlaut (133) (Duden prefers the form without Umlaut); *komme* is not a proper example of an old verb with *e* in imperative, *komm* is the more usual form; *Staat* never had a final *e* in German (153); we do not say in English to give a man a "mitten" but "the mitten" (225); the *el* in *Rätsel* is neither a contraction of *lein* nor of *Teil*, and it is not unqualifiedly true that nouns derived from verbs without ending are masculine (139), witness *Band, Gift, Schloss*. Throughout the book the author shows a tendency to state as facts what are really only the flimsiest hypotheses. So, for instance, he declares that the verb *to be* is the most irregular verb "because it is used most" (30), that the new preterite of verbs like *spalten* "originated among the common people (servants)" (170), that the final position of the infinitive and participle is "for emphasis" (188) (Cf. Diekhoff, *German Language* 248), and that the subjunctive is more irregular and longer than the indicative "because it is used less (222)," etc.

Grummann recognizes the difficulty of gender and devotes a part of each lesson to it, constantly seeking to simplify the question by comparison and analogy. Since Grimm's poetical conception of the origin of gender died a slow death, analogy has been made to carry a burden, but it is doubtful if this theory was ever worked so hard as in the present book. It is hard to see what pedagogical object could be gained by marshaling analogies in such fanciful fashion as here. How does it help the learner to be told that *Rock, Mantel, Hose, Weste* have their gender by analogy (145), that *Stück* is an analog of *Brot* (155) and *Apfel* of *Ball* (102)? When he hears that *Wange, Braue, Wimper* are feminine by analogy (185), will he not be apt to go wrong with *Kiefer, Gaumen, Rachen? Wort* as "taken from" *verbum* is probably only a slip (53), but what shall one say of the statement that "rivers that the Germans have known for a long time are feminine, the newer ones masculine . . . the Rhine and its tributaries are new rivers to them"! (160). Will not the pupil be confused when he notes the location on the map of the masculines *Lech, Pregel, Regen, Elbing* and the

Rhine's feminine tributaries *Mosel, Maas* (cited by G.), *Ill, Ruhr?* The learner may be willing to believe that *Weib* is neuter to agree with *Kind,* "because women of the lower class took care of the children" (27), or that *Socke* is feminine because "worn by effeminate men," but will it not conflict with what he may have learned of *Kulturgeschichte* when he is told that German names of grains are masculine "probably because men raised them" (127), while flowers, fruits and vegetables are generally feminine "because women primarily cultivated them" (84)! It may be added that the author forms plurals by analogy as easily as genders. Thus *Haar* gets its plural from *Kopf, Bein* from *Arm* (59), etc. To supplement the rules for grammatical gender, the use of analogy is to be recommended for teaching purposes. To carry it as far as in the present work, however, is certainly not good philology and is very doubtful pedagogics.

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Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Medieval Documents. By LEO WIENER, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature at Harvard University. Cambridge, Harvard University Press. 1915.

This book offers unusual treatment of unusual material. Perplexed by incongruities between documentary forms and explanations of dictionaries and philologists, Professor Wiener set himself the task of analyzing and excerpting "all accessible documents to the number of 250,000 or more from the earliest times of the Roman Empire to the year 1300." In the light of facts thus discovered the "Germanic laws and everything that had been written on the subject" were then studied, and the results of these labors are sufficiently upsetting to merit more than a passing notice.

Older students will be reminded of a volume of studies, like this also dedicated to a President of Harvard University: the essays by Messrs. Adams, Lodge, Young, and Laughlin, published in 1876 under the title, *Anglo-Saxon Law.* The book was the first fruit in this country of European research which had produced only three years before the *Constitutional History of England.* Stubbs's words at the beginning are still fresh: "to deeper study the won-

derful fertility and variety of the local institutions of Germany presents a field of work bewildering and even wearying in its abundance: and great as may be the reward of penetrating it, the student strays off to a field more easily amenable to philosophic treatment."

The first reading of this *Commentary* is bewildering, and a careful study reveals serious faults of method. An introduction deals with the Cherokee Indians, and then seeks to demolish the structure of history and philology raised upon the time-honored belief that Ulfilas translated Scripture into Gothic. The Cherokee Indians are given space presumably to prove by analogy that the Goths adapted themselves to Roman law, anticipating the later thesis that words in Germanic laws and documents, of hitherto unknown or approved Germanic origin, are Latin words disguised by ignorant notaries or worn by phonetic attrition. One begrudges the space given the Cherokees, reminded of the illustration struck off by Hodgkin: "Athanaric . . . pining away in contact with a higher and more complex civilization like the American Red-skin." For purposes of argument, however, one must show more in common between Goths and Cherokees than savagery and adaptability. The rest of the book is concerned with tracing forms and meanings of documentary words to Latin originals.

The attempt to deprive Ulfilas of his Bible is based in part upon the character of the Gothic MSS., all of which, except the *Silver Codex* at Upsala, are palimpsests. Professor Wiener thinks that this *Codex* is Carolingian: it is like MSS. of the fifth century, but that is due to antiquarian zeal of faithful scribes. Out of a complicated discussion of the *Skeireins,* the Gothic commentary on St. John, and of the other Ambrosian palimpsests, together with a deadly parallel found between a Latin *translation* of *Skeireins* and a text of Alcuin, one learns that a superscribed writing of a palimpsest is later than the first writing, and that the first writing cannot be later than the superscribed. Thus dating the *Skeireins* "will definitely settle the period of the Gothic writings." But the "period of the Gothic writings," is by no means dependent upon the character of a Gothic manuscript; the origin of Gothic writing was Greek, a fact first impressed upon a beginner, and nowhere stated by Professor Wiener. A Greek alphabet was adapted, Greek phonology is used wherever possible for Gothic

equivalents; and the failure to insist upon this, first and last, casts grave suspicion upon the integrity of the argument. In the face of such an obvious fact one must get Latin words into the Eastern vocabulary. Some show of reason for such words might be got by reviving Grimm's belief, now almost a century old, that the *Getae* and the Goths were identical. One might quote Ovid's Epistles in exile at Tomi, where the poet not only learned the barbaric language, but also wrote verses in it, after the Roman manner; and one might appeal to Orosius, who states that the Goths and *Getae* were identical (*Historiarum,* Lib. I, cap. xvi). Chrysostom, as well as Ulfilas, devoted himself to the conversion of the Goths; a church in Constantinople was set apart for religious services in the Gothic tongue; priests, deacons, and readers were ordained to minister to the barbarians.[1] But Ulfilas seems to have been the one man, who, according to his pupil Auxentius, knew Latin, Greek, and Gothic.

Professor Wiener objects to the argument that because the Ambrosian fragments came from Bobbio they were necessarily of Italian origin. This is erecting a man of straw: Columbanus lived scarcely a year after founding his monastery and collecting books, and the Ambrosian Codex has after *Corinthians* II, 3, 14 the caption: *liber scti columbanj de bobio.* One may impeach this by saying that any irresponsible monk could have written the caption centuries afterward. Streitberg does not print this caption in his text; but if one is to overturn Ulfilas nothing less than all available evidences for and against his authorship and the provenience of Gothic books is tolerable.

Unconvincing is the argument for a Frankish origin of the Gothic writings. Antiquarian zeal might lead to copying classical texts, as it fortunately did; but no stretch of the imagination can explain the use of a Greek phonology by the Latin scribes. Paul the Deacon's words about the extent of his Greek need not be reprinted here; and as Charles persuaded the Greek eunuch in Rome to teach his daughter Greek for her contemplated marriage and life in Constantinople, one may safely doubt the existence beyond the Alps of any man capable of adapting the Greek alphabet, with a few runic characters, to Gothic—or indeed desirous of so doing. The purple vellum, and the gold and silver

[1] Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders,* I, 32.

letters of the *Silver Codex* have little to do with the Gothic text, unless an Eastern origin of the fashion can be proved. Wilfred (634-709) gave to the church at York a copy of the Gospels written in letters of gold upon purple vellum; and Boniface, when in Germany, sent to England for a copy of the Gospels in letters of gold. No murex, but a common English weed, was used for the dye.

The use of some runic characters by Ulfilas may be contrasted with the absence of runic remains in Gaul, Rhenish Germany, and Helvetia. Honorius, on the other hand, struck a commemorative coin, with runic letters, after a defeat of the Goths. Charles left no such token of his wars with the Danes. From the large amount of runic remains in Britain and Scandinavia one is forced to the conclusion that the common Germanic alphabet continued with heathenism, and we should expect some equivalent for runes where the Goths first came into contact with the young Christian Empire. The Bible of Ulfilas, philologically and historically, is precisely what one might expect from the neighboring missionary labors in Constantinople. Professor Wiener says nothing about the evidence of Gothic morphology and syntax for the accepted age of the text, and thus no proof is necessary for what no one has questioned.

Historians will be interested in the linguistic evidence collected from the documents to show the vagaries of notaries. The linguistic student may well be dismayed at the etymologies. One example must suffice. From Latin *devotus* are derived Visigothic *thiufadus* and Frankish *thunginus*, Anglo-Saxon *geþungen*, with the "back formation" *þeon;* and *tunginus* gives A.-S. *dugan, duguð, þeowot* and *þeow*, 'a servant.' *Devotus* is also the parent of the common Germanic *þiuda, þeoda*, 'people.' Why not, one may ask, include all Germanic proper names in *Theod-*, the famous incantation letters of Antioch, ΘΔΟΕ, together with the shouts of 'Thiudans, Thiudans,' when Alaric was raised upon the shield by acclaiming warriors?

No reference to runic problems at this time should omit a word about the controversy between Professor Cook, of Yale, and the Bishop of Bristol relative to the date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses. Bishop Browne contends for the older and traditional date; Professor Cook believes that the Crosses were erected in the reign of King David of Scotland. Antiquarian zeal is invoked to explain the late date. But until scholars are agreed

upon a text of the runic inscriptions on the Crosses one must render a Scotch verdict upon any philological argument as to their date.[2]

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CORRESPONDENCE

Wordsworth's Knowledge of Plato

The "skeptic" whom Jeffrey represents in *Blackwood's Magazine* (1829) as hazarding the opinion that Wordsworth's *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* is no more than a late expression of Plato's doctrine of metempsychosis (an allegation which Wordsworth denied), is not the only one to have seen a similarity between Wordsworth and Plato. "The Platonic poet *par excellence*," Mr. J. A. Stewart calls Wordsworth,[1] adding the remark that not only is the *Prelude* the classic authority on Platonism in poetry, but it is so important in this respect that he advises the study of it as a preparation for the study of Platonism in all other English poetry. Mr. J. H. Shorthouse, in an article on "Platonism in Wordsworth"[2] also notes a general similarity between Wordsworth and Plato, but thinks the connection stops there. Much Platonism has been found in Wordsworth's poetry,[3] yet little has been said of how much about Plato Wordsworth really knew.

Wordsworth's first opportunity to become acquainted with Plato was in college, but how much of Plato he may have read there is a matter of conjecture. Although, as Christopher Wordsworth notes,[4] Gray had complained in 1754 that Plato was then little known at Cambridge, the *Laws* was among the college text-books in the first half of the eighteenth century, and may still have been used in Wordsworth's student-days. Moreover, as a student he lived in a

[2] A. S. Cook, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, Yale University Press, 1912. *Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross*, Yale Studies in English, L, 1914. G. F. Browne, *The Ancient Cross Shafts at Bewcastle and Ruthwell*, Cambridge University Press, 1916; reviewed by Professor Cook in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, June, 1917.

[1] *English Literature and the Classics*, p. 44.

[2] *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, VI, 117-131.

[3] Cf., *e. g.*, J. A. Stewart, *op. cit.*; J. H. Shorthouse, *op. cit.*; A. C. Bradley, *Oxford Lectures on English Poetry*, pp. 99-150; Walter Raleigh, *Wordsworth*, p. 165; John Veitch, in *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, VIII, 24-51.

[4] *Scholiae Academicae*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 115.

community of young bloods who felt a restlessness which ripened later into the project of the "Pantisocracy," in which Coleridge (also of Cambridge) and Southey were involved; and this scheme, if we had more information about it than the meagre account, the most detailed we have, in Thomas Poole's letter in Mrs. Sanford's *Thomas Poole and his Friends,* we might trace back to Plato's *Republic.* At any rate, even though Wordsworth may not have had his introduction to Plato in college, he had a second opportunity for it through his intimacy with Coleridge.

Mr. Shorthouse thinks it "not impossible" that Coleridge talked to Wordsworth about Plato, and cites Mr. Frederick Pollock as finding some traces of the conversations. It is certain that Coleridge, in his confused and obscure way, was an ardent Platonist,—or rather neo-Platonist. In *Anima Poetae* [5] he says he has Plato in his library and wants Aristotle to go with it; he recommends the works of Plato as food for the journey along the royal road to knowledge; he mentions "the sunny mist, the luminous gloom of Plato"; and in still another place he writes a paragraph in true neo-Platonic style on Platonic love as the divine essence. In a letter of 1796 he tells John Thelwall that he "loves Plato, his dear, *gorgeous* [sic] nonsense"; and in a letter to Southey, September 10, 1802, he says that in the winter of 1801 he had "read the Parmenides and Timaeus with great care." [6] Mr. C. H. Herford states that in college Coleridge had immersed himself in "the divine imaginings of Plotinus." [7] Finally, in a letter to Lady Beaumont, January 21, 1810, Coleridge speaks of himself as having absorbed the *Platonic Theology* of Proclus, and as having made comments on his favorite philosopher, Jacob Boehme, from Proclus, Plato, and Plotinus.[8]

Concerning Wordsworth's direct knowledge of Plato, I find for Mr. Shorthouse's statement [9] that "it is not likely that he [Wordsworth] ever read the *Dialogues,*" what seems to be positive refutation—in the same volume of the Transactions—in the fact that, in the catalogue of the Rydal Mount library,[10] there appear not only a Greek lexicon, a Greek grammar, and two works by Jacob Boehme, but, most significant of all, these three octavo volumes: Schleiermacher's *Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato,* from the German, by W. Dobson, M. A., Cambridge, 1836; *The Cratylus, Phaedo, Parmenides, and Timaeus of Plato,* from the Greek, by Thomas Tyler, with notes, etc., Oxford 1793; and a new edition of five dialogues of Plato,—*Platonis Dialogi V, ex recens.* Foster, Oxford,

[5] *Op. cit.*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, pp. 155, 252-3, 25, 112.
[6] *Letters of S. T. Coleridge*, ed. E. H. Coleridge, I, 211-12.
[7] *The Age of Wordsworth*, p. 170.
[8] *Memorials of Coleorton*, ed. Wm. Knight, II, 105, 107.
[9] *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, VI, 120.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 195-257, *passim.*

1752. The last of these, with the Greek lexicon published in 1688 and the Greek grammar published in 1781, Wordsworth might conceivably have bought while he was at St. John's College (from 1787 to 1791), though of course the first two he could not have acquired till later,—the first not till 1836. Though the presence of these volumes in his library is no sign that he knew their contents, nevertheless it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Wordsworth was more or less intimately acquainted with the actual writings of Plato, at least with the *Dialogues;* and we may grant him a knowledge of the *Republic,* concerning which no specific evidence as yet appears.[11]

Christopher Wordsworth states in the *Memoirs*[12] that Wordsworth pronounced "Plato's records of the last scenes of the career of Socrates" (together with *Othello,* and Isaac Walton's *Life of George Herbert*) to be "the most pathetic of human compositions," —a statement which certifies to his knowledge of the *Dialogues,* particularly of the *Phaedo.* Yet Wordsworth did not mention Plato in the list of "Greek writers whom he admired," the list being Demosthenes, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Herodotus.[13] The five specific places where Wordsworth mentions Plato in his poetry are: in the *Prelude,* I, 404, and VI, 294; in *Epitaphs Translated from Chiabrera,* IX, 8; in *Dion,* V, 9; and in the Ecclesiastical Sonnet called *Latitudinarianism* (*Ecclesiastical Sonnets,* III, iv, 6). Though these are few in number, he mentions Aristotle only once, as "the Stagyrite," in the third place cited above, and mentions Socrates not at all.

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A NOTE ON THE BIOGRAPHY OF MRS. ELIZA HAYWOOD

Biographers of Mrs. Haywood have been unable to find any references to her career between 1711 and 1721. Dr. G. F. Whicher (*Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood,* 1915) notes (p. 2) that, according to the Register of St. Mary Aldermary, a son of Valentine Haywood and his wife Elizabeth, was christened on 3 December, 1711. The next reference cited by him (p. 3) is the following Advertisement contained in the *Post Boy* for 7 January, 1721: "Whereas Elizabeth Haywood, Wife of the Reverend Mr. Valentine Haywood, eloped from him her Husband on Saturday

[11] His remarks on education in the *Excursion,* IX, suggest the discussion of education in the *Republic;* and it is barely possible that the "Republic" mentioned in the *Prelude,* IX, 226, is Plato's, rather than "democracy."

[12] *Memoirs of William Wordsworth,* II, 482.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 491.

the 26th of November last past, and went away without his Knowledge and Consent: This is to give Notice to all Persons in general, That if any one shall trust her either with Money or Goods, or if she shall contract Debts of any kind whatsoever, the said Mr. Haywood will not pay the same."

Some light, though tantalizingly uncertain, is thrown on the intervening period by an Advertisement which appeared in the *Weekly Journal* for 24 September, 1715. It is there announced that one week later, 1 October, will be published "The Crosses and Disappointments of Love, Entitled, A Tragi-Comedy Dialogue between Mr. Andrew Yeatman and Mrs. Elizabeth Haywood, in 3 Vols. Price 1s. 6d." If we could find this "Tragi-Comedy Dialogue," we should probably be quite prepared by it for the elopement that took place about five years later. Apparently, however, there is no trace of such a book. The absence of contemporary notice is in itself a reason for suspecting that the promised bit of scandal was not dished out to the scandal-loving public on 1 October, 1715, or thereafter. We may have here an instance of the crooked policies resorted to by publishers of the time. My own conjecture is that no such work was in press and that the Advertisement was inserted merely to expose the lovers or to extort blackmail; the size of the work announced lends color to this supposition. Again, it may be that the Advertisement was genuine, and that the injured husband or some other interested party paid to have the publication suppressed. Whatever the facts concerning the "Tragi-Comedy Dialogue"—and it may yet be unearthed—the Advertisement itself indicates that the divine Eliza was known to be roiling the domestic waters long before she took final leave of the Reverend Valentine Haywood, and that gossip connected her imprudence with one Mr. Andrew Yeatman. A probable clue to this lover's identity is furnished by another Advertisement in the *Weekly Journal,* under the date of 27 August, 1720: "Andrew Yeatman Scale-maker: at the White Swan in Foster-Lane, near Cheapside, London, maketh and selleth all Sorts of Beams, Scales, and Stilliards, with all Sorts of Weights both for Home and Abroad; likewise extraordinary good Diamond Scales and Weights at reasonable Rates. N. B. He served Mr. John Sn[?]art fifteen years."

Five months later, 7 January, 1721, the husband of Mrs. Haywood was notifying the public that his wife had eloped in the preceding November and that he disclaimed responsibility for her debts. If we could suppose the unfaithful wife capable of constancy to her lover during a period of five years, we might reasonably conclude that in 1720 Mrs. Haywood deserted her husband and children to join a London shopkeeper who had brought her character under suspicion as early as 1715. It would be dangerous, however, to assume any degree of constancy in the author of

Love in Excess and *The Rash Resolve.* Dr. Whicher considers (p. 15) that *The Prude, a Novel, written by a Young Lady* (1724) was dedicated to Mrs. Haywood because of her celebrity as a writer. It may be that this doubtful honor was due quite as much to the notoriety she had acquired by her facility in the "tender passion." The announcement of *The Prude* in Mist's *Weekly Journal* of July 11, 1724, includes by way of sauce a bit of verse apparently intended to extol the female independence exhibited in Mrs. Haywood's conduct as well as in her novels:

> Love, like a Meteor, shows a short-liv'd Blaze;
> Or treads through various skies a winding Maze.

It is probable that by 1724 Mr. Yeatman had had his successors in this "winding maze," and not improbable that he had been superseded before the elopement of 1720.

C. A. Moore.

University of Minnesota.

Primitive Poetry

To the authorities cited by Professor Louise Pound in her recent article on the Beginnings of Poetry (*M. L. A. Pubs.*, June, 1917), should be added, as pertinent and competent testimony, the admirable work by M. V. Porter entitled *Notes on the Language of the South Andaman Group of Tribes* (Calcutta, 1898). The following passages from page 67 are especially interesting, since they bear upon the question of individual composition, the refrain, and the relation of the composer to the chorus:

"When an Andamese wishes to make a new song he waits till he feels inspired to do so, and will then, when alone, and engaged on some occupation, sing to himself till he has hit on a Solo and Refrain which takes his fancy, and then improves it to his taste. His composition would ordinarily refer to some recent occurrence by which he had been affected."

"At a dance the soloist stands at the dancing-board and (often in a falsetto voice) sings his Solo and the Refrain. (If he has sung the Solo in falsetto, his voice will drop an octave at the Refrain.) If the Chorus grasp the Refrain at once, they sing it; if they do not grasp it, the Soloist will repeat it two or three times till the Chorus are able to take it up."

"The Solo is sung amid general silence, and the dance commences with the Refrain, being also accompanied by a clapping of hands and thighs, and the stamping of the Soloist's foot on the sounding-board."

Fred Newton Scott.

University of Michigan.

A Bibliographical Note

Because of an unfortunate accident which prevented any revision of the proof of my article on "Some Forerunners of the 'Tatler' and 'Spectator,'" printed in the February number of *Mod. Lang. Notes,* certain errors remained uncorrected. Luckily these affected nothing more serious than details of eighteenth century spelling and italicization. The reference on page 97 to publications properly included under the head of character writing should, however, be supplemented by a list of such items as were published between 1700 and 1709 and are not listed in Professor Baldwin's bibliography (*PMLA.,* XIX, 112-113). I append such a list, excluding one pamphlet which I have not been able to trace:

The Moral Characters of Theophrastus. From the French of La Bruyère. 1698-9, 2d ed. 1700 (6th ed. 1713).

Essays of Love and Marriage . . . Together with some Characters (First published in 1657, reprinted in 1700 and again in 1708).

An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex. In which are inserted the Characters of a Pedant, etc. 2d ed. 1700.

A Farther Essay Relating to the Female Sex. Containing Six Characters, 1700 (first ed.?).

The English Theophrastus [By Robert Warren]. 1702 (3d ed. 1708).

English Lucian, or Modern Dialogues between a Vintner and his Wife. No. 1. 1703.

Mirth and Wisdom, in a Miscellany of Different Characters. 1703 (Subsequent ed., under the title *Hickelty Pickelty,* 1708).

The Management of the Tongue under these following Heads. . . The Babbler, the silent Man, etc. Done out of the French. 1706 (2d ed. 1706).

Reflexions upon Ridicule . . . wherein are represented the . . . Characters of Persons of the present Age [By L'Abbé Bellegarde]. 1706.

Reflexions upon the Politeness of Manners (Part II of the above —2d ed. of both, 1707).

The Humours of a Coffee-House [By Ned Ward]. June 25, 1707, *et seq.*

Mirth in Ridicule . . . Containing the Follies too often found in a Sea-Officer, etc. 1708.

Characters, or the Manners of the Age; with the Moral Characters of Theophrastus (5th ed. before March, 1709).

W. H. Durham.

The Sheffield Scientific School.

BRIEF MENTION

Fifty Years of American Education. A Sketch of the Progress of Education in the United States from 1867 to 1917. By Ernest Carroll Moore (Ginn & Co.). "In the year 1867 Edwin Ginn took desk-room in a modest Boston office and so began the business which has for many years been conducted under the firm-name of Ginn and Company." . . . "Casting about for a suitable anniversary memento of our own fifty years, . . . it finally seemed to us that we could do no better than invite Dr. Ernest C. Moore to sum up the educational progress of the United States since 1867." This citation from the publishers' prefatory note answers the question that would otherwise be evoked by the specific date 1867 in the subtitle. And the memorial purpose of the publication sufficiently justifies a 'Sketch' in preference to a complete 'History.' Fortunately this 'Sketch' has been prepared by one of the scholars best fitted to write a complete history of the subject; and a coincidence of events has enabled Dr. Moore to adopt a time-division in his discussion that is at once inevitable as true history and suitable to a commemoration of the business career of Mr. Ginn. The division of the educational history of this country into the period before and the period after the Civil War is more significant by far than any other possible division that might be suggested; and Dr. Moore's book of ninety-six pages consists chiefly of a chapter entitled "Education at the End of the Civil War," and another on "Some Changes since the Civil War." There is also an introductory chapter too tritely entitled "We Live in a Period of Change," in which the reader is reminded of the various departments of progress that have warranted the accepted judgment that, in the words of Mr. Eliot, the last fifty years have constituted "the most prodigious period of change through which the world has ever passed." An occasion is thus gained for emphasis on what is usually true in educational progress. Here changes tend to be slow of foot; educational methods may lag so far behind general progress as to be reprehensibly 'out of date.' This is one of the plain truths that are usually accepted in too complacent a manner. But there are periods in which there is a closer relation between educational progress and the energy of the world in general. The school must in a democracy, says Dr. Moore, "in a measure, overcome its tendency to aloofness and make itself the responsive servant of the public need. This it has done and is doing, and, in consequence, the changes which have taken place in education in the last fifty years are momentous."

An outline of our history of popular education since the Civil War requires the background of the preceding half-century. The two principal chapters of this Sketch, therefore, divide it into almost equal parts. As to the thoughtful interest inherent in these parts, it will be found to be a coherent unit, altho the first chapter, which is so largely a record of the birth of new ideas valiantly advocated and of the laying of lasting foundations, has a preponderance of points that cannot be matched in forward-pointing and incalculable significance. These points are, of course, known to students of 'Education,' but this 'Sketch,' may increase the number of reflective readers of this aspect of our history. To show that elements of permanence may be detected in a complex of changes, a statement may be quoted from the description of what was to be accomplished by the American Institute of Instruction, founded in 1829: "It will tend to raise the standard of the qualification of instructors, so that the business of teaching shall not be the last resort of dullness and indolence; but shall be considered, as it was in the days of republican Greece, an occupation worthy of the highest talents and ambition" (p. 15).

A few of the points jutting from the surface of this rapid survey may be pointed out. According to the census of 1860 there were more than twelve hundred thousand white citizens over twenty-one years of age who could not read or write; still worse, it was conjectured by some "that one-fourth of the population" was illiterate (p. 25). "The schools of New York were not free to all the children of the state until 1867" (p. 34). The Department of Education was established by Congress in 1867 (p. 24); in the same year W. T. Harris became superintendent of the schools of St. Louis, to begin an 'educational' career of national importance (p. 65). Henry Barnard, who afterwards became the first Commissioner of Education, founded the Teachers' Institute by a meeting in Hartford, Conn., in 1839 (p. 68). "Alternative courses and a large freedom of election began to be offered in colleges about the year 1869" (p. 74). Dr. Moore has handled his story in a manner that will hold the attention of the reader to the end, and he has done this under severe restraints of space. His compressed paragraphs and statistical details are carried along on a well-sustained current of earnest thought, which may win readers for whom the subject of educational history has had little attraction.

In his closing pages, Dr. Moore becomes a bit professional in a sense that has tended to repel thoughtful students from his special subject. He changes his style perceptibly and drifts into the jargon that has been so generally disapproved. "Physiology and psychology taught the schoolmaster that the human organism is an action system" (p. 92) illustrates a method of using the language that does not become an authoritative scholar, and yet he apparently requires "a liturgical familiarity" with it, for it reappears very

recently under his hand in this form: "The nervous system is an action system rather than a device for the production of knowledge" (*School and Society,* Feb. 16, 1918, p. 183). In the article just now referred to, Dr. Moore is concerned with the question of the transference of skill or training "from one context to another." The purist (to call himself by a perverted name), if he could be assured of a hearing, might express the wish to be more completely convinced that the effects of sound training in the elements of English grammar—especially in the principles of compounding words—have been transferred into the 'context' of some of the so-called new sciences. J. W. B.

That the strenuous days through which Italy is passing are not devoid of scholarly productiveness is shown by the appearance of a revision of Scherillo's edition of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (Milan, Hoepli, 1918). In 1896 the same publisher issued the *Canzoniere* with notes by G. Rigutini, the arrangement of the poems and the text following the volgata of Marsand. In 1908 appeared what was really a new book rather than a revised edition; the text and arrangement were based on the autograph manuscript (Cod. Vat. 3195); a preface of some seventy pages by M. Scherillo and a bibliography of selected titles were substituted for the former introductory matter. Rigutini's notes were in part preserved, with numerous corrections and additions by Scherillo, which were enclosed in brackets. After an interval of ten years this edition reappears, reset throughout and carefully revised. The brackets are now omitted, so that the notes are fused together without distinction of authorship. A much-needed practical improvement is the inclusion of line-numbers at the end of every stanza in the longer poems, and the indication at the top of every page of the numbers of the poems. The lines of the sonnets are still unnumbered, and this is no obstacle to quick reference; but the absence of line-numbers in the *canzoni* was an extreme inconvenience in the earlier editions. The bibliography is brought down to date, and to the preface is added an appendix, containing two important articles by Scherillo which had appeared separately elsewhere: (1) *Ancora degli endecasillabi di dodici sillabe;* (2) *Il fiume "Era" in Dante e nel Petrarca.* It will be remembered that in the sonnet *Non Tesin, Po, Varo* (no. 148) Petrarch mentions more than a score of rivers, all easily identified except *Era.* Rigutini had pointed out that this could not be the insignificant Era of Tuscany; he suggested that it might be the almost equally insignificant Serchio. In 1908 Scherillo added to this note a statement that the river in question was probably the Saône (Arar). In the new appendix,

however, he shows that Petrarch here, and Dante in *Paradiso,* VI, 59, almost certainly meant the Loire when they said Era; and in the notes to the sonnet Scherillo has substituted for the former note simply this: "*Era.* La Loira." The minute care which this experienced scholar and editor has used in his revision makes this third edition one to be heartily commended. K. McK.

There is always "a new book on the short story," for this type of fiction is constantly inspiring critics and others to produce popular analyses of its form and technique. Among the more interesting of these recent critiques may be included Mr. Harry T. Baker's work, *The Contemporary Short Story* (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co.). This book, which aims to be "a practical manual," no doubt makes its strongest appeal to young college men and others who are still in the embryonic stage of authorship and have a keen desire to read all the latest shop-talk. In his chapter on "Originality," Mr. Baker maintains that "in the best short stories of the day there is not only essential originality but also something more than brainless entertainment. There is a solid kernel of thought, often a big idea, back of the narrative." His illustration, however, a story entitled "Sunrise," appears unsatisfactory: a beautiful girl in China who has always lived underground is brought forth one morning to behold the sunrise for the first time in her life; the shock is so great that she dies immediately, believing that she has gazed into the very face of God. The matter-of-fact modern reader may find it difficult, even for the purposes of art, to conceive of the beauty of this young woman, who has grown up in subterranean darkness.

Mr. Baker, however, discusses with fairly sound judgment Common Faults, Structure, Character *vs.* Plot, and How Magazines Differ. To each of the chapters is appended a list of suggestive questions for investigation by the diligent reader. We are glad to learn that the leading authors of the day have selected Stevenson's *A Lodging for the Night* and Bret Harte's *The Outcasts of Poker Flat* as the two best stories in English, and that Conan Doyle, in particular, favored Stevenson's *Pavilion on the Links.* This would seem to indicate that the greatest work in the short story has been accomplished, and that the modern attempts are feeble except as means of earning handsome incomes. Mr. Baker occupied for some time the position of manuscript reader for various prominent magazines, and speaks authoritatively; his experience with the Hearst publications has led him to make several pointed remarks concerning *The Cosmopolitan* and the school of "snappy" fiction writers. T. M. C.

John Keats. By Sidney Colvin (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917). Some thirty years ago Mr. Sidney Colvin wrote the excellent *Life* of Keats in the English Men of Letters series, and now on the anniversary of the publication of the first volume of the poems (1817) Sir Sidney has produced a monumental work which is likely to be the standard *Life* of the poet for years to come. Here we have faithfully and vividly portrayed the "Junkets" of the early days, the Keats of "flint and iron," who was at the same time subject to "fits of depression and self-torment," when the reviews were mercilessly and ignorantly pounding him, and the broken man of the last months when the "tremendous adventure of his love" and his fatal disease had plunged him into an agony only relieved by death. The critical chapters of the volume are in accord with the best traditions of English scholarship. Thus, in the matter of sources Sir Sidney prefers to point out striking parallels from Elizabethan and contemporary writers, significant suggestions from works of art, and other indications of influence, all which show that Keats could make his own what he got from others. Colvin does not care to load the text with specialized discussion of originals nor append to it a learned mass of footnotes. Two and a half pages suffice for the treatment of the sources of the *Eve of St. Agnes,* and a single footnote gives only such necessary details as are too specialized for the text. It is also in accord with certain lapses of English scholarship that in this connection the reference to Dr. Noble MacCracken's article should be the "*Philological Journal* of the Chicago University, Vol. 1908," instead of *Modern Philology,* Vol. v, 1907. One is grateful for the frequent quotations from the Brown, Woodhouse, and other MSS. which are almost as inaccessible to the scholar as to the layman. Thus the version of the "Bright Star" sonnet from Brown's transcript antedates the usual version written in Severn's copy of Shakespeare's *Poems* by nineteen months, and thereby forces the latter out of its pride of place as the last poem composed by Keats. The Woodhouse MSS. throw interesting light on the poet's gay treatment of the prudish Woodhouse when the latter objected to the changes brought into the marvellous 36th stanza of the *Eve.* The outlining of the development of Keats's genius in the criticism of his separate poems is admirable. The discussion of such questions of technique as that of the heroic couplet from Chaucer onward brings out fully the revolutionary character of Keats's manipulation of his metrical instrument. On page 365 Louisville has wandered into Ohio, but on page 531 it has returned to its proper State. The work of the publishers in the printing and the illustrations is a credit to their house, even though they do print 'Knight-at-arms' as 'night-at-arms' (p. 469). J. W. T.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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POE AND THE *BALTIMORE SATURDAY VISITER*

In the three years that followed his dismissal from West Point, Edgar Allan Poe might well have disputed Hawthorne's claim to be the obscurest man of letters in America. Although he was the author of three published volumes of verse, Poe had made so slight an impression on his times that the most diligent of biographers have had difficulty in learning where and how he spent these years. It begins to be clear that his residence during the whole period was Baltimore, and that, having put a military career behind him, he was striving without help or encouragement to be wholly a man of letters. He was rescued from obscurity by successful competition for a prize offered by a Baltimore weekly, devoted, in the phrase of the time, to polite literature. This paper was the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter*. It had been established early in 1832 by Mr. Charles F. Cloud, with Lambert A. Wilmer, a friend of Poe, as editor. By the end of the year Mr. Cloud had taken a partner, William P. Pouder, and Wilmer had been succeeded as editor by John H. Hewitt. In the summer of 1833 the *Visiter* announced an offer of two prizes, one of fifty dollars for the best tale, and another of twenty-five dollars for the best poem submitted to them before October first. Poe competed for both prizes. His *MS. Found in a Bottle,* one of six *Tales of the Folio Club* which he sent in, won the fifty dollar prize as the best tale. What was far more important, it brought him the friendship of John P. Kennedy, whose kindly help and encouragement came to Poe in a time of direst need.

No editor of Poe, so far as I am aware, has had access to a file of the *Visiter,* and it has been generally supposed [1] that no

[1] *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* ed. by James A. Harrison, I, 307. *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe,* ed. by Killis Campbell, p. 219.

such file had survived. I have recently been fortunate enough to learn that Volume III of the *Visiter* has been preserved by descendants of the proprietors, who have kindly permitted me to examine it. Besides affording first-hand information about the contest which proved so momentous in Poe's life, the volume contains one new poem undoubtedly by Poe and two more which are probably also his work.

I

Our knowledge of the circumstances of the *Saturday Visiter's* prize contest has hitherto been somewhat legendary. The earliest misstatement in regard to it seems to have been made by R. W. Griswold in the "Ludwig Article" in the *New York Tribune* of October 9, 1849.[2] He gives the date as 1831, and invents details to the effect that Poe received the prize solely because he had written legibly, and that "not another MS. was unfolded." In 1875, when the monument to Poe erected through the efforts of teachers and pupils in the Baltimore public schools was to be dedicated, one of the three judges of the contest, Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe, was still living. He was asked to give his personal recollections of the poet. The address[3] which Mr. Latrobe delivered, on November 17, 1875, as a part of the dedication ceremony, was a circumstantial account of the award of the prizes, which gave the lie to Griswold's malicious inventions, and an interesting and valuable description of Poe as he appeared in an interview a few days later.

The winner of the prize for the best poem, Mr. John H. Hewitt,[4] was also living and was present at the dedication. In a volume of random reminiscences[5] which he published in 1877, he alludes to Mr. Latrobe's address, and gives his own account of the contest. Curiously enough he confirms Latrobe's error as to the amount of the prizes, which he says were one hundred dollars and fifty

[2] Harrison, I, 351.

[3] *Edgar Allan Poe. A Memorial Volume*, by Sara Sigourney Rice, Baltimore, 1877, p. 57.

[4] His name is misspelled by Whitty, *The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. by J. H. Whitty, p. xxxvii.

[5] *Shadows on the Wall or Glimpses of the Past*, by John H. Hewitt, Baltimore, 1877, pp. 39-43; 154-158.

dollars. From Hewitt's account it is apparent that the judges informed Poe that his poem *The Coliseum* would have received the twenty-five dollar prize if the larger prize had not already been awarded to him, and that the matter was the subject of some controversy between the two contestants. Hewitt alludes to this as a "little unpleasantness," and Gill in his life of Poe [6] says that Poe tried, naturally in vain, to induce Hewitt to waive his claim to the honor but to keep the money. Hewitt and Poe had previously disagreed, as the result of a hostile review by Hewitt of Poe's Poems in 1829, and Hewitt's animus, though less vicious than Griswold's, is evident in every line that he has written about Poe.

Both Latrobe and Hewitt speak of the paper as the *Visitor,* and by various biographers it is spoken of as the *Saturday Morning Visitor.* Whatever it may have been called by later editors, the volume of 1833 was entitled the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter.* The offer of the prizes first appears in the issue of June 15, and is repeated without change at varying intervals until September 7. It reads as follows:

PREMIUMS

The proprietors of the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* feeling desirous of encouraging literature, and at the same time serving their readers with the best that lies within their reach, offer a premium of *50 dollars* for the best Tale and *25 dollars* for the best Poem, not exceeding one hundred lines, that shall be offered them between the present period and the first of October next.

The following gentlemen have been chosen to decide on the merits of the productions:

John P. Kennedy, Esq.
John H. B. Latrobe, Esq.
Doctor James H. Miller

Those writers throughout the country who are desirous of entering the lists, will please forward their productions to *Cloud and Pouder,* Baltimore, before the first of October (postpaid) enclosed in an envelope bearing the name of the writer. If secrecy is preferred, the name may be enclosed in a separate envelope, which will not be opened, except in the case of the successful author. We wish those

[6] *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe,* by William Fearing Gill, New York, 1877, pp. 69-70.

who may write for either of the premiums to understand that all manuscripts submitted will become the property of the Publishers.

*** Silver medals to the amount of the above rewards will be given in lieu of cash, if required.

The decision of the judges was announced in the *Visiter* of October 12. The text of the successful tale was not—as is asserted by various biographers—printed in this number, but in the issue of October 19. The announcement of the award is as follows:

THE PREMIUMS

It will be seen by the following letter that the Committee have decided on the merits of the various productions sent for the premiums offered by us. The "Manuscript found in a bottle" is the production of Edgar A. Poe, of Baltimore.

The poem entitled "The Song of the Winds" by Henry Wilton, of Baltimore.

The prize pieces shall be published next week.

Messers. Cloud and Pouder—

Gentlemen:—We have received two pacquets containing the Poems and Tales submitted as competitors for the prizes offered by you in July last, and in accordance with your request have carefully perused them with a view to the award of the premiums.

Amongst the poems we have selected a short one, entitled "Song of the Winds," as the most finished production offered. There were several others of such a degree of merit as greatly to perplex our choice and cause some hesitation in the award we have made.

Of the tales submitted there were many of various and distinguished excellence; but the singular force and beauty of those offered by "The Tales of the Folio Club," it may be said without disparagement to the high merit of others presented in the competition, left us no ground for doubt in making choice of one from that collection. We have accordingly, awarded the prize in this department to the tale bearing the title of "A MS Found in a Bottle." It would scarcely be doing justice to the author of this collection to say the tale we have chosen is the best of the six offered by him. We have read them all with unusual interest, and can not refrain from the expression of the opinion that the writer owes it to his own reputation, as well as to the gratification of the community to publish the whole volume. These tales are eminently distinguished by a wild, vigorous and poetical imagination, a rich style, a fertile invention, and varied and curious learning. Our selection of "A MS Found in a bottle" was rather dictated by the originality of its conception and its length, than by any superior merit in its execution over the others by the same author.

The general excellence of the whole of the compositions offered for the prizes is very creditable to the rising literature of our country.

Very Respectfully Gentl'n

John P. Kennedy
Jno. H. B. Latrobe
J. H. Miller

Baltimore, October 7, 1833.

In the next number the poem and the tale were duly published.[7] The poem comes first, and, as in the report of the judges, is attributed to Henry Wilton. The use of a pseudonym is due, no doubt, to the fact that Hewitt was at the time editor of the *Visiter*. He prints *The Song of the Winds* as his own in the volume of reminiscences mentioned above.[8] The successful tale was printed under the prefatory note:

The following is the tale to which the Premium of Fifty Dollars has been awarded by the Committee. It will be found highly graphic in its style of composition.

A careful collation of the text of the *MS. Found in a Bottle*, undertaken for me by a former student, shows that this earliest version does not differ markedly from that printed in December, 1835, in the *Southern Literary Messenger*.[9] I give below those variants from the final text in the Harrison edition,[10] which are also variants from the text of the *Messenger* (the Harrison reading is given first in each case). In all other variations from the final text the *Visiter* and the *Messenger* are in agreement.

Page 2, l. 28, as well for its color as (as well as for its color); 3, l. 22, left me without deigning (went below without deigning); 4, l. 5, impossible to say (impossible for me to say); 4, l. 12, whirlpool of mountainous and foaming ocean within which we were engulfed (whirlpool or mountains and foaming ocean within which we are engulfed); 5, l. 25, gave out no light (emitted no light); 7, ll. 29, 30, slowly from the dim and horrible gulf beyond her

[7] In this issue there is a brief editorial comment in which occurs the remark, "It gives us great pleasure in stating for the literary credit of our city, that both the successful candidates are Baltimoreans."

[8] *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 157.

[9] Vol. II, p. 33.

[10] Harrison, II, 1, 307.

(slowly from the everlasting gulf beyond her); 7, l. 34, I know not (I knew not); 10, l. 20, of this kind (of the kinds); 12, l. 16, escapes to the only (escapes from imminent and deadly peril to the only); 12, l. 22, there is (there was); 12, l. 27, that is, about five feet (that is, I mean, about five feet).

That Poe took to heart the advice of the judges that he publish the volume of tales which he had submitted to them is proved by an announcement in the *Visiter* a week later.

The Folio Club

This is the title of a volume of tales from the pen of Edgar A. Poe, the gentleman to whom the committee appointed by the proprietors of this paper awarded the premium of $50. The work is about being put to press, and is to be published by subscription. We have a list at our office, and any person wishing to subscribe will please call. The volume will cost but $1.

The prize tale is not the best of Mr. Poe's productions; among the tales of the Folio Club there are many possessing uncommon merit. They are all characterized by a raciness, originality of thought and brilliancy of conception which are rarely to be met with in the writings of our most favored American authors. In assisting Mr. Poe in the publication of the Folio Club, the friends of native literature will encourage a young author whose energies have been partially damped by the opposition of the press, and, we may say, by the lukewarmness of the public in appreciating American productions. He has studied and written much—his reward rested on public approbation—let us give him something more substantial than bare praise. We ask our friends to come forward and subscribe to the work—there are many anxious to see it before the public.

In the next issue of the *Visiter* (that of November 2) the offer is withdrawn by the following note:

Mr. Poe has declined the publication of his Tales of the Folio Club in the manner stated in our last number. It is his intention, we understand, to bring them out in Philadelphia.

Later, on the advice of Mr. Kennedy, Poe sent the Tales to Carey and Lea, of Philadelphia,[11] in whose hands also they failed to reach publication as a collection.

[11] *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, by George E. Woodberry, Boston, 1909, I, 100.

Besides the *MS. Found in a Bottle,* only two of the six tales sent to the *Visiter* have been identified. These two, according to a note in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for August, 1835,[12] were *Lionizing* and *The Visionary* (*The Assignation*). Dr. Killis Campbell has pointed out [13] that five tales of the *Folio Club* were published during 1832 in the *Philadelphia Courier.* As the *Courier,* a periodical apparently somewhat similar to the *Visiter,* had offered in 1831 a prize of one hundred dollars for the best tale submitted before December 1 of that year, it is altogether probable, as Dr. Campbell conjectures, that Poe competed for this prize, and that after the award his tales were published, with or without his consent. The three known to have been sent to the *Visiter* are not among them. It had been stipulated by the proprietors of the *Visiter* that all manuscripts submitted in the contest should become the property of the paper. In the case of Poe's tales the right thus claimed seems not to have been insisted on. On October 26, however, one week after the appearance of Hewitt's poem, Poe's *The Coliseum* was published, without comment or allusion to the prize [14] for which it had been submitted. This version of *The Coliseum* presents two interesting variations from the later texts. It begins with the line,

> Lone ampitheatre! Grey Coliseum!

which is lacking in the *Messenger* and in later versions. The second line of the fourth paragraph of the poem,

> These mouldering plinths; this broken frieze,

is metrically faulty. In the *Messenger* version Poe expanded it into two lines, which he retained in successive revisions:

> These mouldering plinths; these sad, and blackened shafts;
> These vague entablatures; this broken frieze;
> These shattered cornices . . . .

In general, however, the text printed in the *Messenger* closely follows the original form.

[12] Vol. I, p. 716; *cf.* Woodberry, II, 401.

[13] *The Dial,* LX, 143 (February 17, 1916).

[14] In the *Southern Literary Messenger* for August, 1835 (I, 706), Poe entitles it *The Coliseum, A Prize Poem.*

II

After the publication of *The Coliseum* the volume contains no contribution by Poe, nor any mention of his name except the announcement of the subscription edition of the tales. An examination of the earlier issues is more fruitful. In the *Visiter* for April 20, 1833, is a poem by Poe hitherto unknown, so far as I can learn, to his editors and biographers. It runs as follows:

SERENADE.—BY E. A. POE.

So sweet the hour—so calm the time,
I feel it more than half a crime
When Nature sleeps and stars are mute,
To mar the silence ev'n with lute.
At rest on ocean's brilliant dies
An image of Elysium lies:
Seven Pleiades entranced in Heaven,
Form in the deep another seven:
Endymion nodding from above
Sees in the sea a second love.
Within the valleys dim and brown,
And on the spectral mountain's crown
The wearied light is dying down;
The earth, and stars, and sea, and sky
Are redolent of sleep, as I
Am redolent of thee and thine
Enthralling love, my Adeline.
But list, O list— so soft and low
Thy lover's voice tonight shall flow
That, scarce awake, thy soul shall deem
My words the music of a dream.
Thus, while no single sound too rude,
Upon thy slumber shall intrude,
Our thoughts, our souls—O God above!
In every deed shall mingle, love.

In imagery and in diction the *Serenade* is closely associated with the poems that Poe published in 1827 and 1829. Besides the usual atmosphere of strange light, fantastic stars, and half-waking

dreams, it makes use of some of the favorite words which pleased his ear at this time. With the second line,

> I feel it more than half a crime,

compare the following passages peculiar to the 1827 version of *Tamerlane:*

> To shun the fate with which to cope
> Is more than crime may dare to dream (ll. 4 and 5).
>
> And bade it first to dream of crime (l. 149).
>
> When falsehood wore a ten-fold crime (l. 190).

and these lines from *Romance* (1829):

> That little time with lyre and rhyme
> To while away—forbidden things!
> My heart would feel to be a crime
> Unless it trembled with the strings.

Poe was also fond of the epithet *dim,* in the line

> Within the valleys dim and brown.

In *Irene,* the 1831 version of *The Sleeper,* the word is used three times, one line in which it occurs,

> Nodding above the dim abyss,

being peculiar to that version. A still closer parallel occurs in *Fairy-Land* (line 41 of the 1831 version),

> Dim vales! and shadowy floods!

Among the poems with which the columns of the *Visiter* are somewhat generously supplied are the two following, published in the late spring, which instantly arrest the attention.

To ————

Sleep on, sleep on, another hour—
  I would not break so calm a sleep,
To wake to sunshine and to show'r,
  To smile and weep.

Sleep on, sleep on, like sculptured thing,
  Majestic, beautiful art thou;

Sure seraph shields thee with his wing
And fans thy brow—

We would not deem thee child of earth,
For, O, angelic is thy form!
But, that in heav'n thou had'st thy birth,
Where comes no storm

To mar the bright, the perfect flow'r,
But all is beautiful and still—
And golden sands proclaim the hour
Which brings no ill.

Sleep on, sleep on, some fairy dream
Perchance is woven in thy sleep—
But, O, thy spirit, calm, serene
Must wake to weep.

TAMERLANE

FANNY

The dying swan by northern lakes
Sings its wild death song, sweet and clear;
And as the solemn music breaks
O'er hill and glen dissolves in air;
Thus musical thy soft voice came,
Thus trembled on thy tongue my name.

Like sunburst through the ebon cloud,
Which veils the solemn midnight sky,
Piercing cold evening's sable shroud,
Thus came the first glance of that eye;
But like the adamantine rock,
My spirit met and braved the shock.

Let memory the boy recall
Who laid his heart upon thy shrine,
When far away his footsteps fall,
Think that he deemed thy charms divine;
A victim on love's alter [sic] slain,
By witching eyes which looked disdain.

TAMERLANE

The pseudonym *Tamerlane* is, in view of Poe's use of the name on the title-page of his first and second volumes of verse, highly significant; and the tradition [15] that Poe contributed "for six months" to the *Visiter* further justifies an inquiry as to the possibility that these poems may be by his hand. It is apparent at once that both poems have much in common with the moody verses that grew out of Poe's loneliness and injured pride after he left Richmond in 1827. Read in conjunction with the 1827 versions of "I saw thee on thy bridal day," *A Dream Within a Dream, A Dream, The Happiest Day, the Happiest Hour* and *The Lake; To* —— they are entirely in place. They are, moreover, strikingly similar to these poems in mechanical details. Poe's early work is characterized, for example, by a lack of variety in rime-words. In the 1827 *Tamerlane* the word *hour* is rimed ten times, five times with the same word, i. e., *power*. In the final revision only three such rimes are retained. In *The Happiest Day, the Happiest Hour* the same rime, *hour—power,* occurs three times. *To* —— is in the same meter and stanza as this poem and uses the rimes *hour—show'r* and *flow'r—hour*. *Fanny* is similar in meter to *The Lake; To* ——, to which it is akin in subject. It inevitably suggests, also, the song, "I saw thee on thy bridal day," and a boyish love such as Poe is said to have felt for Mrs. Stannard.[16] On the whole, the internal evidence so far confirms the suggestion of the pseudonym as to make it more than probable that in *Fanny* and *To* ——, as well as in *Serenade,* we have authentic poems by Edgar Allan Poe.

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[15] Harrison, I, 101.

[16] *Fanny* may possibly record such an affection for Mrs. Allan's sister, who was known to Poe as "Aunt Fanny." Cf. Woodberry, *The Life of Poe,* I, 29, 68.

DESCHAMPS' BALLADE TO CHAUCER

In the paucity of biographic detail about Chaucer, the fact that he exchanged poems with the versatile and journalistic Eustace Deschamps has its importance; and it is not without interest to observe Gower's "Clerk of Venus" praised for his poetic technique by the author of the *Art de dictier et de fere chançons, balades, virelais, et rondeaulx,* the earliest of the long series of French *Arts poétiques.* The little poem permits of several other inferences: chief in value, perhaps, is the deduction that Chaucer's literary reputation in the mind of Deschamps was one of really great distinction.

M. Legouis speaks of this as "une ballade pompeuse"; Professor Kittredge characterizes it as "highly complimentary," but I do not gather that either of these eminent Chaucerians detects in it the note of insincerity. In spite of its high-tension style, a style forced and *tourmenté* to a degree unusual even for Deschamps, the ballade makes the impression upon me of having been sincerely meant: it is more than respectful in tone and was intended to bring results. It is a pity that Chaucer's original request—for the first move was evidently his—has not come down to us.

Unfortunately, the text[1] is in relatively poor condition: the unique manuscript was executed carelessly (Raynaud XI, 104) and no one has hitherto studied the language of this *Ballade* closely.

I have reprinted the text once more—*ni le premier, ni le dernier*—with a few retouches. These, and the translation which fol-

[1] Printed by T. Wright, in his *Anecdota Litteraria,* 1844, p. 13, from a rather careless copy furnished him by Paulin Paris; by P. Tarbé, in his *Collection des Poètes de Champagne: Poésies inédites d'Eustache Deschamps,* 1849, p. 123 (Deschamps having been born at Vertus, near Rheims); by Sandras, *Etude sur Chaucer,* 1859, p. 261; by the Marquis de Queux de St.-Hilaire, for the Société des anciens Textes français, 1880 (II, 138, and add X, 218, 247; XI, 347, these annotations being the work of G. Raynaud); by P. Toynbee, in *Academy,* 1891 (XL, 342) and thence, more fully commented, in his *Specimens of Old French,* 1892, pp. 314, 482. Mr. Toynbee has the merit of having procured a new collation of the manuscript, the meager results of which he communicated to the *Academy, l. c.*

lows, find whatever justification I have been able to give them in the comments which follow.

Autre Balade

O Socratès plains de philosophie,
Seneque en meurs, Auglius en pratique,
Ovides grans en ta poëterie,
Briés en parler, saiges en rethorique,
Aigles treshaulz, qui par ta theorique
Enlumines le regne d'Eneas,
L'Isle aux Geans, ceuls de Bruth, et qu'i as
Semé les fleurs et planté le rosier
Aux ignorans de la langue Pandras,
Grant translateur, noble Geoffrey Chaucier;

Tu es d'Amours mondains Dieux en Albie:
Et *de la Rose,* en la terre Angelique
Qui, d'Angela saxonne, est puis flourie
Angleterre, d'elle ce nom s'applique
Le derrenier en l'ethimologique,
En bon anglès le *Livre* translatas;
Et un vergier, où du plant demandas
De ceuls qui font pour eulx auctorisier,
A ja long temps que tu edifias,
Grand translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier.

A toy pour ce de la fontaine Helye
Requier avoir un buvraige autentique,
Dont la doys est du tout en ta baillie,
Pour rafrener d'elle ma soif ethique,
Qui en Gaule seray paralitique
Jusques a ce que tu m'abuveras.
Eustaces sui, qui de mon plant aras:

2 MS. et anglux. W(right) Angles.
9 T(arbé) apprandras.
13 MS. et puis. W Angels Saxonne.
16 T Anglais.
19 R(aynaud) longtemps.
25 W Qu'en ma Gaule.
27 W Eustace; mon plans. qui de] *read* quite?

Mais pran en gré les euvres d'escolier
Que par Clifford de moy avoir pourras,
Grand translateur, noble Gieffroy Chaucier.

L'Envoy

Poëte hault, loënge d'escuîrie,
En ton jardin ne seroie qu'ortie:
Considère ce que j'ay dit premier—
Ton noble plant, ta douce melodie;
Mais, pour sçavoir, de rescripre te prie,
Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier.

Translation

O Socrates full of wisdom, a Seneca in uprightness of life, an Aulus Gellius in practical affairs, an Ovid great in thy poetic lore, brief in expression, wise in the art of the versifier:—lofty eagle (genius), who by thy science dost illuminate the kingdom of Aeneas, the Isle of Giants—they of Brutus—and who hast sown there the flowers (of verse) and planted the Rose-tree for (the benefit of) those ignorant of the Grecian tongue, O great translator, noble Geoffrey Chaucer;—

Thou art a mundane god of Love in Albia: and (thou translatedst the *Book*) *of the Rose* in the Angelic land, which from the Saxon lady Angela has since developed (into) Angle-land, (for it is) from her this name now is applied, being the last in the series of names:—thou translatedst the *Book* (*of the Rose*) into good English; and now for a long time thou hast been constructing a fruit-garden, for which thou didst ask some plants from those who poetize to win themselves solid reputation, O great translator, noble Geoffrey Chaucer;—

Wherefore I ask that I may have from thee a genuine draught from the spring of Hippocrene, whose rill is altogether in thy possession, so that I may check my feverish thirst for it: here in Gaul I shall be as a paralytic until thou shalt make me drink. A Eustace am I, thou shalt have some of my plants; but look with favor

31 MS. destruye. W destinye; T destmye; R (x: 247) "*corrigez* deservie."
32. R seroye.

upon the schoolboy productions which thou mayst receive from me through Clifford, O great translator, noble Geoffrey Chaucer.

High poet, (the) glory of squirehood, in thy garden I should be only a nettle: bethink thee of what I have described above, thy noble plants, thy sweet music! Nevertheless, that I may not be left in doubt, I beg thee to return me an official opinion, O great translator, noble Geoffrey Chaucer.

Comments

Line 1. The kind of philosophy meant may be inferred from Deschamps, VIII, 149: Cato, reputed author of the *Disticha,* is also "plain de phillosophie."

2. *en meurs,* that is, *en bonnes meurs,* as in the rondeau IV, 110. One of the variants to Dante's "Seneca morale" is "il buon Senaca" (*Inf.* IV, 141).

Auglius (MS. *anglux*) I take to be Aulus Gellius. Deschamps used the *Policraticus,* and the name appears there (Webb's excellent edition ii, p. 99, 23) as Agellius; and it was so generally spelled until corrected by Lambeck († 1680). "Quelquesuns," says the old *Dictionnaire de Trévoux,* "le nomment Agellius, d'autres Augellius." From St. Augustine's sanction: "Vir elegantissimi eloquii et multae ac facundae scientiae," down to Boccaccio's "noble historiar," Gellius, more popular than Quintilian, enjoyed a high reputation: a double reputation, in fact, for he was eminent both in letters and in the world of affairs as a judge. Even jurisconsults have drawn upon Gellius in matters of law: so Dirksen, *Hinterlassene Schriften,* I, 21. Chaucer, in Deschamps' mind, is eminent not only in letters, but also in "practice," as one may speak in these days of the practice of a lawyer, or of a physician.

Flanked as he is here by Seneca and Ovid, Gellius, it seems to me, has much better claims than the obscure and unpublished Angelus of Rome suggested by Raynaud (XI, 204).

In the ballade (III, 182) with the refrain, *Tuit y mourront, et li fol et li sage,* occurs: *Où est Auglas, le bon praticien?* I believe, with Raynaud, that this is the same person as the *Anglux* of the Chaucer ballade, the association of the name with *pratique-praticien* being significant. We might then read here (line 2) *Auglus,* and retain *et.*

3. *poëterie,* "c'est-à-dire mythologie classique. Voy. dans Langlois, *Recueil des arts de seconde rhétorique,* pp. 39, 65, 97, trois listes de noms mythologiques utiles à connaître en *poeterie.*" So Raynaud, XI, 220.

4. *Briés en parler.* The precept goes back, I believe, to the tract "Tullius in quarto rethoricorum libro ad Herennium," ed. Marx, p. 195-6, once attributed to Cicero; it is expounded as early as Brunetto Latini, *Trésor,* p. 519. Deschamps cites it again (VII, 208): *Parler briefment, en substance et en bien,* etc.

réthorique. Machaut, hailed by Deschamps as *le noble rethorique* in the two ballades on his death (I, 243-46), understands the function of rhetoric in this wise: "Retorique versefier Fait l'amant et metrifier, Et si fait faire jolis vers Nouviaus et de metres divers," etc. (*Œuvres,* ed. Hoepffner, I, 10).

5. *théorique.* "Ce est cele propre science qui nos enseigne la premiere question, de savoir et de conoistre les natures de toutes choses celestiaus et terriennes." B. Latini, *Trésor,* p. 5.

6. *Enlumines.* Professor Lowes finds some remarkable similarities of expression between this first strophe and Chaucer's salutation to Petrarch (*PMLA,* XIX, 641).

8. *les fleurs, i. e.,* the fixed forms like those described in the *Art de dictier.* The "Champ royal," for instance, is one of the "bright flowers" of fourteenth century poetry in a *chant royal* reprinted by Miss Cohen, *The Ballade,* p. 356-7.

planté le rosier. The word *rosier* is frequent in both parts of the *Roman de la Rose* (ed. Michel I, 53, II, 348-49), being especially prominent at the very end. Christine de Pizan attributes to Gerson the pious wish: "Pleust a Dieu que telle rose n'eust oncques esté plantée ou jardin de Chretienté!" (Ward's Chicago Dissertation, *The Epistles on the Romance of the Rose,* 1911, p. 107-8).

9. *La langue Pandras.* The allusion to the Brutus story (*Eneas —les Geans—Bruth—Pandras*) of Geoffrey of Monmouth and his continuators is evident (Raynaud X, 218); Toynbee (*Specimens,* p. 482) is the first to attempt an explanation of this phrase: "The language of Brutus being *English,* the language of Pandrasus, the foe of Brutus, must obviously be *French,* the language of the hereditary foes of England." This seems substantially correct, for the *Livre de la Rose* is indeed in French; but Toynbee, in omitting some of the intermediate steps in the comparison, seems to have missed much of its point.

The "language of Pandras" was, and must remain, the Greek language (I agree here with Hoepffner, *E. Deschamps,* 1904, p. 173); that of Brutus was never English, but Trojan, or, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth (I, 16), a sort of "rough Greek." The idea in Deschamps' mind then, seems to have taken shape thus: Trojan, a rough Greek, was to good Greek, as Chaucer's language, in the *Rose* translation, was to the French of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung.

"Personne au xiii[e] siècle n'a manié la langue française comme Jean de Meun," says E. Langlois, to whom we are looking for the first critical edition of the whole poem. And as to the First Part, the work of Guillaume de Lorris, its descriptions "ont été souvent citées parmi les plus belles pages de notre vieille poésie." Contemporaries of Deschamps—Jean de Montreuil, Gontier Col, Pierre Col —speak of the style of the *Livre de la Rose* in terms of boundless admiration; Gerson, who would have had it burned ("Ad ignem, chari homines, ad ignem!"), makes one of its defenders say: *in loquela gallica non habet similem* (Ward, pp. 41, 48, and *passim*). In the full tide of the French Renaissance, Du Bellay has, remarkably enough, the same opinion, he who would otherwise make a *tabula rasa* of the literary baggage of older France: "De tous les anciens poëtes françois, quasi un seul (*sic*), Guillaume de Lauris et Jean de Meun sont dignes d'estre leus, non tant pour ce qu'il y ait en eux beaucoup de choses qui se doivent imiter des modernes, comme pour y voir quasi comme une premiere image de la langue françoise. . . ." (*Deffense et Illustration,* II, ii). Under the weight of this immense reputation of the Rose Romance as a *testo di lingua,* Chaucer's responsibility as translator must have been, to any French poet of the day, a very serious one. I presume, however, that Deschamps meant to say no more than that the perfect French of de Lorris and de Meun had necessarily suffered in translation, which is likely enough, on general grounds. Or, did he mean to imply that the language of France was in his time at a higher level of cultivation than the language of the "Angelic land"?

A not altogether futile monograph might be written upon the theme of the French language as being equal, or next, in perfection to the Greek. Ser Brunetto's *Trésor* mentions Greek as among the three sacred tongues, and among the vernaculars he prefers French

as being "plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens." The idea of associating the two must have occurred to many Frenchmen, long before Henri Estienne, moved by his dislike of the temporary prestige of Italian and Spanish, composed his treatise in due form on the *Conformité du Langage françois avec le Grec* (c. 1565). Outside of France, one might also cite Mellema (*Dict. flamand-français,* 1591), who eulogizes "la tresnoble et tresparfaite langue Françoise, laquelle regne et s'use pour la plus commode, la plus facile, voir la plus accomplie de toutes autres en la chrestienté, laquelle a grande affinité avec la Grecque. . . ." But I have not met with the idea elsewhere in Deschamps.

11. *Tu es.* The classic epistolary *Tu* was unfamiliar enough to Deschamps and his contemporaries to call for apology and explanation at times. Thus Gontier Col to Christine de Pizan (Ward, p. 31): "Et se ores . . . t'appelle en singulier, ne te desplaise, ne me le imputes a arogance ou orgueil, car c'est et a esté tousiours ma maniere quant j'ay escript a mes amis, especialment quant sont lettrés." Similarly Pierre Col (p. 57) uses *tu* "pour parler plus proprement selonc que nos anciens maistres ont parley." Christine herself, in her *Epistre à Deschamps,* explains that she adopts *Tu* from "le stille clergial, de quoy ceulx usent Qui en science leur temps usent." (*Œuvres poétiques,* II, 296.) Thus Deschamps is also, consciously, a bit "high-brow."

mondains should not be associated with *Amours* (Toynbee) but with *Dieux.* One of Deschamps' ballades to Machaut (I, 245) salutes him thus: "O Guillaume, mondains Dieux d'harmonie." Cf. II, 207, *uns mondains paradis.*

13. *Angela saxonne.* Just what medieval etymologizer first wilfully took (or mistook) *Angla* in *Englaland* for a Latin fem. in *-a,* and deduced therefrom a mythical eponym Angela—described elsewhere by Deschamps (VI, 87) as "fille a un duc puissant de Saxoine"—is not at present known, nor is it, perhaps, a matter of importance. Toynbee (*Specimens,* p. 483) asserts that *Angela saxonne* is not mentioned in Wace's *Brut,* but a more attentive reading of the passage (I, vv. 1227-36) certainly shows that the basis of the myth is there. Wace states, independently of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that 1) Guermont betrayed the country to the Saxons; 2) the Saxons named the English after "Angle" (the usual OFr. spelling for the originally proparoxytone *angele;* cf. G. Paris,

Etude sur le Rôle de l'Accent latin, p. 24-26, and, for other examples, the MS. of the *Voyage de Charlemagne* which has 377 *angle* but 672 *angele*) ; and 3) they named the country Angleterre. As Wace did not say whose daughter "Angela" was, it was but natural to surmise—and then to state—that she was the daughter of "a powerful Saxon duke."

Spenser, *F. Q.* III, iii, 55, 56, 58, as Professor A. S. Cook points out to me, reproduces the story, as had done, before Deschamps, Higden, *Polychronicon* II, p. 4, and others; but where did Wace get it?

18. *ceuls qui font,* 'they who write verse.' Toynbee cites, aptly, Chaucer's "flour of *hem that make* in Fraunce."

Toynbee needlessly finds a difficulty in *pour eulx auctorisier:* the pronoun is reflexive, as regularly in OFr., a variant of *por soi auctorisier. Li livre est molt auctorizez* says Frère Angier, who is preparing to versify the famous *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory (Cloran, p. 14).

21. *la fontaine Helye.* Raynaud (x, 144), followed by Toynbee, translates *Helye* by 'Helicon,' but this identification is very far from self-explanatory. The tradition, certainly, would be rather to identify Hélye (Hélie, Elie) either with Lat. Aelius, whence possibly in French proper names, or preferably with Elias, the prophet Elijah, as does Deschamps himself (II, 2 and VI, 104) where the MS. in both cases has *Helie.* One might also cite one of the contemporary collections of *poeterie* (Langlois, *Arts,* p. 67) which, after mentioning Enoc, tells us on the basis of Mal. IV, 5: "Helie est le message et denunciateur du derrain advenement qui vaut autant a dire que le jour du jugement." See also McKnight, *PMLA,* XIX, 326. Might the brook Cherith, whence the inspired Elijah drank, be the runlet (*la doys*) for which Deschamps is so thirsty?

The *Policraticus,* one of the favorite sources of Deschamps, relates that the Emperor Hadrian, after the rebuilding of Jerusalem, proposed to change the name of the city to Helia (that is, Aelia), and Deschamps knows of Hadrian (IX, 364) as Hellius Adrians. Might then some spring in Jerusalem—say the pool of Bethsaida (John V, 2) where the paralytics waited—be the Fountain of Helia needed, and Deschamps be one of the *aridorum,* cf. *paralitique* in line 25?

It was at this stage of peregrination in search of a probably

imaginary fountain that I encountered a statement which, I believe, vindicates fully Messrs. Raynaud and Toynbee, but by no means excuses them for having led us so long a chase. It appears that there has been (since when?) a Christian chapel dedicated to Hagios Elias on Mt. Helicon, not more than a hundred yards from the classic spring of Hippocrene (Pauly-Wissowa, XVI, 1854; Baedeker's *Greece*[4], p. 164). It may be true that no streamlet does actually issue from Hippocrene, but nothing seems to exclude the possibility that Deschamps had heard or read of the Fountain of Elias on Mt. Helicon, the ancient haunt of the Muses. But—had Chaucer ever heard of it?

In a second passage, this time in the eulogy of Machaut (I, 245). Deschamps again refers to the *fonteine Helie,* and here it is coupled with a still more elusive spring, *la fons Circé*: of these two fountains Machaut, like Chaucer, was *le ruissel et les dois.* Dernedde (p. 132) gives Circé up without a struggle, and I, fortunately, am not bound to attack her. There was a *fontaine Dircé,* near Thebes, which came down to medieval attention in the *Roman de Thèbes* (5250); but I cannot discover that it was one of the sources of poetic inspiration. It might be noted that Circe and Calypso—both sorceresses and seers—were rather badly mixed in the medieval mind at times (the *Roman de Troie* associates "Circès" and "Calipsa" in a long passage, 28701 ff.) and it may be that the four mysterious fountains of Calypso's cave were the *causae et fontes maeroris* in this case.

27. *Eustaces sui.* The legend of Placidas-Eustachius was a great favorite in France, a favor increased by the transfer of the saint's remains from Rome to the Abbey of St. Denis. In the opening sentences of his life in the *Legenda aurea,* Eustachius is described as *operibus misericordiae valde assiduus;* and a prose life (P. Meyer, *Hist. litt. de la France,* XXXIII, 383) elaborates the matter of his extraordinary generosity as follows: Il secoroit toz cels qui avoient mestier de secors; il aidoit toz cels qui avoient mestier d'aide; . . . il relevoit de son avoir les povres; il revestoit les nuz; il repessoit les famelleus; il departoit de ses viez choses. . . One of the metrical versions analyzed by Monteverdi (*Studî medievali,* III, 392 ff.) is even more satisfyingly specific:

A veves dames donoit e pain e sel.

"Named as I am after the great St. Eustace, pattern of those who give liberally to those who ask of them," says Deschamps, "your request shall be granted; but please look indulgently upon these school-boy efforts."

qui de mon plant aras. "I am Eustace (that write to thee) who shalt have herbs from my garden," translates Toynbee; but to change thus the antecedent of *qui* seems rather a bold piece of surgery. If we should take *qui* as OFr. *cui*, and *aras* as equivalent to *prendras* or *obtiendras* (*avoir* in the sense of 'get' is well known) we might venture: "from whom thou shalt get some of my plants"; but the expression remains very awkward. I am inclined to think the reading wrong, and to correct:

> Eustace sui, quite mon plant aras,
> Mais pran en gré. . . .

That is, "Thou shalt have it freely, but . . ." For the expression *avoir qqch quite*, cf. Crestien's *Erec* 599, and *Roman de Troie* 4690, 4693.

29. *Clifford.* For Lewis Clifford—l'amoureux Cliffort—see now Kittredge, *Mod. Phil.* I, 6-13.

31. *loënge d'escuîrie.* Hulbert's Chicago Dissertation has proved, says a reviewer (*M. L. Notes*, XXVII, 192), "that Chaucer's was a typical esquire's career." Deschamps also was a *scutifer:* the poet refers to himself as a *vieil escuier d'escuirie* (VIII, 179) and again (VII, 123) as "*Eustace . . . . qui de votre escurie est de long temps*," *i. e.*, since 1375, at least (Raynaud, XI, 13, n. 9). It appears then, that one esquire is praising another as the ornament of their common rank.

The MS. has *loenge destruye*, which has long been a puzzle. But the MS. frequently has (*t*) for (*c*); cf. *treüteus* for *creüreus* (III, 136 and X, 132), *desterre* for *descerre* (II, 194), and, conversely, *couchent* for *touchent* (V, 4 and X, 250). Again, *escruïe* appears to be by metathesis for the normal *escûrie:* one may note *atrempance* VII, 213, *frommiere* for *formiere* 'ant-hill' I, 287, just as elsewhere in dialect I have noted *fortreëce* for *forterece*. *Escûrie* is quite normal for Deschamps' time (cf. Tobler, *Versbau*[4], pp. 44, 50) as reduced from *escuërie*, Ital. *scudaria*. Lastly, *escuierie*, later *escuirie*, is a current form which is combined from *escuiier* and *escuërie*, both of which conform exactly to phonetic law. The word

means "l'ensemble des écuyers, pages, etc., qui forment la maison d'un roi ou d'un seigneur."

For an instance of *loange* in the sense of 'glory,' 'renown,' see Crestien's *Ivain,* 2189. Malherbe (I, 150) speaks of "Mars, qui met sa louange à déserter (= dépeupler) la terre."

34. *melodie.* In his *Art de dictier* (VII, 269) Deschamps explains "nous avons deux musiques, dont l'une est artificielle et l'autre est naturelle." By the first he means music, and by the second poetry; Chaucer's *douce melodie,* therefore, is, in this technical sense, his sweet verse.

35. *rescripre.* Hoepffner, I believe, is right (p. 175) in seeing more in this verb than merely "to make a written reply"; Deschamps, whose vanity is uneasy, asks from Chaucer a *rescript,* an official written decision of emperor or pope, as to the real merits of the *euvres d'escolier* sent him by the medium of Clifford. Cf. *PMLA,* XIX, 641, n., and Wells, *Manual,* p. 669, for conjectures as to the actual poem sent.

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"THE DEVIL AND DOCTOR FOSTER"

A number of years ago Professor Thomas Stockham Baker called attention [1] to the expression "the devil and Doctor Foster" as used in Maryland and West Virginia. He suggested its connection with the Faust legend, and inquired for further information in regard to it. As his note appears to have elicited no response, it may be of interest to present the following facts.

The expression is at least as old as the year 1726, for Defoe, in his *Political History of the Devil,* published in that year in London, speaks [2] of "the famous Dr. *Faustus* or *Foster,* of whom we have believed such strange Things, as that it is become a Proverb, *as great as the* Devil *and Dr.* Foster." The author also remarks: [3] "No doubt the *Devil* and Dr. *Faustus* were very intimate: I should

[1] *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XI, 63.

[2] P. 377 (p. 347 of the Oxford reprint of 1840).

[3] P. 286 (p. 261, ed. Oxford).

rob you of a very significant * [* *As great as the Devil and Doctor* Faustus. Vulg. Dr. *Foster.*] Proverb if I should as much as doubt it."

The original form of the expression, "the Devil and Dr. Faustus," occurs as the title of a play referred to in a four-page pamphlet called "A Walk to Smithfield, or a true description of the humours of Bartholomew Fair" (London, 1701).[4] As an exclamation the phrase recurs in Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749).[5]

Professor Henry Wood reminds me that the linking of Faust and his mentor in one phrase is as old as Shakespeare's day, for Bardolph [6] speaks of the "cozeners" who "set spurs and away, like three German devils, three Doctor Faustuses." Professor Alfred E. Richards, of New Hampshire State College, has pointed out [7] a passage in Shadwell's comedy *The Sullen Lovers* (1688), in which Sir Positive-At-All announces that he can "raise a devil with Doctor Faustus himself, if he were alive," and another in *Punch's Petition to the Ladies,* in which it is said of one Vander Hop "nor was he civil to Doctor Faustus nor the devil."

"The Devil and Doctor Faustus" appears in America as the title of a curious little chap-book of twelve pages, duodecimo, which Professor G. L. Kittredge, of Harvard University, very courteously lent me from his private library. This chap-book, which is divided into fourteen chapters, is entitled: "The Devil and Doctor Faustus. Containing the history of the wicked life and horrid death of Doctor John Faustus, and shewing how he sold himself to the Devil, to have power for twenty-four years to do what he pleased. Also the strange things done by him and Mephistopheles. With an Account

[4] For this reference, as well as for those to the original edition of Defoe, I am indebted to Tille's very learned work, *Die Faustsplitter in der Literatur des sechzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1900-04), pp. 515, 1130, and 1144. Tille indicates that he did not have access to "A Walk to Smithfield," but fails to give the source of his reference to it. His information comes from Morley's *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair* (London 1859), p. 353, to which Professor J. W. Bright kindly referred me.

[5] Vol. IV (ed. London, 1902), p. 236 (Book XVIII, chap. VIII): "What the devil and Doctor Faustus! shan't I do what I will with my own daughter, especially when I desire nothing but her own good?"

[6] *Merry Wives of Windsor* (Cambridge ed.), IV, v, l. 64. Cf. Tille, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[7] *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXII, p. 41.

how the Devil came to him at the end of twenty-four years and tore him to pieces. Montpelier: Printed by Carlos C. Darling, 1807." This pamphlet, according to Professor F. H. Wilkens,[8] is "presumably a reprint or adaptation of one of the English chap-books on the subject." Professor Richards kindly informs me that not one of a score of other Faust texts of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries which he has studied bears the title "The Devil and Doctor Faustus." He is inclined to suspect that the Montpelier chap-book is a condensation of the text printed at Worcester, Mass., in 1795.

The popularity of the Faust story in America antedates by more than a century the publication of these chap-books. I am again indebted to Professor Kittredge for the information that between 1682 and 1685 John Usher, a Boston bookseller, imported from London no less than sixty-six copies of a "History of Dr. Faustus."[9] This book Mr. Ford identifies with "The History of the Damnable Life and deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus; now newly printed, issued in 1677 for T. Sawbridge." Professor Richards has seen an edition dated 1682 (cf. *PMLA.* XXI, 810). It would seem more likely that the book imported into Boston in 1682-85 bore the date of 1682 rather than that of 1677.

One is inclined to wonder whether another American expression is akin to that discussed by Professor Baker. In Barrère and Leland's *Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant* (London, 1897) appears the following article: *"Devil and Tom Walker, the* (American), an old saying once common in New England to the effect that it 'beats *the Devil and Tom Walker,*' or 'he fared as Tom Walker did with the Devil.' In the Marvellous Repository, a curious collection of tales, many of them old Boston legends, there is one of *Tom Walker,* who sold himself to *the Devil.* The book was published about 1832." No information seems to be accessible as to the *Marvellous Repository.* Irving's *Tales of a Traveller* (1824) contains an amusing sketch entitled "The Devil and Tom Walker."[10] Professor Carl von Doren, who has made a study of

[8] *Americana Germanica,* III, 186. I owe this reference to Professor Richards.

[9] Cf. Worthington C. Ford, *The Boston Book-Market, 1679-1700.* (Boston, Club of Odd Volumes, 1917), pp. 104, 119, 129, 148.

[10] This sketch was reprinted anonymously in a little chap-book (7 x 11

Irving's tales, informs me that he has "never come across any earlier version of the Devil and Tom Walker story than that in the 1824 *Tales of a Traveller*.[11] The phrase 'to beat the devil and Tom Walker' was familiar to me in childhood (in Illinois), and my wife knew it, she says, in Florida. Each of us lived in a community pretty well stocked with New Englanders, but of course I cannot be sure that Tom Walker was folklore." Dean A. L. Bouton, of New York University, tells me that he has heard "the devil and Tom Walker" in Central New York. It would be interesting to know more about Tom Walker and his associate than Irving's conscientious history and the preceding statements indicate. It is curious in this connection to note that Professor Richards has found[12] "traces of the Faust story" in the tale of the "Spectre Bridegroom," in Irving's *Sketch-Book*.[13]

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cm.) published at Woodstock, Vt., in 1830. A story by an unknown author, entitled "Deacon Grubb and the Old Nick," follows it in the same pamphlet. A copy of this publication is found in the Library of Congress, as Miss Jennie A. Craig, of the staff of the University of Illinois library, pointed out to me.

[11] He has called my attention to an interesting change in the speech of the "iron-faced Cape Cod whaler" with which the tale is introduced. "In the first edition, Part 4, p. 21, the whaler says: 'Ah, well, there is an odd story I have heard about one Tom Walker, who they say dug up some of Kidd's buried money.' But in the later version (*e. g.*, ed. Philadelphia, 1840), the whaler says the story 'was written by a neighbor of mine and . . . I learnt [it] by heart.'"

[12] *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIII, 119.

[13] A chat at the recent Modern Language Association meeting led to the suggestion that "Dr. Foster" of Defoe and Professor Baker may be a relative of the hero of the nursery rhyme:

> Dr. Foster went to Gloucester
> In a shower of rain.
> He slipped in a puddle up to his middle,
> And never went there again.

I leave the further study of this fascinating problem to future investigators.

NACHTRAG ZUR WIELAND-BIBLIOGRAPHIE

1. *Geschichte des Agathon,* 1766, 1767

In meiner als Abhandlung der Berliner Akademie erschienenen Schrift über die Wieland-Doppeldrucke [1] habe ich wiederholt die Vermutung ausgesprochen, dass sich mit der Zeit noch andere Drucke finden würden. Diese Vermutung hat sich vollkommen bestätigt, und sollen also im Folgenden die inzwischen gemachten Funde beschrieben werden.

Von der ersten Ausgabe des *Agathon* liegen mir jetzt zwei Drucke vor, die sich mit den von Seuffert [2] unter No. 142 erwähnten zu decken scheinen. Die von Seuffert aufgeworfene Frage, ob der jüngere Druck mit Wielands Wissen erschienen sei, ist ziemlich sicher zu verneinen. Auch sind die typographischen und orthographischen Unterschiede, die Interpunktionsänderungen und die Verbesserung der Druckfehler lediglich dem Drucker zuzuschreiben. Im allgemeinen sind die Abweichungen nicht erheblich. Der ältere Druck setzt konsequent *kan, Anblik, sezen, vortreflich,* usw., wogegen der jüngere, besonders im zweiten Teile, *kann, Anblick, setzen, vortrefflich* schreibt. Die Interpunktion wird im zweiten Drucke verstärkt, besonders werden viele Kommata eingefügt: auf S. 41-47 des zweiten Teiles, z. b., lassen sich nicht weniger als 24 Abweichungen dieser Art verzeichnen. Während dabei der jüngere Druck selbstverständlich die im älteren verzeichneten Druckfehler verbessert, werden auch neue, und zwar teilweise sehr grobe, eingeführt. Auf die Ausgabe von 1773 (E^2) hat er jüngere Druck nicht nachgewirkt, obschon sich gelegentlich ein zufälliges Zusammenstimmen nachweisen lässt.

Schon äusserlich lassen sich die beiden Drucke leicht unter-

[1] *Die Doppeldrucke in ihrer Bedeutung für die Textgeschichte von Wielands Werken.* Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1913, Phil.-Hist. Classe, No. 7. Berlin, 1913.

[2] *Prolegomena zu einer Wieland-Ausgabe. Im Auftrage der Deutschen Kommission entworfen von Prof. Dr. Bernhard Seuffert in Graz.* Aus dem Anhang zu den Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften vom Jahre 1904, 1905, 1908, 1909 (Sechs Hefte). Berlin, 1904-1909.

scheiden, indem der zweite Teil des älteren (E^{1a}) 351 Seiten Text, 2 Seiten Druckfehler und 14 Seiten Bücheranzeigen (des Jahres 1767) von Orell, Gessner und Compagnie enthält, während der jüngere Druck (E^{1b}) lediglich 353 Seiten Text aufweist, ohne Druckfehlerverzeichnis und ohne Bücheranzeigen. Dagegen findet sich im ersten Teile des jüngeren Drucks, zwischen Titel und Vorbericht, ein churfürstlich-sächsisches Privilegium, worin Verleger und Verfasser genannt werden: *Orell, Gessner, Füesslin und Comp. zu Zürich, . . . Geschichte des Agathon, von Wieland, 2 Theile.* Ferner trägt der jüngere Druck auf beiden Titeln den Vermerk: *Mit allergnädigster Freyheit.* Durch dieses am 21. März 1770 zu Dresden ausgestellte Privilegium lässt sich das Erscheinungsjahr des Doppeldrucks feststellen,—auf dem Titel steht natürlich das Datum 1766. Möglicherweise existieren noch weitere Drucke, die jedoch durch Vergleichung folgender Lesarten leicht zu erkennen sein werden:

I. Teil, Titel: Virtus, et quid E^{1a}, Virtus, & quid E^{1b}. S. 8, 8 Jüngling E^{1a}, Jünglings E^{1b} E^{2}. 10, 10 näherte, sich E^{1a}, näherten sich E^{1b} E^{2}. 15, 8 die Seelen E^{1a}, die Seele E^{1b}. 16, 18 nach Corinth E^{1a}, noch Corinth E^{1b}. 28, 11 und Gedankenlos E^{1a} E^{2}, und gedankenlos E^{1b}. 30, 24 Bachantinnen E^{1a}, Bacchantinnen E^{1b} E^{2}. 32, 28 Abwechselungen E^{1a}, Abwechslungen E^{1b} E^{2}. 37, 1 könnten E^{1a} E^{2}, könnte E^{1b}. 41, 18 Müssigangs E^{1a}, Müszigangs E^{1b}. 47, 26 Alcinous E^{1a}, Alcionus E^{1b}. 50, 16 erleichtern; und gaben E^{1a} E^{2}, erleichtern; Sie gaben E^{1b}. 53, 17 geschäftige und fröliche E^{1a}, geschäftigte und fröhliche E^{1b}.

II. Teil, S. 11, 9 schimernde E^{1a}, schimmernde E^{1b}. 13, 11 Ansdruk E^{1a}, Ausdruck E^{1b}. 13, 13 würksamsten E^{1a}, wirksamsten E^{1b}. 16, 25 Bottschaften E^{1a}, Botschaften E^{1b}. 18, 3, 4 beschäftige E^{1a} E^{2}, beschäftigte E^{1b}. 19, 9 Geschlecht E^{1a}, Geschlechte E^{1b} E^{2}. 21, 9, 10 erforderte E^{1a} E^{2}, erfoderte E^{1b}. 22, 20 Grausamer, rief er aus, rede E^{1a} E^{2}, Grausamer! (rief er aus) Rede E^{1b}. 23, 9 gefunden hat? E^{1a} E^{2}, gefunden? E^{1b}. 23, 17 unglaubigen E^{1a} E^{2}, ungläubigen E^{1b}. 30, 14 Foderungen E^{1a} E^{2}, Forderungen E^{1b}. 32, 2 Genung E^{1a}, Genug E^{1b}. 35, 1 Irthums E^{1a}, Irrtums E^{1b}. 40, 18 von ihrem Vorgängern E^{1a}, von ihren Vorgängern E^{1b}. 43, 7 vollkommer E^{1a}, vollkommen E^{1b}. 46, 27 kommt E^{1a}, kömmt E^{1b}. 57, 9 Farth E^{1a}, Fahrt E^{1b}. 57, 11 genung E^{1a}, genug E^{1b} E^{2}. 59, 22 Grazien E^{1a}, Gratzien E^{1b}. 60, 26 seines eignen Herzens E^{1a} E^{2}, seines Herzens E^{1b}. 61, 15 denenjenigen E^{1a} E^{2}, denjenigen E^{1b}. 62, 22 f. ernsthaften, und schwärzlichten, zu einer andern alles in einem E^{1a}: *die Zeile fehlt* E^{1b}. 63, 2 beneidenswürdigen E^{1a} E^{2}, beneidungswürdigen E^{1b}.

63, 11 durch Rosengebüsche E^{1a} E^{2}, durch die Rosengebüsche E^{1b}. 63, 19 behaubten E^{1a}, behaupten E^{1b}. 343, 14 Plaze E^{1a}, Platz E^{1b}. 351, 25 (353, 3) Nachtigallen E^{1a}, Nachtigalen E^{1b}.

2. *Comische Erzählungen, Zweyte und verbesserte Auflage*

Die erste Auflage (E^{1}) der *Comischen Erzählungen* erschien im Jahre 1765, und zwar, wie alle folgenden Ausgaben, ohne Ort und Verleger. Dass die "Zweyte und verbesserte Auflage" (E^{2}) mit dem Datum MDCCLXVIII in zwei verschiedenen, wenngleich äusserlich übereinstimmenden Drucken vorliegt, ist bisher nicht bemerkt worden, und es soll daher der Zweck dieses Aufsatzes sein, die Nachwirkung dieser beiden Drucke festzustellen. Ein dritter Druck (E^{2}) der zweyten und verbesserten Auflage trägt—wohl aus Versehen—das Datum MDCCLXVIIII, und zählt nur 182 Seiten, während E^{2ab} übereinstimmend 194 Seiten aufweisen. Bei dem folgenden Drucke (E^{4}), mit dem Datum MDCCLXXV fehlt die Bezeichung der Auflage. Dieser Druck hat 184 Seiten. Weitere Auflagen sind mir nicht bekannt. Später wurden die *Comischen Erzählungen,* mit Ausnahme von *Juno und Ganymed,* den *Griechischen Erzählungen* einverleibt, unter welchem Titel sie im Jahre 1785 im zweiten Bande der *Auserlesenen Gedichte* (B^{5}) erschienen. Im zehnten Bande der Ausgabe letzter Hand (C^{1}) wurde dann die Rubrik *Komische Erzählungen* wieder eingeführt.

Als Originaldruck der zweiten Auflage kennzeichnet sich derjenige Druck, dessen Lesarten und Schreibweisen am genauesten mit der ersten Auflage übereinstimmen. Im allgemeinen schreiben E^{1} E^{2a} übereinstimmend: *kan, Blik, Glük, Baken, Schmuk, bedekt, loken, öfnet, sezt, Kaze, Nahmen, verliehrt, schwehr,* E^{2b} dagegen: *kann, Blick, Glück, Backen, Schmuck, bedeckt, locken, öffnet, setzt, Katze, Namen, verliert, schwer.* Von etwa noch unbekannten, ähnlichen Doppeldrucken wird E^{2b} durch folgende auffällige Druckfehler zu unterscheiden sein: 9, 9 rvth; 15, 4 nnnmehr stehts hey dir; 20, 18 weg, so so steht; 22, 12 von da viel Glanz; 24, 1 eurer Herz; 26, 16 den Hirt; 30, 20 in der der That; 35, 8 braucht sie nur; 147, 6 Auf welchem Moos; 171, 9 vvn Berg. Als augenfällige Druckfehler finden sich in E^{2a} ein paar falsche Kustoden: S. 81, *Und* anstatt *Zum;* S. 92, *140. Wenn* anstatt *140. Von.* In beiden Drucken sind die Verszahlen auf S. 129-134 um 100 zu hoch:

850 anstatt 750, usw., bis 945. Anstatt der in dieser Reihe zu erwartenden Zahl 865 haben jedoch beide 665.

Beide Drucke haben nachgewirkt: von E^{2a} stammt die Ausgabe des Jahres 1769 ab, von E^{2b} diejenige des Jahres 1775. Man beachte z. b. folgende Lesarten: S. 11, 9 hab' ihm E^1 E^{2a} E^3, hab ihm E^{2b} E^4 B^5. 11, 12 machen; E^1 E^{2a} E^3 B^5, machen, E^{2b} E^4. 25, 18 Was ihnen fehlt E^1 E^{2a} E^3 B^5, Was ihm fehlt E^{2b} E^4. 26, 2 Nachsichtvoller Blik E^1 E^{2a}, nachsitvoller Blick E^{2b}, nachsichtvoller Blik E^3, nachsichtvoller Blick E^4, nachsichtsvoller blik B^5. 30, 12 wolltet E^{2a} E^3, wollet E^{2b} E^4. 36, 19 Näschen E^1 E^{2a} E^3, Näsgen E^{2b} E^4.

Der Stammbaum von B^5, der Vorlage der Ausgabe letzter Hand, lässt sich nicht sicher bestimmen, da die Lesarten bald mit E^{2a}, bald mit E^{2b} gehen: man möchte fast annehmen, dass irgend ein unbekanntes Mittelglied existiert. Übrigens beschränken sich die meisten der in Betracht kommenden Lesarten auf Orthographie, Interpunktion, oder offenbare Druckfehler, die in den folgenden Ausgaben unabhängig von einander geregelt oder beseitigt wurden:

31, 6 schlauen Buhlerey E^1 E^{2a} E^3, vollen Buhlerey E^{2b} E^4, feinen buhlerey B^5, feinen Buhlerey C^1. 160, 11 widersinnisch E^1 E^{2a} E^3, widersinnig E^{2b} E^4 B^5 C^1. 165, 10 rosenfarbes E^1 E^{2a} E^3 B^5, rosenfarbnes E^{2b} E^4 C^1. 178, 18 Was hälfen E^1 E^{2a}, Was helfen E^{2b} E^3 E^4 B^5 C^1.

3. *Gedanken über eine alte Aufschrift,* Leipzig, 1772

Zu den zwei auf S. 15 meiner Abhandlung beschriebenen Drucken E^a E^b kommt noch ein dritter, der demnach durch E^c zu bezeichnen ist, obschon er wahrscheinlich älter ist als E^b. An sämtlichen dort angeführten Stellen, abgesehen natürlich von den beiden Spiessen auf S. 5 u. 9, geht E^c mit E^a, auch stimmt die Grösse der in diesen beiden gebrauchten fetten Schrift überein, welche in E^b viel kleiner ist. Dabei macht E^c eigene Änderungen im Text, die weder in E^a noch E^b wiederkehren. Folglich ist anzunehmen, dass E^c wie E^b direkt auf E^a zurückgeht. Folgende Auswahl aus den Varianten wird den neu hinzugekommenen Druck genügend kennzeichnen:

S. 4, 16 Uuterthanen (*Druckf.*) E^c. 7, 3 als dieser E^{ab}, als diese E^c. 8, 2 mit den Wenigsten E^{ac}, mit dem Wenigsten E^b. 10, 15 Vorurtheile E^{ab}, Vortheile E^c. 11, 13 beleidigten E^c (*das* t *steht zu hoch*). 21, 1 berechtigt E^{ab}, berechtiget E^c. 49, 17

freywillges (*Druckf.*) E^{c}. 56, 7 was er geschrieben hat E^{ab}, was geschrieben hat E^{c}. 62, 7 misztranisch (*Druckf.*) E^{c}.

4. *Die Abentheuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva,* Leipzig, 1772

Der fehlende I. Teil des Druckes E^{2b} liegt nunmehr vor. Die hier gebrauchte Kopfleiste lässt sich jedoch nicht, wie S. 16 vermutet wurde, als Kennzeichen gebrauchen, da dieselbe willkürlich nach rechts oder links, oder auch symmetrisch nach links und rechts gerichtet ist. Textlich bildet E^{2b}, wie im II. Teile, die Vermittelung zwischen E^{2a} und E^{2c}, dessen Text dann später als Vorlage für die Ausgabe letzter Hand diente. Die in C^{1} herübergenommenen Fehler gehen also zum Teil auf E^{2b}, zum Teil auf E^{2c} zurück. Ausnahmsweise wurden dann in C^{4}, der Quart-Ausgabe letzter Hand, einige dieser Fehler bemerkt, und der Text von E^{2a} wieder hergestellt. Im grossen und ganzen folgt E^{2b} ziemlich treu seiner Vorlage E^{2a}: an sämtlichen auf S. 16 verzeichneten Stellen, z. b., findet sich die Lesart von E^{2a} auch in E^{2b}. Manchmal werden sogar, wie sich aus dem Folgenden ersehen lässt, die Druckfehler von E^{2a} mit herübergenommen:

S. 83, 11 dasz Gesicht (*Druckf.*) E^{2a}, das Gesicht E^{2bc}. 85, 17 verfolgt E^{2ac}, versolgt E^{2b}. 92, 8 erzählte E^{2ac}, erzähltc E^{2b}. 114, 21 Augbraunen E^{2ab}, Augenbraunen E^{2c} C^{1}. 125, 23 Vandyk E^{2a}, Vandyck E^{2bc} C^{1}. 131, 19 das ihn . . . befiel E^{2a} C^{4}, das ihm . . . befiel E^{2bc} C^{1}. 137, 18 Ursachen habe E^{2ab}, Ursache habe E^{2c} C^{1}. 141, 18 leiblichste E^{2ab}, leibliche E^{2c} C^{1}. 155, 18 Einbildunskraft (*Druckf.*) E^{2a}. 172, 9 besann er E^{2a} C^{1}, besonn er E^{2bc}. 177, 9 wohlbepackten E^{2a}, wohlgepackten E^{2bc}, wohl gepackten C^{1}, wohl bepackten C^{4}. 188, 12 hattten (*Druckf.*) E^{2a}. 192, 9 Syldio E^{2a}, Sylvio E^{2bc}. 195, 15 quäcken E^{2a}, quälen E^{2bc}, quäken C^{1}. 200, 8 Silbermoor E^{2a} C^{1}, Schilbermoor E^{2bc}. 211, 6 mit mir E^{2a} C^{1}, zu mir E^{2bc}. 211, 18 ihre Prinzessin E^{2a}, die Prinzessin E^{2bc} C^{1}. 230, 1 kleinen Republicanern E^{2a}, kleinern Republikanern E^{2bc} $C^{1.4}$. 230, 4 könnten E^{2a}, können E^{2bc} $C^{1.4}$. 238, 3 dasz heiszt (*Druckf.*) E^{2ab}.

5. *Wielands Neueste Gedichte vom Jahre 1770 bis 1777*

Vom I. Teil dieser neuen, verbesserten Auflage (Weimar, bey Carl Ludolf Hofmann, 1777.) liegen zwei äusserlich übereinstimmende Drucke vor, während der II. Teil in den mir vorliegen-

Exemplaren von demselben Satze abgezogen ist. Die meisten der in Betracht kommenden Stücke waren vorher im *Merkur* (J) erschienen: als Originaldruck (B^{4a}) ist also derjenige zu bezeichnen, dessen Lesarten dem Texte des *Merkurs* am nächsten stehen. Die zahlreichen Varianten des Doppeldrucks (B^{4b}) sind auch dadurch von grösster Wichtigkeit, dass dieselben zum Teil in die *Auserlesenen Gedichte,* 1784, (B^5) übergegangen sind, die dann als Vorlage für die Ausgabe letzter Hand (C^1) benutzt wurden. Warum B^5 einmal dem Texte von E^{4a}, ein andermal aber E^{4b} folgen sollte, lässt sich nicht so leicht erklären, es sei denn durch die Annahme, dass eventuell noch ein unbekannter, zwischen E^{4a} und E^{4b} stehender Druck existiert. In der folgenden Auswahl aus den Varianten sind also nicht nur die eigentlichen Lesarten, sondern auch Druckfehler, schiefstehende Buchstaben und ähnliche Merkmale verzeichnet, die am leichtesten zur Feststellung eines etwa unbekannten Doppeldruckes führen werden:

S. 1, Einfaches Blumengewinde als Zierleiste B^{4a}, Blumengewinde mit zwei Engeln B^{4b}. 26, 12 Laube; B^{4a}, Laube, B^{4b} B^5. 36, 4 Ritter, wie einer, der JB^{4a} B^5, Ritter, der B^{4b}. 37, 6 goldnen Blumenkörben JB^{4a} B^5, goldnen Buchstaben B^{4b}. 41, 14 auf ein Knie B^{4a} B^5, auf sein Knie B^{4b}. 44, 4 Blühte JB^{4a}, Blüthe B^{4b}. 44, 8 ber Liebesdrang (*Druckf.*) B^{4a}. 45, 1 Reimen (*akk. pl.*) JB^{4a}, Reime B^{4b}, reim' B^5. 46, 8 dasz eine JB^{4a} B^5, gar eine B^{4b}. 47, 1 Zuletzt B^{4a}, Zuleszt B^{4b}. 47, 18 müszte dann sich keinem JB^{4a}, müszte sich denn keinen B^{4b}, müszte sich denn keinem B^5. 69, 9 Gestalten B^{4a}, Gestalt B^{4b}. 75, 22 Und so ersparte JB^{4a} B^5, Und ersparte B^{4b}. 78, 14 leichteste Mückenstich JB^{4a}, leiseste Mückenstich B^{4b} B^5. 78, 16 Art von JB^{4a} B^5, Art bey B^{4b}. 86, 12 nun ewig zum JB^{4a}, nun zum B^{4b} B^5 C^1. 88, 2 selbst; B^{4a} B^5, selbst, B^{4b}. 88, 9 Das kleinste B^{4a} B^5, Das kleine B^{4b}. 95, 11 dasz sie liebe JB^{4a}, dasz sie liebt B^{4b} B^5 C^1. 110, 3 psalmodiren B^{4a}, spalmodiren B^{4b}. 112, 9 ihre schönen B^{4a} B^5, ihre schöne B^{4b}. 116, 21 Stirn; B^{4a}, Stirn! B^{4b} B^5. 119, 11 mattem B^{4a} B^5, matten B^{4b}. 121, 4 frommem B^{4a} B^5, frommen E^{4b}. 127, 11 einem B^{4a} B^5, einen B^{4b}. 141, 5 wir Arme wallen J, wir arme wallen B^{4a}, wir alle wallen B^{4b} B^5 C^1. 147, 11 glitsch (*Druckf.*) B^{4a}, glitscht B^{4b}. 171, 5 die holde B^{4a}, dir holde (*Druckf.*) B^{4b}. 176, 7 wär es B^{4a} B^5, war es B^{4b}. 182, 15 Schöpferskraft JB^{4a}, Schöpferkraft B^{4b}. 182, 21 Hirngespenst JB^{4a}, Hirngespenst der Natur B^{4b}. 187, 22 Haselnüsse B^{4a}, Hasselnüsse B^{4b}. 202, 10 das B^{4a}, dasz B^{4b}. 211, 4 Strohhalmen B^{4a}, Gtrohhalmen B^{4b}. 217, 22 Täuschungen B^{4a}, Cäuschungen B^{4b}.

6. *Neue Götter-Gespräche,* Leipzig, 1791

Den Bibliographen und Wieland-Forschern scheint nur ein Druck dieses Datums bekannt zu sein, dessen Inhalt Seuffert[3] ausführlich verzeichnet. Dieser Druck, zu 268 Seiten in *Fraktur,* auf grobem Papier und ohne Kupfer, ist jedoch nicht der echte Originaldruck, sondern eine Art billiger Volksausgabe, die den Nachdruckern zuvorkommen sollte. Diese Ausgabe lässt sich also mit der (gleichfalls von Göschen veranstalteten) vier-bändigen, sog. geringeren Ausgabe von Goethes *Schriften* (1787-1791) vergleichen, und wird im Folgenden mit der Sigle E^b bezeichnet.

Der wirkliche Originaldruck E^a ist in *Antiqua* auf Schreibpapier gedruckt, und enthält 374 Seiten, nebst Titel und Titelkupfer (*Schnorr inv., Geyser sc.*). Beide Drucke tragen auf der letzten Seite den Vermerk: *Berlin, gedruckt bey Johann Georg Langhoff.* Der Titel von E^a lautet: *Neue* | *Götter-Gespräche.* | *Von* | *C. M. Wieland* | *Leipzig,* | *bei Georg Joachim Göschen,* | *1791.* | Dagegen heisst es in E^b: *Neue* | *Götter-Gespräche* | *von* | *C. M. Wieland.* | *Leipzig, 1791.* | *bei Georg Joachim Göschen.* | Daneben existiert noch ein dritter Druck E^c, in Fraktur, ohne Ort und Verleger: *Neue* | *Götter-Gespräche* | *Von* | *C. M. Wieland.* | [Vignette] | *1791.* | Er enthält Titel und 301 Seiten. Jördens[4] erwähnt einen zu Karlsruhe erschienenen Nachdruck dieses Jahres, der sich vielleicht als mit E^c identisch herausstellen wird.

Orthographisch zeichnet sich der Originaldruck E^a dadurch aus, dass die Hauptwörter gewöhnlich klein geschrieben werden; ferner wird manchmal *â, ô* als Zeichen der Länge gesetzt: *pâr, blôſs, mâſs, schâm, bôtsknechte;* das Wort *nazion* wird stets mit ‘ z ’ geschrieben.

Die Drucke E^{bc} gehen, wie wir sehen werden, unabhängig von einander auf E^a zurück, und eigentlich könnte also E^c schon vor E^b erschienen sein. Der Druck E^c folgt seiner Vorlage sehr genau, nur werden die Hauptwörter, wie in E^b, gross geschrieben. Dagegen sind die Abweichungen des Druckes E^b sehr zahlreich: sie betreffen nicht nur den eigentlichen Text, sondern auch Orthographie und Interpunktion.

[3] *Prolegomena zu einer Wieland-Ausgabe* VI, S. 41 f.

[4] *Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten,* V, 382. Vgl. Jos. Baer & Co., Kat. 623, No. 4539, wo ein bei Schmieder in Carlsruhe, 1791 erschienener Nachdruck angeführt wird.

Man könnte nun fragen, wie erweist sich der mit E^a bezeichnete Antiquadruck als der echte Originaldruck? Die Antwort ist, derjenige Druck, der mit einer etwa vorhandenen früheren Ausgabe am genauesten übereinstimmt, ist der richtige Originaldruck, der auch im allgemeinen den korrekteren Text aufweisen wird. Es trifft sich nun, dass die den Schluss des Buches bildenden Gespräche schon im *Neuen Teutschen Merkur* (Sept.-Dez. 1790) erschienen waren. Indem nun E^a an allen bezeichnenden Stellen mit dem Texte des *Merkurs* übereinstimmt, wird die Ursprünglichkeit des hier vorliegenden Textes über allen Zweifel erhoben.[5] In den folgenden Stellenangaben sind Seite und Zeile von E^a und (in Klammern) E^b gegeben; die Sigle J bezeichnet die Lesart im *Merkur*, C^1 die des 25. Bandes der Oktav-Ausgabe letzter Hand, 1796:

217, 9 (158, 19) Epicteten JE^{ac} C^1, Epictete E^b. 218, 2 (15°, 7) zu seiner JE^{ac} C^1, nach seiner E^b. 230, 13 (168, 10) allen unsern Kräften aufbieten JE^{ac}, alle unsere Kräfte aufbieten E^b C^1. 254, 9 (184, 23) Augbrauen JE^{ac} C^1, Augenbraunen E^b. 255, 8 (185, 17) verlohnte sich, dächte ich, der Mühe JE^{ac} C^1, lohnte, dächte ich, die Mühe E^b. 259, 9 (188, 25) seit meiner Zeit JE^{ac} C^1, seit einiger Zeit E^b. 268, 12 (195, 12) bin nie kein groszer JE^{ac}, bin nie ein groszer E^b C^1. 284, 15 (206, 19) man noch nicht gedacht J, noch niemand nicht gedacht E^{ac}, noch niemand gedacht E^b C^1. 287, 20 (209, 4) weiser . . . worden sind JE^{ac}, weiser . . . geworden sind E^b C^1. 364, 11 (261, 20) Vernunftsgründe JE^{ac} C^1, Vernunftgründe E^b.

An mehreren dieser Stellen stimmt C^1 mit E^b überein; dazu kommen noch andere derselben Art:

48, 15 (34, 23) mich nichts kostete E^{ac}, mir nichts kostete E^b C^1; ähnlich 53, 18; 97, 15; 171, 16. Dagegen steht 95, 14 (68, 21) mir gekostet E^{abc} C^1. 38, 6 (27, 22) schwindlichtes E^{ac}, schwindliges E^b C^1; ähnlich 136, 18 (99, 24). 82, 7 (59, 14) drollichter E^{ac}, drolliger E^b C^1. 198, 11 (145, 3) bucklichte E^{ac}, buckelige E^b C^1. 78, 9, 13 (56, 18, 22) Augenbrauen E^{ac}, Augenbraunen E^b C^1. 90, 20 (65, 15) auf dem Wahne E^{ac}, in dem Wahne E^b C^1. 72, 16 (52, 20) mifsbraucht E^{ac}, gemiszbraucht E^b C^1; dagegen 300, 21 (218, 16) mifskannt E^{ac} C^1, gemiszkannt E^b. 281, 16 (204, 16) fodern E^{ac}, fordern E^b C^1; ähnlich 209, 13; 216, 22; 349, 11.

[5] Zu bemerken ist ferner, dass den Rezensenten in der *Allgemeinen deutschen Bibliothek* (Bd. 112, S. 83) und in der *Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung* (1794, No. 209) Exemplare mit 374 Seiten, d. h., *des Antiquadrucks*, vorlagen.

Trotz der Übereinstimmung zwischen E^b und C^1 ist nicht anzunehmen, dass der eine Druck dem andern als Vorlage gedient habe, denn es handelt sich in jedem Falle um Änderungen, die jeder unabhängig von dem andern machen konnte. Viel zahlreicher als diese Übereinstimmungen zwischen E^b und C^1 sind übrigens die Stellen, an denen C^1 mit E^a geht, während E^b kleinere unauffällige Fehler macht, und Änderungen in der Interpunktion vornimmt, die doch wenigstens zum Teil in C^1 wieder zum Vorschein kommen müssten, wenn dieser Druck von E^b abstammte. Dies ist jedoch durchaus nicht der Fall:

S. 3/4 (3, 7) es sich nicht der mühe verlohnte E^{ac} C^1, es nicht die Mühe lohnte E^b. 5, 16 (4, 13) trotz dem naseweisen schäker E^{ac} C^1, trotz des naseweisen Schäkers E^b. 7, 21 (6, 3) ist sich E^{ac} C^1, ist, sich E^b. 8, 5 (6, 8) nicht wie E^{ac} C^1, nicht, wie E^b. 9, 5 (7, 2) alles was E^{ac} C^1, alles, was E^b. Es liessen sich noch etwa 130 Stellen dieser Art anführen, an denen E^b einen Nebensatz durch ein Komma absetzt, während C^1 fast ausnahmslos mit E^a geht. 10, 2 (7, 15) an einem pâr kleinigkeiten E^a, an einem Paar Kleinigkeiten E^c C^1, an ein paar KleinigkeitenE^b. 37, 7 (27, 6) was du dir selbst bewufst bist E^{ac} C^1, wessen du dir . . . E^b. 54, 15 (39, 3) erlediget E^{ac} C^1, entlediget E^b. 90, 18 (65, 14) keine andere (*akk. pl.*) E^{ac} C^1, keine anderen E^b. 145, 3 (105, 14) diese fanatischen E^{ac} C^1, diese fanatische (*nom. pl.*) E^b; ähnlich 321, 16. 96, 2, 6 (69, 3, 6) Caesarn (*pl.*) E^{ac} C^1, Caesare E^b. 123, 2 (89, 20) Da giebst du E^{ac} C^1, Du gibst E^b. 147, 3 (106, 22) Pontifexe selbst werden E^{ac} C^1, Pontifexe werden E^b. 148, 18 (108, 5) wem er will E^{ac} C^1, wenn er will E^b. 170, 15 (125, 5) im Latium E^{ac}, im Lazium C^1, in Latium E^b. 240, 1 (174, 24) angelegensten JE^{ac} C^1, angelegentlichsten E^b. 279, 19 (203, 8) alten Pflichten E^{ac} C^1, allen Pflichten E^b.

Auf die Textgeschichte hat also E^b keinen Einfluss gehabt: dagegen ist es sehr möglich, dass Lesarten wie *mir kosten, alle unsere Kräfte aufbieten, die Mühe lohnte,* usw. vom Dichter selbst angeordnet wurden, als ihm die fertigen Bogen von E^a vorlagen, denn es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass ein Setzer oder Faktor sich diese Freiheit nehmen würde.

Zum Schluss seien noch einige Druckfehler und auffallende Lesarten angeführt, die zur Entdeckung von etwa ähnlichen Doppeldrucken dienen mögen:

28, 12 (21, 1) Livia E^{ac} C^1, Liva E^b. 32, 8 (23, 19) schâm E^a, Scham E^b C^1, Schaam E^c. 58, 1 (41, 11) vereinigen E^{ab}, ver-

rinigen E^c. 71, 2 (51, 15) Gott hätte abbilden sollen E^{ab} C^1, Gott abbilden sollen E^c. 76, 9 (55, 10) werden E^{ac}, werdrn E^b. 115, 10 (83, 10) nectar E^a, Nectar E^c, Hectar E^b. Z. 12 pantomische E^b. 122, 17 (89, 15) bemächtigen; E^{ac}, bemächtgen; E^b (*das* i *verkehrt*). 135, 21 (99, 9) da sie sich E^{ab}, da sich E^c. 143, 3 (104, 3) Teophrasten E^a, Theophrasten E^c, Teophraste E^b. 143, 22 (104, 19) wem als sich E^{ab}, wem an sich E^c. 204, 14 (149, 13) in einem E^{ab}, in seinem E^c. 270, 18 (196, 24) ware (*Druckf.*) E^{ac}, wäre E^b. 327, 1 (236, 10) und sittlichkeit E^a, und Sittlichkeit E^b C^1, *fehlt* E^c. 351, 7 (252, 18) keines weges E^a, keinesweges E^c, keines Weges E^b.

7. *Geheime Geschichte des Philosophen Peregrinus Proteus,* 1791

Hier existiert gleichfalls neben der besseren eine geringere Ausgabe, die sogar als Nachdruck figuriert. Der Titel von E^a lautet: *Geheime Geschichte des Philosophen Peregrinus Proteus. Von C. M. Wieland. Erster* [*Zweyter*] *Theil. Leipzig, bey Georg Joachim Göschen, 1791.* Die Ausgabe ist auf Schreibpapier gedruckt und enthält 352 + 424 Seiten, dazu zwei Titelkupfer von H. Lips. Am Schluss des zweiten Bandes der Vermerk: *Leipzig, gedruckt bei Christian Friedrich Solbrig.* Die geringere Ausgabe auf schlechtem Papier hat den Titel: *Geheime Geschichte . . . Zwey Theile. Franckfurth und Leipzig, 1791,* und enthält 140 + 190 Seiten, nebst Titel und Titelkupfer zum ersten Bande. Der zweite Band hat nur den Halbtitel: *Geheime Geschichte des Philosophen Peregrinus Proteus. Zweyter Theil,* wonach also die zwei Bände zusammengebunden werden sollten. Titelkupfer und Titel bilden ein zusammenhängendes Blatt. Da nun das Titelkupfer mit dem des zweiten Bandes von E^a identisch ist, so ist auch E^b zweifellos ein echter, von Göschen selbst veranstalteter Druck, der durch einfachere Ausstattung und billigeren Preis den Nachdruckern das Handwerk legen sollte. Der vermeinte Nachdruck ist also ein weiteres Seitenstück zu Göschens geringerer Ausgabe von Goethes *Schriften,* während der Originaldruck E^a sich mit der acht-bändigen Goethe-Ausgabe vergleichen lässt, die ja in derselben Druckerei hergestellt wurde. Besseres und stärkeres Papier verleiht jedoch der Wieland-Ausgabe ein schöneres Aussehen.

Im allgemeinen bietet die geringere Ausgabe E^b des *Peregrinus* den schlechteren Text, was ja von vornherein von jedem jüngeren, wenn auch echten Drucke zu erwarten ist, der ohne Mithilfe des Verfassers veranstaltet wird. Folgende Auswahl aus den Lesarten

wird dies klar genug darstellen. Die an erster Stelle angeführte Seiten- und Zeilenzahl bezieht sich auf E^a, die eingeklammerte auf E^b:

I. Bd. S. 89, 9 (36, 22) alle mögliche E^a C^1, alle möglichen E^b. 112, 10 (45, 12) geheimen Aufträgen E^a C^1, kleinen Aufträgen E^b. 124, 19 (50, 9) befürchten E^a C^1, besorgen E^b. 210, 1 (84, 7) weiszem Gewande E^a C^1, weiszen Gewande E^b. 218, 10 (87, 22) eigenen Schlüssel E^a C^1, besonderen Schlüssel E^b. 221, 19 (88, 37) Mittheilungen E^a C^1, Mittheilung E^b. 252, 5 (101, 2) dunkle, oder, besser zu reden, gar keine Vorstellungen E^a C^1, dunkle Vorstellungen E^b. 253, 4 (101, 15) vergeblichen Versuchs E^a C^1, dergleichen Versuchs E^b. 276, 7 (110, 24) diesem unverhofften E^a C^1, diesem so unverhofften E^b. 293, 12 (117, 16) einsamen Nacht E^a C^1, einzigen Nacht E^b. 299, 10 (119, 31) noch entferntern E^a C^1, entferntern E^b. 318, 13 (127, 10) sie ihre Zärtlichkeit E^a C^1, sie Zärtlichkeit E^b. II. Bd. S. 4, 7 (3, 16) ganzes Jahr lang E^a C^1, ganzes Jahr E^b. 9, 2 (5, 32) vorragenden E^a C^1, hervorragenden E^b. 118, 15 (54, 31) Antoninen E^a C^1, Antonine E^b. 241, 4 (108, 36) mehr Liebhaber anzulocken E^a C^1, mehr anzulocken E^b. 264, 5 (119, 7) zu beydem E^a C^1, zu beyden E^b. 321, 12 (144, 9) gestehe ich E^a C^1, gestehe ich es E^b. 331, 11 (148, 21) Leidenschaften E^a C^1, Leidenschaft E^b. 343, 4 (153, 23) zu Erfindung E^a C^1, zur Erfindung E^b. 410, 3 (184, 12) durch Hunger, oder Opium, oder E^a C^1, durch Hunger, durch Opium, oder E^b.

An obigen Stellen, wie auch im allgemeinen, geht die Ausgabe letzter Hand mit dem Originaldruck E^a: dagegen finden sich andere, verhältnismässig seltene Fälle, an denen E^b C^1 übereinstimmen. Hier handelt es sich jedoch meistens um Druck- oder Interpunktionsfehler, usw., die jeder Druck unabhängig von dem andern machen oder verbessern konnte, so dass Berührung zwischen E^b C^1 kaum anzunehmen ist:

I. Bd. S. 6, 1 (2, 19) im Jahr E^a, im Jahre E^b C^1. 32, 13 (13, 32) ihm . . . hinausbieten E^a, ihn . . hinausbieten E^b C^1. 82, 15 (34, 4) die verschiedene Arten E^a, die verschiedenen Arten E^b C^1. 88, 6 (36, 6) bey Ihm E^a, bey ihm E^b C^1. 91, 6 (37, 13) so gar E^a, sogar E^b C^1. 99, 16 (40, 21) so wohl E^a, sowohl E^b C^1. 182, 13 (73, 19) befleiszen E^a, befleiszigen E^b C^1. II. Bd. S. 9, 10 (6, 2) Augenbrauen E^a, Augenbraunen E^b C^1. 34, 14 (17, 21) erkundigen? E^a, erkundigen; E^b C^1. 172, 19 (78, 35) habe; E^a, habe, E^b C^1. 187, 3 (85, 3) erfoderte E^a, erforderte E^b C^1. 237, 2 (107, 8) Versinnligung E^a, Versinnlichung E^b C^1. 254, 5

(114, 27) verführischen E^a, verführerischen E^b C^1. 273, 4 (123, 7) Mytilene E^a, Mitylene E^b C^1. 326, 20 (146, 21) muszte: E^a, muszte, E^b C^1. 330, 14 (148, 7) von Himmel E^a, vom Himmel E^b C^1.

Ferner ist zu bemerken, dass E^a durchweg *damals, jemals, dreymal, zumal, Gastmal,* usw. schreibt, wofür E^b C^1 *damahls, jemahls, dreymahl, zumahl, Gastmahl,* usw. setzen. Dies sind jedoch nur Eigenarten der betreffenden Setzer, die auch in der geringeren Ausgabe von Goethes *Schriften* in genau derselben Weise zum Vorschein kommen.

Schliesslich seien noch einige Stellen angeführt, an denen der eine oder der andere Druck auffallende Lesarten, meistens Druckfehler, aufweist, die zur Entdeckung etwaiger noch unbekannter Doppeldrucke dienen mögen:

I. Bd. S. 158, 13 (64, 3) Sott der Gonne E^a, Gott der Sonne E^b. 195, 7 (78, 19) der Weit (*Druckf.*) E^a, der Welt E^b. 209, 4 (83, 33) zerfleiszen (*Druckf.*) E^a, zerflieszen E^b. 251, 19 (100, 35) viellelcht E^a, vielleicht E^b. II. Bd. S. 85, 6 (39, 33) Tode (*Druckf.*) E^a, Todte E^b. 86, 11 (40, 17) In beyderley Fälle (*Druckf.*) E^a, In beyderley Fällen E^b. 118, 10 (54, 27) die zum E^a, die die zum (*Druckf.*) E^b. 265, 2 (119, 21) ich E^a, sich (*Druckf.*) E^b. 305, 15 (137, 14) geworfen hatte E^a, geworfen hätten (*Druckf.*) E^b. 308, 7 (138, 19) gleichgültig E^a, gleichgütig (*Druckf.*) E^b. 374, 1 (167, 31) zwischen den (*Druckf.*) E^a, zwischen dem E^b.

W. Kurrelmeyer.

John Keats: his Life and Poetry, his Friends, Critics, and After-Fame. By Sir Sidney Colvin. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917.

In honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of Keats's first volume of poems, Sir Sidney Colvin's long-awaited new biography of the poet has appeared. So secure, today, is the position of Keats in English literature that no study of him need be in any degree a defense. The world of critical readers pays homage to the fineness, the sincerity, and the imaginative genius of his work, and recognizes the winsome vigor of his personality.

Increasing study of his *Letters* has shown his lofty aspiration, his resolute, unsparing self-criticism, and his intensely keen observing power. The *Letters* alone would prove his title to "eternity of fame," for they reveal possibilities, promises which he had not time to fulfil. In academic studies teachers find that the reading of the poems of Keats has a uniquely dynamic effect upon the critical powers of students, because the daring of Keats's experiments, the very swiftness of his development, the perfection of his best work teach quickly and attractively the essential truths of genuine poetic creativeness.

The new life will, of course, take its place as an authoritative contribution of assured permanence in the annals of literary criticism. It contains much new material, though none of very startling importance. The accumulation of specific evidence, the use of all available means of investigation, give the book precedence over all other studies of Keats. The author's keen insight and his sympathetic depth of feeling are already known to students through the earlier biography, published in 1887. Designed for the general reader as well as for the student, the book is notable, first, for its wealth of illustrative material, including quotations from the letters and the poems, so that any reader unfamiliar with the writings of the poet would find in the volume a satisfactory introduction to the most representative work of Keats. Sir Sidney has given a carefully detailed account of outer events and of probable inner influences affecting Keats, and has interpreted with greatest skill the steps of growth in the evolution of a poet's thought and art, weaving together fact and critical comment upon fact into a highly effective narrative. Investigation of documents and memorials, especially those in possession of Lord Crewe and of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, has revealed much detailed information which, fused and related, gives us an absorbingly, persuasively real portrait of Keats. Of especial significance are the studies of the poet's friends. Leigh Hunt receives unusually adequate and just treatment, Haydon is interpreted with discrimination, although the inclusion of pictures of both of these men is not a wholly kind action on the part of the biographer. Dilke, Brown, and the incomparable Severn appear before us in pages that vivify many hours and days. In the account of the experiences in Rome, the biographer chooses his material with complete success in avoiding the merely harrowing, and in presenting the details which picture for

us the courage, the poverty, loneliness, and suffering of the poet aware of powers never to find expression, and conscious to the utmost of the terrible, relentless wasting of artistic maturity,

> Before his pen had glean'd his teeming brain.

In the examination of sources and influences affecting the production of the separate poems, Sir Sidney has avoided the danger of being merely an editor, and has addressed himself to the task of showing what were the conceptions, the ideals, the dominating interests that shaped the imaginative life of John Keats. The reader is given clear introduction to the formative elements that stimulated the poet to expression and guided his expression to more firmly and finely wrought beauty. The study of *Endymion,* for example, touches all the important aspects, giving the professed student as well as the novice new and delicate discriminations regarding the way in which versification, diction, style, and ideas were touched to fine issues by Keats's delight in the poets of the English Renaissance. Spenser, Shakespeare, Chapman, Drayton, Browne, Milton, the manifest progenitors of the nineteenth century poet, are approached with suggestive analysis that interprets the appeal they had for Keats. Side by side with this discussion of the English poets, there is developed a subtle, brief study of classicism in Keats. At a time like the present, when the classics are subject to a temporary decline in prestige, it is pleasant to note how appreciatively the critic shows the significance of Keats's response to the Greek past. Beauty finding expression in Greek sculpture, in Greek myth, or in Greek poetry is commemorated by Keats, not as mere loveliness of sense-impression but as a perpetuation of the fine moods, the fresh, vivid experience of a world where life could never pass into nothingness.

Perhaps, in considering the influence of the Middle Ages upon Keats, Sir Sidney speaks less authoritatively, yet his treatment of *La Belle Dame sans Merci* and *The Eve of St. Mark* shows a true instinct for medievalism. Attention should be paid to the critic's plea for the right version of *La Belle Dame sans Merci,* a plea based upon study of the history of the text, and also upon the soundest æsthetic criticism. It is in connection with this poem that the differences between the biography published by Sir Sidney in the English Men of Letters Series, thirty years ago, and the new biography are most apparent. Students who have made con-

stant and appreciative use of the earlier work will still be loyal to it, because it is unequalled for vivid, finely-phrased, and penetrating analysis. The new volume is more sedate, appeals more directly to the reader's sense of fact, and less directly to his sense of the awe and majesty of poetry. The later volume incorporates matter from the earlier one, to quote the author, "to the amount perhaps of forty or fifty pages in all."

Aside from details of biography and analysis of sources, the new book contains important illustrative material. Most significant of all is the full-page reproduction of the electrotype of the life-mask of Keats. Certainly there has not hitherto been published a portrait of Keats that so brings before us the grave, controlled beauty of his profile, with its strength and firmness of line. Other portraits are given in this book, including, as a rather unsatisfactory frontispiece, the posthumous painting by Severn, reproduced in color. Several illustrations of Greek sculpture in connection with the *Ode on a Grecian Urn,* and a reproduction of an engraving of Claude's *The Enchanted Castle* are exceedingly valuable for students. A list of books owned by Keats is given in the Appendix. There is an Index of unusual fullness and usefulness, but no formal bibliography appears, an omission that is to be deplored in a book as monumental as this. However, acknowledgments are made in various places to the studies of Professor de Sélincourt, and to the work of other men distinguished in this field. The work upon Keats in France is definitely ruled out of consideration, hence M. Lucien Wolff's extended biography receives no critical attention. In general, the student will wish that more history of the criticism were included.

Richness of suggestion, steadiness of critical viewpoint, knowledge of literature and of art characterize every page of this life of Keats, and always the reader feels the sureness and the accuracy of the critic's method. As a memorial to Keats the volume will be of wide-reaching importance, arousing enthusiasm for the poet and quickening meditation on the fundamental problems of poetic art. For more than thirty years Sir Sidney Colvin has been "a mission'd spirit." Now that his work is completed, all students of Keats will be glad to express their admiration of the biographer's supremely loyal and devoted service to "the truth of Imagination."

MARTHA HALE SHACKFORD.

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The Spirit of Modern German Literature. By Ludwig Lewisohn. New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1916.

To give within the compass of one hundred pages a survey of modern German literature is either to court disaster by the mere enumeration (to satisfy the demand for completeness) of many writers, whom the critic time has not yet eliminated from contemporary perspective, or, by confining criticism to representative literary phenomena, to invite, through the exclusion or disproportionate treatment of this or that favorite, the charge of attempting to forestall the verdict of time from those who, by their very act of protest, are guilty of the same charge. Professor Lewisohn has wisely chosen the second method and in his book, which he calls, not a survey, but *The Spirit of Modern German Literature,* he has given a critical estimate of the significant exponents of modern German literary movements. These significant exponents he treats under a new classification: 1. The Search for Reality. 2. The Search for Interpretation. Absolute rigidity of classification need hardly be demanded, yet Professor Lewisohn's treatment of the predominant moods of modern German writers under the subdivisions of these classes seems to justify to a remarkable degree his new formulation. The subdivisions under The Search for Reality are: 1. The Nation and Its Literature; 2. The Novel of Doctrinal Naturalism (Wilhelm von Polenz and Georg von Ompteda); 3. The Naturalistic Lyric (Detlev von Liliencron and His Group); 4. The Drama of Hauptmann and Schnitzler; 5. The Novel of Pure Naturalism (Clara Viebig, Gustav Frenssen, Thomas Mann, Arthur Schnitzler); 6. Reality and the Moral Life. The subdivisions under The Search for Interpretation are: 1. The Protest of Personality (Friedrich Nietzsche); 2. The Struggle of Personality for Liberation (Richard Dehmel); 3. The Expression of Personality through Beauty (Rainer Maria Rilke, Stefan George, Hugo von Hofmannsthal); 4. The Interpretative Novel (Ricarda Huch); 5. The Interpretative Drama; 6. Goethe and the Spirit of Modern Germany.

Hauptmann's established position in the world of letters and Professor Lewisohn's interpretation of him in his *Modern Drama* and the excellent introductions to his translations are matters of common knowledge to the student of literature. Professor Lewisohn

adds nothing new to our knowledge or to his own analysis of Hauptmann in his latest book; yet in his summarizations he has combined his rare gift of expression with a succinctness so satisfying as to make them stand out as masterpieces of critical art. Take, for example, his description of Hauptmann's characters:

"His men and women are impelled by hunger, by lust, by the primitive will to power, by aspiration. They have little eloquence of speech or grace of gesture, but move us as by our own woes, which are also the unconquerable woes of all the world. The disharmonies between themselves and the universe are tragic and final. Humble souls that they are, they perish of elemental needs and are crucified in great causes. They are not beautiful, they are not wise, they are not pure: they are only broken and imperfect members of the family of man. Yet what rare spiritual energies they can wring from their confused and frustrated souls."

Nietzsche, under the caption "The Protest of Personality," is treated as a poet-philosopher and the salient pronouncements in *Thus spake Zarathustra* are subjected to a critical analysis. It is, however, by emphasizing Nietzsche as the poet, and particularly, the stylist, that Professor Lewisohn has rendered German literary criticism a distinct service. He finds, quite rightly, that "the appearance of a stylist of this order of rank and originality in a literature not historically notable for its accomplishment in prose had very far-reaching results."

These results are apparent in the sudden rise of the German novel, which up to the modern period had lagged behind the lyric and the drama. Professor Lewisohn's treatment of the modern German novel is particularly welcome, for there has been lacking in English any adequate review of it. Again one must admire the clarity of critical vision and analysis in such a passage as his definition of doctrinal and pure naturalism, which is contained in his criticism of *Sylvester von Geyer*:

"It forms a link between the novel of doctrinal naturalism and the novel of pure naturalism: doctrinal naturalism that observes and then arranges its observations in order to prove, proclaim or justify an opinion or doctrine: pure naturalism that yields itself to the physical and spiritual texture of human life and makes a record too deep for special pleading, too complex—like that life itself—to be interpreted by intellectualistic formulæ."

Poetical insight, both in the analysis and the translation of

poems, characterizes the chapters on the lyric. Yet his treatment of Rilke, George, and Hofmannsthal will be sure to find objectors in those who, though conscious of the rare beauty of their lyrics, cannot somehow escape the feeling that concreteness of image is too frequently sacrificed for impeccable form. These objectors feel that George is elusive and difficult, and not alone because "certain orthographic and typographical peculiarities of his books have given that impression."

The value of the book is enhanced by a commentary which contains among other material several excellent translations. But the most valuable pages in the book are not those on modern German literature; they are those in which are contained one critic's conception of the critic's equipment:

"To every poet, to every 'maker' in the wider sense, a god, in the fine words of Goethe, has given the power to express what he has suffered. The method of expression is necessarily, at least in its most obvious aspects, traditional. Here certain standards may be applied. The soul of the work, however, like that soul from whose experience it grew, is unique. It is a new thing born into this immemorial world. If it were not, if it could be judged by critical formulæ derived from the books of old—these would suffice us. Is it not clear, then, that what the critic needs for his task is, above all, a deep sense of the nature of life and a sensitive perception of living beauty? How rarely, among us, does he possess these qualifications! In the most scholarly of our weeklies a critic has recently been reviewing a number of modern plays. He does not like the people discussed in these plays, and the problems discussed fill him with moral discomfort. But he, poor man, mistakes the dislikes and revulsions bred in him by the temper of his spiritual parish for the laws of a changeless order, and rashly proceeds to lecture such profound and subtle masters as Jules Lemaître and Arthur Schnitzler upon the unveracity and perversity of their report of the life of man. Such a critic, evidently, needs humility—a humility and wisdom that will not come to him through another course in the history of literature, but through a course in hunger, love and grief. To know life, then, directly and not through the mist of tribal taboos, to be sensitive to beauty and aware of its power to assume forms ever new and strange—these are the precious parts of a critic's equipment. Nor will a critic so equipped fail of his reward. For books approved in his spirit will have the best chance of being memorable, since they will have sprung, whatever their imperfections, from the perennial source of all true art—the struggling, agonizing, human soul."

JOHN WHYTE.

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Tendencies in Modern American Poetry. By Amy Lowell. The Macmillan Company, 1917.

The new movement in modern American poetry, according to Miss Amy Lowell, consists of three stages. The first is represented by Mr. Edwin Arlington Robinson and Mr. Robert Frost, whose work is realistic, direct, and simple; the second by Mr. Edgar Lee Masters and Mr. Carl Sandburg, whose poetry is "the most revolutionary that America has produced"; the third by the Imagists, "H. D." and Mr. John Gould Fletcher, who "may properly be said to be entering upon the last stage of this 'movement,' and whose work may very well be called evolutionary." Very appropriately Miss Lowell gives special consideration to the Imagists and their creed, not merely because she herself is of them, but because they constitute to her mind the most striking development of modern poetry. And yet when the creed is examined in its six articles, we find, as she confesses, nothing new but principles "fallen into desuetude." Is it possible to gather from them a clear conception of what is meant by Imagist poetry?

The first article of this creed is: "To use the language of common speech, but to employ always the *exact* word, not the nearly-exact, nor the merely decorative word." Hence away with all inversions, *clichés,* et hoc genus omne of ordinary poetry. "Battlemented clouds" join the deus ex machina and waxen-figure spooks in the limbo of worn-out conventions. But haven't all the college Rhetorics from Hill to Linn told us the same thing as a requirement of all good prose and verse? The second article is: "To create new rhythms—as the expression of new moods—and not to copy old rhythms which merely echo old moods." And every original poet does likewise, as Shakespeare and Milton with their blank verse and Tennyson with his quatrain. Of course, the special creation in rhythm today is free verse, of which later. The third tenet is: "To allow absolute freedom in the choice of subject." The poets have always resisted the critics in this respect, and the world has supported the poets when they treat their subject poetically. It is not the subject so much as the imaginative mind that counts. Article four: "To present an image (hence the name 'Imagist') . . . Poetry should render particulars exactly and not deal in vague generalities, however magnificent and sonorous."

This should surely give the key to the Imagist creed, but does it do so? Imagism is "a clear presentation [not representation] of whatever the poet wishes to convey," whether it be something sensuously or emotionally comprehended. But wherein is Imagism in this respect different from any poetry that seeks to visualize the concrete or make vivid an emotional experience? The fifth article is: "To produce poetry that is hard and clear, never blurred and indefinite," which is virtually included in articles one and four, and is just as true of legitimate as of Imagist poetry. The last rule is that "concentration is of the very essence of poetry,"—a rule Mr. Fletcher violates as frequently as the youthful Keats, and "H. D." not more rigorously obeys than Browning.

Now Miss Lowell contends that there is something so characteristic in the Imagist poetry that it should be distinguished at once from the work of the first-stagers in the new movement, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Frost, and Professor Erskine should not have made the colossal blunder of calling these two poets Imagists. But Miss Lowell admits that the analysis of rules and tenets and all such mechanical labor will not give us the touchstone to this style. One must feel it, like the grand style of which Arnold speaks. But just as one can distinguish by purely mechanical means Milton's blank verse from Shakespeare's and Keats's heroic couplet from Chaucer's or Pope's, surely one should be able to indicate by far better guides than the dangerous feelings the distinction between Imagist and all other poetry. One is inclined to suspect that the difference is rather one of degree than of kind, of eccentricity than of new creation. Thus "H. D.'s" *Oread*—

> Whirl up, sea—
> Whirl your pointed pines,
> Splash your great pines
> On our rocks,
> Hurl your green over us,
> Cover us with your pools of fir.—

is imagism because it is not anything else, for only an Imagist would whirl pines, splash great pines, and when it was all over, cover us with pools of fir (the spelling is correct). So also we discover a great fondness for cyclamen with its stiff ivory and bright fire petals, stagnant ash barrels, egg-white mist, pale and languid terraces, lacquered mandarin moments, etc. It is not so

much the exact as the esoteric word that is chosen. A dictionary is of little value.

One is disposed to emphasize the second article in the creed as the most important and to regard free verse as the distinctive mark of this poetry, though the Imagists deny that it is so. Miss Lowell includes an exposition of this metrical form with the conclusion that it "has no absolute rules, it would not be 'free' if it had." So far as I know it is therefore the only free thing in the universe. According to the Imagists the unit of this verse is the strophe and each strophe is a complete circle; and within this charmed circle one may apparently do what one pleases. Moreover, the circle is not limited in size, nor "need the times allowed to negotiate it be always the same. There is room here for an infinite number of variations." And Miss Lowell illustrates from the *Oread* quoted above. This poem or strophe or circle is made up of five cadences, corresponding to the lines, which again are made up of time units in no sense syllabic. There are two such units in the first, second, and fourth lines, and three in the third and fifth. And so on, "Till we exclaim—'But where's music, the dickens?'" And we are no nearer comprehending the rhythm of this verse than we were to understanding the actual significance of imagism from the other tenets of the creed. Is it only for the elect to know it?

In her treatment of the six poets who make up her volume Miss Lowell is singularly uneven. The short biographical sketches are appreciative and illuminating. She is particularly felicitous in her comparative estimates of the several poets, and very aptly puts each in his proper niche. Her enthusiasm, however, is inclined every now and then to run away with her judgment. And in matters of detail she makes statements that will not stand the mildest acid test. She seems to have a strange notion of the academic or classicist conception of metrics. Thus she instances Mr. Frost's somewhat ambiguous line,

Mary sat musing on the lamp-flame at the table

as shocking the elder taste with its accent on the last syllable of 'Mary' and on 'on' and 'at.' Did Miss Lowell ever hear of trochaic inversion? Or has she never read such lines as these of Shelley:

> And splinter and knead down my children's bones,
> All I bring forth, to one void mass battering and blending

which are as romantic as Frost's,

> I crossed the river and swung round the mountain.

Excellent as much of Mr. Frost's work is, is it not superlative praise to rank it with Burns's or Synge's? And what shall we say of such a pronouncement as this, that Mr. Robinson's poetry is "'cribbed, cabin'd and confined' [*sic*] to a remarkable degree, but it is undeniably, magnificently noble"—which last three words one might apply to Milton's verse but not to any of much less rank. In an interesting analysis of Mr. Robinson's *Isaac and Archibald,* Miss Lowell quotes the following:

> They were old men,
> And I may laugh at them because I knew them.

And then she adds this illuminating comment: "Does the poet really laugh? Assuredly not, laughter is the one emotion [*sic*] which he has not at command. Does it mean a sneer? Less still. The poet does not sneer. The life he sees about him is too solemn and too sad. The line is cryptic, because it really means just a question, pitying, fearful, cast into space to go knocking about among the stars." In the words of another poet,

> And still they were the same bright, patient stars.

Or again about Mr. Robinson's *Richard Cory,* quoted entire and ending with the lines,

> And Richard Cory, one calm summer night,
> Went home and put a bullet through his head.

Miss Lowell makes this statement: "In four words, 'one calm summer night,' is set a background for the tragedy which brings the bullet shot crashing across our ear drums with the shock of an earthquake." Accustomed as we are to the *Spoon River Anthology,* we know that bullet is due in the last lines; we are not so easily shocked.

Miss Lowell has labored valiantly and with undaunted enthusiasm to show that "there is a new spirit permeating the work of American poets," and in this she has undoubtedly succeeded. The revolutionary spirit in Mr. Masters and the socialistic in Mr. Sandburg are different from what has been; and the spirit of "H. D." and Mr. Fletcher is seen in their endeavour to rediscover and reveal beauty and truth in our modern world. I am not so sure as Miss Lowell is that these poets have really captured the spirit of humanity and of truth and of beauty so that it has become the living inspiration of great poetry.

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Lafayette College.

First Spanish Course. By E. C. HILLS and J. D. M. FORD. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1917. vi + 330 pp.

Teachers in high schools have often complained that the *Spanish Grammar* of Messrs. Hills and Ford was too formal and literary for their immature students. They cannot possibly offer that objection to the *First Spanish Course,* which is not at all a revision of the *Grammar* but a distinctly new piece of work. It is a marked improvement over the first book, from a pedagogical point of view, and is primarily intended for high-school classes. It is extremely unfortunate that the authors have not treated as fully as in the *Grammar* the introductory chapter on pronunciation, not so much for the sake of the pupils as for the teachers, most of whom are phonetically untrained, and whose knowledge of the pronunciation of Spanish is frequently incorrect. Furthermore, teachers are confronted with so many conflicting statements with regard to the pronunciation of Spanish that an exhaustive treatment of Castilian phonetics would be of great assistance to them.

One of the best features of the *First Spanish Course* is the Spanish exercises. Modern-language grammars too often lack the breath of life because the phrases in a given lesson do not follow one another in thought. They have no context; they do not train the student to think in the language which he is studying. The alternative exercises of the *Spanish Grammar* were an improvement pedagogically on the exercises in the grammar proper. The phrases

in the *First Spanish Course* are immensely superior to both of the older sets. They represent the highest point yet reached in drill exercises in American text-books on Spanish. It is no easy task to construct concatenated phrases in a grammar, especially in the first lessons where so little syntax and vocabulary are available, but in the *First Spanish Course* the authors have succeeded eminently in this difficult feat. Their English exercises too are not mere algebraic problems; they follow each other in logical sequence.

I cannot agree that the *resumen gramatical* in Spanish is of any value whatsoever. It will take a deal of explaining, for instance, to make an American student understand why, under the heading *Indicativo,* is found a form called *pretérito imperfecto* (*de subjuntivo*) as on page 241. Yet, if it is true that teaching is the art of repetition, the student using this book will certainly learn that nouns in *-o* are usually masculine in Spanish, a statement which he will find mentioned no less than four times, twice in English and twice in Spanish. I do not by any means wish to convey the impression that I disapprove of the plan of repeating in review lessons rules already given. The student having assimilated the normal by means of repeated drill phrases is ready later to add the abnormal in the form of exceptions. The authors have followed the most excellent plan of excluding all exceptions to the rules given in the first thirty-seven lessons. With the thirty-eighth lesson begins a review in which there is included the material previously omitted. I should like to suggest merely from a mechanical point of view a more pronounced break between lessons thirty-seven and thirty-eight.

It is a relief to find no exercises in English requiring the use of *tú* and *vosotros.* It seems to me that it is a great waste of time and energy to drill students on forms of the verb which they will never have occasion to use. The repetition of the articles *el* and *la* before each new Spanish noun is another excellent improvement which the authors have adopted. The student has the aid of both eye and ear in memorizing a new word by this method. Those who are familiar with the *Spanish Grammar* will be interested to note that the authors have kept pace with the times. The nineteenth-century horses and cows have been metamorphosed into twentieth-century automobiles and telephones. The occasional notes giving Spanish-American equivalents for Castilian words are extremely valuable to both teacher and student. Furthermore, they are high-

ly entertaining, a general characteristic of the whole book. Even a jaded instructor can sit down and read the *First Spanish Course* with genuine interest.

There is a distinct Spanish flavor to this grammar; the exercises in Spanish ring true. How often we meet in American text-books phrases which are grammatically flawless but which lack entirely the salt of Spanish! The concatenated phrases in the *First Spanish Course* might well have been spoken in the conversation of daily life in Spain or in Spanish America. The authors have used their imaginations in dramatizing situations in a background that is conspicuously Spanish. In general the book has followed the sound modern pedagogical principles of language teaching and has avoided the trivial superficialities of so many contemporaneous modern-language text-books. The superficial text-book combined with the superficially trained teacher has wrought havoc among our youth who are flocking in such numbers to study Spanish. With the *First Spanish Course,* a book that is flawlessly accurate in scholarship and pedagogically sound in method, the poorly prepared teacher of Spanish can hardly go far astray.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Byroniana

It is possible to throw some light upon the questions raised by Mr. C. S. Northup and Mr. L. M. Buell in *Mod. Lang. Notes,* xxxii, 310 ff.

I

Mr. Northup describes a rare volume called *Beauties of English Poets,* published at Venice, In the Island of S. Lazzaro, 1852, in which, besides a number of Byron's "Poetries," four translations from the Armenian, some extracts from his correspondence, and the proposed preface by him to an Armenian Grammar, are a number of translations into Armenian from Milton, Pope, Gray, Keble, and Tupper. He mentions, but has not seen, what he describes as a later edition of this anthology, which (following Coleridge's Bibliography, *Byron's Works,* Poetry, vii, 149) he describes as *Lord Byron's Armenian Exercises and Poetry,* "dated on the title-page

1886 and on the yellow wrapper 1870." A copy of this little book in the Yale Library agrees with Coleridge's description with regard to the two dates but has a gray wrapper; in the copy in the New York Public Library the wrapper is green, not yellow, and both wrapper and title-page bear the date 1870. In contents these two issues are identical. They do not contain the translations from Milton, Pope, Gray, Keble, and Tupper. They contain all the selections from Byron found in the volume of 1852, with the addition, in the section devoted to Byron's "Poetries," of *On the Death of a Young Lady, To the Duke of Dorset,* and *On this Day I complete my Thirty-Sixth Year.* At the end is a four-page index, part English, part Armenian.

Two questions are advanced by Mr. Northup: Did Byron make the translations from Gray? and, Does Mackay's *Lord Byron at the Armenian Convent,* 1876, throw any light upon the matter? One can answer the second question unhesitatingly: it does not. George Eric Mackay's dingy little pamphlet, printed at "Venice, Office of the 'Poliglotta,'" (of which paper Mackay was editor and proprietor), was written to stir up interest in the project of the monks of S. Lazzaro to gather funds for the erection of a memorial to Byron. A copy of the work is in the Harvard Library. It is likely that the monks had been prompted to this undertaking by hearing of Disraeli's address at Willis' Rooms the previous July in which he urged the national duty of erecting a monument to Byron in London. Mackay tells in a most slovenly manner of Byron's relations with the monks, gives snatches of Armenian history and of the traditions of the convent, reprints Byron's preface to the proposed grammar, his translations from the Armenian *Corinthians,* and his Will made at Venice, and records in chapter VI "The Blind Friar's Confessions." These had been heralded at the beginning of his book as "a new chapter in the romance of Byron's life." We turn to them with interest and find that in 1868 Mackay had an interview with a blind old friar who remembered Byron. Byron, according to this witness, was beautiful "but very yellow." This fact seems to have made a deep impression on the old man, for he mumbled it several times. Byron gave him a knife which he still treasured. He was confident that Byron was now a saint in heaven. This is all! Mackay ends his book with a translation by himself of an Armenian dialogue between the Saviour and Abgar, King of the Armenians.

As for the other question, one may be certain that Mr. Northup is correct in concluding that Byron did not translate the two poems by Gray. The only pieces "done" by him are the four extracts from Armenian placed in a group by themselves. This assertion can be supported in a variety of ways. The Boston Public Library possesses a copy of the second edition of Father Paschal Augher's *Grammar Armenian and English* . . . Venice: printed at the Armenian press of St. Lazarus, 1832. The first edition had ap-

peared in 1819. In this second edition "some translations of Lord Byron from the Armenian into English" are added, viz.: the letter of the Corinthians to St. Paul, the letter from St. Paul to the Corinthians, a pasage from Corenensis' *Armenian History,* and a passage from Lampronensis. These occupy pages 145-169, the English and Armenian being on opposite pages. Had the monks possessed translations *into* Armenian by Byron they would surely have been included. Moreover, several of the translations in the volume of 1852 are of too late a date to be by him, and it is fair to assume that all are from another hand or hands. Had any been by Byron they would have been put in a section by themselves and not herded together with other and later work. And it is unlikely that Byron, though he could with some assistance render Armenian into English, could make Armenian versions of English poetry. That the four items listed in the volumes of 1832, 1852, and 1870 as "Lord Byron's Translations" are all that came from his pen is proved beyond question by the fact that when the title was changed from *Beauties of English Poetry* to *Lord Byron's Armenian Exercises and Poetry* the remainder of the contents of 1852, not coming under that heading, was omitted. I do not know who translated the non-Byronic portion of the 1852-edition. Whatever little interest that problem has is not connected with Byron.

II

Mr. Buell advances "a neat little problem in sources and origins": did Byron suggest the *Prometheus* theme to Shelley or did Shelley suggest it to Byron? He does not moot the question for the first time. I have referred to it at some length in my *Dramas of Lord Byron,* Göttingen, 1915, p. 75-77, and there give references to other discussions. My view as there expressed, is that. if it is necessary to account for Byron's renewed interest in the theme of 1816, it is more reasonable to suppose with Gillardon that that interest was due to contact with Shelley than to ascribe it (with Pughe) to the influence of Wordsworth. But I add: "I do not see that one needs more than Byron's testimony of his interest from boyhood in the theme." May I take the present opportunity to elaborate this view, answering at the same time, so far as such a question can be answered, the problem set forth anew by Mr. Buell? The number of references to the legend of Prometheus in Byron is larger than one would gather from the indices supplied by Coleridge and Prothero. See: the translation of Part of a Chorus from the "Prometheus Vinctus" (*Poetry,* I, 14); *Monody on Sheridan,* line 56; *Ode to Napoleon,* stanza xvi; *Manfred* I, i, 154 and I, ii, 1 f.; *Don Juan* i, 27 and ii, 75; *Childe Harold* iii, 59 and iv, 63; *The Prophecy of Dante* iii, 174 f. and iv, 14 f.; *The Blues* ii, 137; *The Irish Avatar,* stanza xii; *The Age of Bronze,* line 228 f. Of these

only the first three are of a date earlier than Byron's meeting with Shelley in Switzerland; the others do not shed light on the question of priority but they show how constantly the theme was in Byron's mind and bear out his own testimony: "The *Prometheus,* if not exactly in my plan, has always been so much in my head, that I can easily conceive its influence over all or any thing that I have written" (*Letters,* iv, 174-5; cf. v, 229, 453, 470.) There is little or no evidence that the subject had been so constantly in Shelley's mind. In 1812 he asks for an Æschylus (*Letters,* ed. Ingpen, i, 372), but I find no mention of the Prometheus legend until October 1818 when he announces that he has finished the first act of his drama (*ibid.,* ii, 630). In the poems the word "Prometheus" occurs only in the *Prometheus Unbound,* the word "Promethean" once there and once in *Hellas,* the word "Titan" only once outside of *Prometheus Unbound* (*Gisborne,* line 24), and the word "titanic" only in *Epipschydion.* "Vulture" is used several times but not with special reference to the theme in question. It is evident from the small number of such allusions and from the fact that all such are either in the *Prometheus Unbound* or in later poems, that the subject had not in 1816 taken such hold on Shelley as on Byron. The conclusion indicated is that Byron drew upon his own resources for his *Prometheus.*

Samuel C. Chew.

Bryn Mawr College.

A Motto of Mérimée's

There is a passage in the *Lettres à une Inconnue* which the critics cite constantly as indicative of Mérimée's rather cynical philosophy of life. It is a sort of *obiter dictum* in a postscript to the second of the letters given to the public. "Sachez aussi qu'il n'y a rien de plus commun que de faire le mal pour le plaisir de le faire. Défaites-vous de vos idées d'optimisme et figurez-vous bien que nous sommes dans ce monde pour nous battre envers et contre tous." Why stop here? The argument may gain by finishing the letter. Mérimée goes on: "A ce propos, je vous dirai qu'un savant de mes amis, qui lit les hiéroglyphes, m'a dit que, sur les cercueils égyptiens, on lisait très-souvent ces deux mots: *Vie, guerre;* ce qui prouve que je n'ai pas inventé la maxime que je viens de vous donner. Cela s'écrit en hiéroglyphe . . . où le premier caractère veut dire *vie;* il représente, je crois, un de ces vases appelés canopes. L'autre est une abréviation d'un bouclier avec un bras tenant une lance. *There's science for you.*" Turning now to *Colomba,* we read that Miss Lydia, wishing to fortify Orso against the evil instincts which the air of his native land might rouse in him, gives

him a ring. "Voyez-vous cette bague? C'est un scarabée égyptien trouvé, s'il vous plaît, dans une pyramide. Cette figure bizarre, que vous prenez peut-être pour une bouteille, cela veut dire *la vie humaine.* Il y a dans mon pays des gens qui trouveraient l'hiéroglyphe très bien appropié. Celui-ci, qui vient après, c'est un bouclier avec un bras tenant une lance; cela veut dire *combat, bataille.* Donc la réunion des deux caractères forme cette devise, que je trouve assez belle: *La vie est un combat.* Ne vous avisez pas de croire que je traduis les hiéroglyphes courammant; c'est un savant en *us* qui m'a expliqué ceux-là. Tenez, je vous donne mon scarabée. Quand vous aurez quelque mauvaise pensée corse, regardez mon talisman et dites-vous qu'il faut sortir vainqueur de la bataille que nous livrent les mauvaises passions. Mais, en vérité, je ne prêche pas mal." The course of the story mocks Miss Lydia's eloquence in an ironical way which must have delighted the author. The letter, cited above, is not dated, but it is hard to suppose that it did not precede the publication of *Colomba* (1840). At any rate the fact that Mérimée thus repeats himself seems to point to a peculiar fondness for this hieroglyphic motto.

Benj. M. Woodbridge

The Rice Institute.

A Note on *Lycidas*

Where the great vision of the guarded Mount
Looks toward Namancos and Bayona's hold.

Editors explain this last line correctly as referring to two places in Spain, but though Bayona's hold with its grand castle and noble collegiate church, said once to have belonged to the Templars, is easily found on the promontory that runs southward out of Vigo Bay, Namancos figures neither on Stieler's careful map nor in the *Monografia Geografico-Historica de Galicia.* Driving over to Finisterre last summer with the Cura of a mainland parish who serves the storm-worn church on the Cape, I put the word to him. "That is very odd of you," he answered, "for the name is not geographical at all, though topographical, but belongs to the ecclesiastical organization: it is the name of this *archiprestazgo*"—a division of the diocese including a number of parishes. Namancos, then, in Milton is simply used for Finisterre, as Iberian might be for Spanish, and the distich links, as it should, the Land's End and Finisterre, the warrior Angel with the warrior monks.

Georgiana Goddard King.

Bryn Mawr University.

The Spanish Idiom *fondo en . . .*

The meaning of this peculiar idiom, to which Dr. S. Griswold Morley has called the attention of the readers of *Mod. Lang. Notes* (xxxii, 501 ff.), seems to be nothing else than "to speak plainly, without mincing matters" (*decirle á uno la verdad monda y lironda*), so that I should translate the instances quoted as follows: to tell the truth as an aunt would do, as an angel would do, as a girl would say, as a soothsayer, as an old cigar, as a negress, as a brother-in-law, as a jackdaw. My authority for such a translation is the well-known Portuguese expression *mundo e fundo.* It is true that it is nowadays rendered into Spanish by *mondo y lirondo,* but a nearer approach to the Portuguese may have existed.

Joseph de Perott.

Worcester, Mass.

A Ben Jonson Allusion Book

For the past four years Mr. J. Franklin Bradley, of the Department of English in Cornell University, has been collecting under my supervision the allusions to Ben Jonson before the year 1700. Since these allusions are nearly always accompanied by allusions to contemporary authors, and often by interesting bits of literary criticism, the collection should prove of importance to the general student of the Tudor-Stuart period. The work is now ready for the press, although its appearance will probably be delayed until the end of the war. The plan of arrangement follows in the main that of *The Shakespeare Allusion Book* as edited in two volumes, 1909, with certain modifications intended to make the material more useful to scholars.

In collecting this material Mr. Bradley has displayed great enthusiasm and industry, and has availed himself of the facilities of most of the important libraries in this country; yet it would be vain to hope that he has assembled anything like all the references to Jonson. *The Shakespeare Allusion Book,* one should remember, was a slow growth, the result of the painstaking labors of C. M. Ingleby, Miss L. Toulmin Smith, F. J. Furnivall, J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, and, finally, of the late John Munro. As Munro states in the Preface to his handsome edition: "These volumes were not made in a day. Thirty years have passed in their compilation. Many willing hands, too, have lent their assistance. Antiquaries, scholars, and friendly readers, have all most kindly helped." Yet even so, numerous allusions to Shakespeare remained ungathered; and the

last work of Munro, published after his death on a battle-field in France, was a voluminous supplement to the *Allusion Book*.

The object of this letter is to request persons who may discover allusions to Jonson to communicate them to Mr. Bradley or to myself. If the allusions have not already been recorded, the proper acknowledgment for the discovery will be made in the footnotes. Only by the generous co-operation of all scholars interested in Jonson and Jonson's contemporaries can the work now in hand be made even approximately complete. I may add that the appearance of the volume may be confidently expected as soon as the printing trade in America returns to something like normal conditions.

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS.

Cornell University.

A SOURCE

Several months ago an anonymous editorial writer of the *Boston Herald* pointed out, under the caption of *Alleged Plagiarism*, that the plot of one of Mr. Conrad's latest stories was very similar to the plot of *A Terribly Strange Bed* written many years ago by Sheridan LeFanu. To the present generation of readers Joseph Sheridan LeFanu is hardly so much as a name; but in the 60's and early 70's he was well known as a writer of weird and horrible stories.[1] I have not been able to obtain a copy of all his works, but among such as have been accessible to me I do not find a story that closely resembles Mr. Conrad's *The Inn of the Two Witches*.[2] The short story, however, by Wilkie Collins, entitled *A Terribly Strange Bed*, published in *After Dark* (1856), is fairly familiar. Since both versions are easy to obtain I need not summarize them; but there is an interest in comparing the two methods of handling this melodramatic incident in which the canopy-top of an old-fashioned bed descends on an innocent victim to smother him.

Collins lays the scene of his version in Paris, Conrad in Spain. Collins adopts the simple autobiographic method, and seeks to

[1] His works are now out of print and rather hard to find. In *Notes and Queries* for January 6, 1917, Mr. Archibald Sparke mentioned a complete edition by Downey and Co., 1895-9. Cf. also *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. II, 450. The *Purcell Papers* were published posthumously in 1880 by Mr. A. P. Graves, with a brief Memoir; and *Poems* by the same editor in 1904. Several of LeFanu's stories and poems were first printed in periodicals, such as *Temple Bar* and the *Dublin University Magazine*.

[2] Printed in *Within the Tides*, London, 1915.

give the impression of a plain unadorned true narrative. Conrad uses the device of a discovered manuscript which is defective in part, but relates the story chiefly as an outsider, condensing the material of the "dull-faced MS." But the fundamental difference is that of emphasis. For Wilkie Collins it is par excellence the story of a strange and terrible bed; for Conrad it is a story of a young English naval officer in the Peninsular War who, suspecting that the sailor whom he has sent inland with a message may be the victim of foul play, tries to overtake him and finds him mysteriously murdered in the Archbishop's room of an inn kept by two old hags in a wild forest. Collins builds his whole story around the incident of the bed; Conrad arranges a gradual climax of terrors with the murderous bed at its summit. Collins devotes about half of the story to introduction,—the gambling den, the winnings, the old soldier. About five hundred words suffice for the actual descent of the canopy. The remainder, about one-fourth of the whole, is moralizing and explanation,—how others had probably perished in this same bed, how his coffee had been drugged too strongly, how he escaped and notified the police, and how the police raided the den and discovered the apparatus for lowering the top of the bed. Like the "well-built play," Collins's story has the climax just after the middle, and takes ample time for the resolution and conclusion. Conrad, however, in accordance with modern taste, reduces the ending to a minimum,—about one-fifteenth, as compared with Collins's one-fourth.

The main device by which Conrad seeks to increase the feeling of terror in the reader is that of having Byrne (the hero) vaguely conscious, from the moment he enters the Archbishop's room, of the presence of Cuba Tom (the sailor), who he supposes has left the inn several hours ago, but who is actually in the wardrobe, murdered. Conrad plays further on the reader's emotions by describing Byrne's "unreasoning terror" after he discovers Tom's body to be without visible marks of a struggle or any indication of how he was killed. The slow descent of the canopy when he is in this state drives him nearly to madness, so that when his friends arrive at dawn he blindly attacks them. Collins, however, by making his hero lie in a dazed stupor watching the trap close on him and then recover control barely in time to escape, gets an additional thrill of suspense which Conrad misses.

On the whole, I cannot help feeling that the apparent straightforward simplicity and directness, the air of matter-of-fact truthfulness of the earlier version make it superior to Conrad's as a tale of mystery and horror. Mr. Conrad's workmanship is more refined and delicate, the structure of his story is perhaps more artistic and effective when judged by contemporary standards; but compared with *The Terribly Strange Bed, The Inn of the Two Witches* seems a bit thin and diffuse, and gives the impres-

sion of a lack of unity. Indeed, in much of Mr. Conrad's work there is, besides the usual three elements of a narrative, plot, characters, and setting, a fourth, which to many readers is of paramount importance, namely his style. In reading Conrad one finds oneself delighted less with the general excellence of the meaning than with the freshness, keenness, and subtlety of his manner of setting down relatively unimportant observations. The hero of *Victory,* for example, may be, if you will, a "little Hamlet" of the South Seas. He hesitates, he is not convinced. Action is forced on him. But he lacks depth and breadth, he is not a great character, not worthy to carry a full-sized novel. What interests the reader is the subtlety and delicacy with which Conrad reveals the oscillations of his will. The unfamiliar setting also attracts us. The characterization, though slight, is conceived and handled with the utmost finesse. But the plot is tenuous and hardly adequate for so long a narrative. What holds us most is the manner of the telling; not the story, but the author behind it and visible through it. So with *The Inn of the Two Witches:* a pleasing and altogether delightful tale, but as a story of horror—its natural and inescapable category—it is inferior to the ruder, simpler narrative by Wilkie Collins.

As for the relationship of the two versions. Did Mr. Conrad take his suggestion from Collins? Or did they have a common source? Or did each invent the idea independently? Those who will, may speculate on it. Mr. Conrad may, if he likes, inform the world where he got the notion of a strange bed with a descending canopy. My interest has been to observe what two different writers make of the same material. But I know I have nearly committed the act of source-hunting. Nevertheless, I plead not guilty. Truly, if the uninitiate (and also many of the initiate) could be made to remember that what goes under the opprobrious title of *Quellenforschung* is not a Literary Branch of the Secret Service Department, is not a system for running down the criminals of the Authors' Guild, the world, or at least some part of it, would be much better off. In the minds of too many, source-hunting vaguely suggests the modern crime of plagiarism. But real plagiarism exists only among the scribblers of low degree, who bungle and degrade what they borrow. Source-hunting, however, except when it is the idle pastime of amateur scholars, *collectors* of information, is a sincere effort to understand and estimate an author in the light of what he adds of himself to the work of others. It is one way of measuring the present by the past. And so, by comparing like with like, can we judge fittingly of Mr. Conrad's story of *The Inn of the Two Witches.*

PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM.

Harvard University.

Scyld Scefing and Huck Finn

The instance of divination by shield, sheaf, and candle cited by Chadwick (*Origin of the English Nation,* 278) from the Chronicle of Abingdon in support of his theory that the Scyld story is a mythologizing of the rites of an agricultural cult (a theory supported and re-enforced by Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning* II, 250 ff.) had its analog in Missouri two generations ago, if we may trust the chronicler of *Tom Sawyer,* who specifically vouches in his preface for the authenticity of the folk-lore in the book. When the boys on the island realize that the firing of the gun on the ferry-boat is intended to bring their bodies—for they are believed to be drowned—to the surface, Huck Finn remarks: "They done that last summer, when Bill Turner got drownded; they shoot a cannon over the water, and that makes him come to the top. Yes, and they take loaves of bread and put quicksilver in 'em and set 'em afloat, and wherever there's anything that's drownded, they'll float right there and stop." Tom expresses the belief that it is not in the bread but in "what they say over it before they start it out" that the magic efficacy lies; but he is probably wrong. It is precisely the bread, the staff of life, the modern representative of the medieval sheaf, by which the divination is wrought. The quicksilver in place of the candle seems to be a case of metallurgy displacing medieval devotion.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Well of English, and the Bucket. By Burgess Johnson (Boston, Little, Brown, & Co., 1917). The title of this book is also the title of its first chapter, which is in violation of an obviously fundamental requirement of a good title in each case. The comprehensive title of a treatise cannot logically also be descriptive of a properly marked division of the discussion, and, *vice versa,* a part should not by its name restrict the meaning of the whole. There are six more chapters: Grammar and the Bane of Boyhood; Impression and Expression; Essaying an Essay; The Right not to Laugh; The Every-Day Profanity of Our Best People; Ethics of the Pen;—head-lines these that would not discredit an alert journalist.

Mr. Johnson first attempts an assessment of the responsibility, divided between the schools and the colleges, for the too general failure to train the successive generations of students in the approved use of English. "The college throws the burden for this weakness

back upon the high school, and any teacher of English in any of our American colleges will be able to present an amusing array of exhibits to prove that great numbers of high-school graduates enter the college unable to express themselves clearly or even intelligently in writing." Not dismayed by the connotations of 'commercial value,' Mr. Johnson rightly contends that the "broad, general culture," the boast of the college, should fit a man to meet the practical tests of correctly and clearly written English. This first chapter consists chiefly in an attempt to hold the college to its duty. "If there is something lacking in the elementary training of students, then the college must immediately secure teachers of approved efficiency in teaching more elementary things. Moreover," to continue this passage in which the writer gathers himself together for the expression of what he believes to be the gist of the matter, "if you will agree that an art can best be taught by those who can themselves practice it, other requirements of a good teacher being equal, then have that in mind in selecting instructors." And the final word must be that the college "should turn out artisans, if not artists, in English, competent to handle the most essential tool in the world's workshop—their own language. This it does not at present do."

Prominently in the next chapter, on Grammar, stands the sentence: "Any form of self-expression is an art, not a science. It has no scientific rules of procedure" (p. 36). To use one's vernacular (or an acquired foreign language) is, of course, to practice an art, it is not to indulge in an application of a science; but every art is governed by a code of technicalities, by rules that constitute the science or grammar of the art. The rule of procedure in the practice of a language is to conform to its code of correctness, and the principles of correctness are codified by the scientific grammarian. Every one, therefore, speaking or writing his language is engaged in a practical art, and this practical art is capable of being raised to a higher plane; it then becomes the 'fine art' of literature. The acceptance of these postulates—and they are irrefutable—is all that is required to dispel the pedagogic confusion attending the question of what the schools and colleges should do for the student's English. The theory of education, as it is to be inferred from the methods of instruction, is especially feeble, not to say fundamentally erroneous, with respect to the relation of the art of the vernacular to purely intellectual subjects. What is wanted, and it is a national want of great importance, is the result, the cultural effect, of treating the student's language as a practical art. The subject is an art, and should be inculcated not by a method appropriate, for example, to arithmetic or geography, but by a method analogous to the method of inculcating the practice of a fine art.

The suggestion of an analogy between the acquirement of one's vernacular language and the steps in the training required, for example, to 'read' music instrumentally should give a helpful

view of the method and purpose of school-instruction in English. It is a suggestion, however, that is too subversive of elaborated school-professionalism to be widely adopted. Nor, setting aside the analogy, are the schools—from the primary grades upward into the college—easily persuaded to deal with the pupil's language as with a practical art, altho the question of how this may be done is to be inferred from the method and experiences by which children have been taught to speak while yet too young to enter school. But this is too simple for the over-stimulated mind of the professional pedagog. So important a question must, at least, be kept under discussion, and everywhere teachers convene for this purpose and argue the matter in language that does not uniformly suggest a possible application of the word art. One's language may be stupidly grammatical and yet betray no graceful gesture of mind or of voice.

To make grammar the bane of one's early years is a principal class-room abuse of the subject of English; and the reaction against 'formal grammar' is an unsound and philosophically unworthy reaction against that abuse. The art-method calls for a gradual disclosure of the principles that govern correctness, and it defers to the proper age a study of grammar as the science of the pupil's vernacular art, acquired by a dozen or more years of practice. Prejudice against grammar! It is a prejudice against the laws of the mind; and the argument from all arts is conclusive that it is a prejudice against the principles of art. A member of the editorial staff of a widely circulating periodical—he has charge of the columns devoted to the criticism of poetry—writes in his own hand "would of" (for 'would have'). This is an incredibly excessive illustration of what may, in some instances, be the intellectual preparation for an affected defense of literary art against the invasion of sound grammatical sense.

The Chapters on "Impression and Expression" and "Essaying an Essay" relate chiefly to Mr. Johnson's theories and experiences in teaching composition in college. Seemingly entirely unrelated to what may be conjectured to be the subject of the treatise is the discussion of the sense of humor in the chapter entitled "The Right not to Laugh." The pertinence of the chapter is made clearest, it will be observed, at the end of the book, in one of the author's well-matured and smoothly expressed thoughts: "Prove to me that you are able to write humorously of a man without implying your own superiority to him, and I will grant you at once a place among literary gentlefolk." There follows the chapter on profanity, which the author, keeping in his vein, might have entitled 'a cursory essay on swearing.' Here many an undisputed thing is said in a solemn way, but made applicable in a manner specifically pointed: "So gentle reader, I would say to you, if I had arbitrary power over your speech or your written correspondence (the author is

writing at Vassar College), 'This week I will allow you only two *verys*'" (may one ask, 'and how many *wills* and *woulds?*').

From the ethics of the tongue the transition is made to the "Ethics of the Pen" (the title of the closing chapter). The author discourses with knowledge and conviction on the primary rules of good conduct in journalism, and thereby gains an effective approach to the rules of good conduct in all forms of writing. Especially good is the discussion of plagiarism, "a question of false labelling"; the true code being "Honest labels on wares honestly secured" (meaning 'got,' 'obtained'). Mr. Johnson is capable of keeping hold of a thought while it leads into fine distinctions; this may be shown by a passage that will also illustrate his style: "There is no unconscious thievery. The interesting coincidences which sometimes do occur . . . do not long mislead the fairminded. There is an atmosphere about real literary theft that is unmistakable when all the arguments are heard. The writer who keeps faith with his reader, giving full credit whenever failure to do so might by any possibility mislead, being frank whenever he distrusts the spontaneity of his own invention, may go ahead with the assurance that honest critics will find little difficulty in distinguishing between crime and coincidence." J. W. B.

Recollections by John, Viscount Morley (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917) have been so widely reviewed that any detailed notice here is unnecessary. The primary importance of the book is in the field of political history and its reception has therefore depended in part upon the political tenets of the journals that have commented upon it. Thus the high praise of the liberal London *Nation* must be balanced against the "slashing" notice printed in, and characteristic of, *The Saturday Review*. The reminiscences of Lord Morley's terms as Chief Secretary for Ireland and of the part that he played in the decision with regard to the choice of a successor to Mr. Gladstone in 1894 are of profound interest; not less so is the publication of his letters as Secretary for India to the Viceroy, Lord Minto, during the critical period of the planning and inception of reforms in the Indian government in the direction of increased native responsibility. The publication of these letters so shortly after the event and at so critical a period in English history is, however, one would think, an astonishing indiscretion which, strangely enough, reviewers have passed over in silence. Time has not yet put to the test the real value of Lord Morley's Indian reforms; competent authorities aver that the decision to attempt nothing extreme has resulted in a half-way policy from which little good can come; and, be that as it may, these letters (printed *without* Lord Minto's replies) afford dangerous fuel to any incendiary who cares to avail himself of them. With the exception of one or two veiled suggestions Lord Morley makes no

comment upon the present catastrophe or upon England's share in the responsibility for it. But his book—the sub-title of which might well be "The Theory and Practice of Liberalism"—is an object-lesson in the need of conciliation, compromise, sympathy and understanding in the difficult art of governing men.

Lord Morley's place in literature is that of one whose endeavour it was to bridge over the solution of continuity made by the Romantic Reaction and carry on the rationalistic tendencies of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. In his various volumes and essays on the revolutionary thinkers and statesmen of France he is thus a corrective to Carlyle. In an editorial capacity, especially during the years when he directed the *Fortnightly Review,* he played an influential part in the struggle between free thought and dogma. In his old age he now looks back upon the controversies of other years with serene satisfaction and apparently without a recognition of the part played by the men who were his allies in exalting a materialistic standard that prepared the way for future disaster. The humaneness, philanthropy, positivism of the later Victorian period is brought up into the high light; the darker tendencies involved in acceptance of theories of "race-preservation" and the like are ignored. In no mood of apology but rather with proud confidence in the verdict of history he surveys the achievement of his generation.

There is a pictorial quality almost Clarendonian in the character-drawings scattered through the *Recollections.* Mill, Meredith, Spencer, Renan, Arnold, Stephen and others, and in the world of politics, among many more, most notably Chamberlain and Harcourt, are vividly portrayed. Even more delightful are the literary "interludes," if one may so style them, that break in upon the political chronicle and mark periods of refreshment in Morley's official life. Among these the long meditation on Lucretius (ii, 118 f.) is especially noteworthy. Throughout the book one gets the impression of a mind that has "known the best that has been thought and said in the world"; the whole range of letters is covered, not only in the aptly chosen and often recondite mottoes to the various chapters, but in allusion and chance suggestion on any page of the text. There is no laborious effort to appear learned; rather it is the spontaneous overflow of a mind steeped in the best. With the mere attainment of such knowledge Morley is not satisfied; the true devotee of Culture in the wide sense in which Arnold employs the word applies it practically; his aim is more than to know the best that has been thought and said; he must "make it prevail." Such an ideal Lord Morley has had ever before his eyes.

But the highest commendation that he deserves comes to him from the quality and diversity of his friendships. The most trusted associate of Gladstone's later years, the intimate friend of George Meredith, preserving unbroken the personal ties that bound him to Joseph Chamberlain despite the triple break over Home Rule, the

Boer War, and the Tariff,—Lord Morley is a shining example of those philosophers who, in the words of Gibbon, "maintain their arguments without losing their temper, and assert their freedom without violating their friendship." S. C. C.

Simplest Spoken French (84 pages plus a 25 page vocabulary) by W. F. Giese and Barry Cerf of the University of Wisconsin, published by Henry Holt & Co., has the merit of utility, for soldier and civilian alike. The strictly military feature is confined to a short list of terms placed near the end of the book, the attitude of the authors being "that those who study French with a view to service abroad are not going to need primarily a military vocabulary, but will require above all a command of everyday French." French pronunciation is briefly treated, with additional aid offered by specially devised phonetic symbols used throughout the vocabularies. Now, as this book is intended for schools and colleges as well as for training camps, it would seem ill-conceived to discard the international phonetic transcription in favor of a system that has little, if any advantage, over the standard. Besides, the employment of the italic vowel to represent the nasal sound and likewise the use of the accented phonogram tend to confuse the mind of the learner. The treatment of the grammar *abrégé* is praiseworthy; the irregular verbs given are confined to those in most common use; and the brief sentences in the dialogues are sprightly and idiomatic, such as a tyro might conceivably handle with ease. Naturally, there are no set exercises, but frequent drills are suggested for varying on the use of pronoun, verb, etc., in each conversation preceding. This clear presentation gives an impression of the union of method and motive undiscoverable in many of the books put forth under the spur of the present crisis, to which are now to be added the following:

War French, prepared by Col. Cornélis de Witt Willcox, Professor of Modern Languages at the U. S. Military Academy, West Point, and published by the Macmillan Co., containing chapters in English on French institutions, civil and military, a brief treatment of French grammar, conversations, chiefly on military matters, and a complete vocabulary.

French for Soldiers (130 pages) by Arthur F. Whittem and Percy W. Long, published by the Harvard University Press. It gives the elements of French grammar, selected passages from the French Military Manual, with an interlinear translation for the aid of beginners, and a number of examples of the picturesque slang of the *poilu.* The collaboration of the officers of the Military Mission and of Captain Baldensperger, now exchange professor at Columbia University, assures the authority and accuracy of this little book. R. A. S.

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EARLY GERMANIC VOCALISM[1]

The phenomena included in Germanic grammar under the general term of 'ablaut' or variation of the root vowel may be divided into two different groups according to whether they are inherited from Indo-European and therefore shared by the cognate I.-Eur. languages or, on the other hand, due to specifically Germanic sound changes and therefore confined to the Germanic branch or perhaps to certain subdivisions of this branch. E. g., in ablaut forms like Goth. *bauþ, budum,* O.H.G. *bōt, butun,* Ags. *bēad, budon,* the difference in vocalism between the singular and the plural forms is essentially the same as in the corresponding Sanskrit forms *bubṓ'dha, bubudhimá.* Similarly the ablaut of Goth. *wait* 'I know,' pl. *witum,* Ags. *wāt, witon,* Mod. Ger. *ich weiss, wir wissen* agrees with the one found in Ssk. *vḗ'da,* pl. *vidmá,* Greek *οἶδα,* pl. *ἴδμεν.* For the explanation of such variations Germanic philology depends chiefly on comparative I.-Eur. grammar. The variation, on the other hand, between *e* and *i* in Mod. Ger. *werden* or *ich werde,* and *er wird,* O.H.G. (inf.) *werdan,* (3. p. sg.) *er wirdit,* Ags. *weorðan, hē wierð,* has no parallel in the cognate languages. Latin, e. g., in the corresponding forms *verto, vertere, vertit,* has throughout the vowel *e.* Similarly the ablaut *o* : *u* in Mod. Ger. *wir wurden,*

[1] This article is based on a paper prepared for the New Haven meeting of the Modern Language Association. I am obliged to my colleague Professor Henry Wood for kindly reading the paper before the Association when I was prevented from being present. (Cp. *Publications of the M. L. A.*, vol. XXXIII, no. 1, Appendix, p. xxiii). For the following publication the notes have been added. The paper—even in its present form—does not purport to be more than a preliminary account of views which I expect to discuss more fully in the near future.

geworden, O.H.G. *wurtun, giwortan,* Ags. *wurdon, worden* is confined to West Germanic. It is the vowel changes of this kind, and more particularly the interchange found in Germanic between the vowels short *e* and short *i,* and the similar interchange occurring between short *o* and short *u,*[2] that we are concerned with here.

Strange to say, the variations falling under this head appear to present even greater difficulties than the ablaut forms inherited from the Indo-European parent speech. This is due to various reasons, among others to the fact that, with regard to the vowels in question, every one of the Old Germanic languages presents—more or less so—a different aspect. Fundamental differences exist above all between Gothic and the other Germanic languages. Among the latter, Old Norse especially presents many peculiar features. Again within the West Germanic group, Old High German often stands isolated. Altogether Gothic and Old High German appear as the two extremes between which the other Germanic languages are interposed.

As regards Gothic, the situation is complicated by the fact that the Gothic alphabet has no individual letters for the vowels short *e* and short *o,* these two vowels in Gothic being written *ai* and *au,* respectively. This peculiar feature of the Gothic alphabet gave rise to the misunderstanding that in words like Goth. *bairan* 'to bear' and *baurans* 'born' the stem vowel was a short diphthong, developed in Gothic through the influence of the following consonant from an earlier *i* and *u,* respectively. In our Gothic grammars, in fact, this explanation of the Gothic "broken vowels" survives to this day, at least with regard to their origin, though it is now generally admitted that their pronunciation was simply that of open *e*- and *o*-sounds.

If we are agreed that *bairan* in Gothic was pronounced *bĕran* and that *baurans* was pronounced *bŏrans,* the identity of the Gothic vowels with those of the other Germanic languages (O. Norse *bera, borenn;* Ags. *beran, boren;* O. Sax. and O.H.G. *beran, gi-boran*)

[2] J. Grimm, in the third edition of his *Deutsche Grammatik* (Berlin, 1840) applied to the variation between *e* and *i* and between *o* and *u* the term "Brechung." This terminology is still lingering in Germanic grammar, altho it is becoming more and more cumbersome. It is, on Grimm's part, intimately bound up with a misconception of the nature of the vowels short *e* and short *o:* so much so that the term becomes meaningless when we attempt to disregard the fundamental mistake.

becomes obvious.[3] As to the quality of the stem vowels in Primitive Germanic, there can be as little doubt here as, e. g., in the case of Goth. *drigkan,* p. p. *drugkans* = Ags. *drincan, druncen;* O. Sax. *drinkan, drunkan;* O.H.G. *trinkan, trunkan.* Nor need we hesitate to identify—with regard to their vocalism—the ablaut forms Goth. *niman,* p. p. *numans* and Ags. *niman, numen;* O Fris. *nima, e-nimen* (the latter a substitute for *e-numen*), O. Sax. *niman, gi-numan.* In spite of O.H.G. *neman, gi-noman* it is clear that also in West Germanic the evidence in this case is largely in favor of the Gothic vocalism.

At the same time, even a superficial glance suffices to reveal in other instances important differences between Gothic and West Germanic. Gothic, e. g., never varies the vowel within the present stem of one and the same verb: e. g., inf. *itan,* 3d. pers. *itiþ;* inf. *bairan,* 3d. pers. *bairiþ;* inf. *biudan,* 3d. pers., *biudiþ.* The corresponding forms in West Germanic are: *etan, itiþ; beran, biriþ; beodan, biudiþ.* Though both groups agree with regard to the inf. *beran* and the 3d. pers. *itiþ* and *biudiþ,* the principle regulating the relation between *e* and *i* in West Germanic obviously differs from that prevailing in Gothic.

Many theories have been advanced in order to explain the rather complicated state of affairs. At first it appeared sufficient to regard *i* and *u* in every case as the more ancient, and *e* and *o* as the more recent vowels. Grimm's theory of the Gothic broken vowels,[4] familiar to every student of Gothic, and Holtzmann's well-known theory of what he calls the *a*-umlaut in West Germanic and Old Norse[5] are built on this presupposition. Until 1863, the year of

[3] Cp. the important articles by L. F. Läffler, "Bidrag till läran om *i*-omljudet," in *Nord. tidskr. for filol. og pædag.,* Ny række, II (Kopenhagen 1875-76), pp. 1 ff., 146 ff., 231 ff. (esp. pp. 166-180, 231-254, and 288-289), and Ernst A. Kock, "Zur Chronologie der got. Brechung," in *Zeitschr. f. d. Philol.* XXXIV (1902), pp. 45-50.

[4] Grimm's theory received its final formulation in the third edition of his grammar (Vol. I, Berlin, 1840). Cp. the chapter on "Vokalismus" in his *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1848), pp. 274-293.

[5] *Über den Umlaut.* Zwei Abhandlungen von Adolf Holtzmann. Karlsruhe, 1843. (Reprint of an article contributed by Holtzmann to the *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* in 1841, together with a rejoinder to J. Grimm's interesting discussion of this article in *Zs. f. dt. Alt.* II, 268-275 (= *Kleine*

Grimm's death, his doctrine of the three fundamental vowels seemed to hold good not only for the Germanic languages but also for the Indo-European vocalism. In the following year, however, Curtius succeeded in proving that the *e*-vowel in words like O.H.G. *beran*, Engl. *to bear* was shared in common by all European languages. There followed several other important discoveries, sweeping aside many time-honored opinions and gradually leading to an entirely new conception of the I.-Eur. vocalism.[6]

Germanic philologists were kept busy in endeavoring to adapt the traditional explanation of the ablaut (in other words, Grimm's and Holtzmann's theories) to the newly-set-up I.-European vocalism.[7] For some time opinions differed as to the manner in which readjustment should be made.[8] Gradually, however, an eclectic system

Schriften, VII, 114-120).—Ad. Holtzmann, *Altdeutsche Grammatik*, Erster Band. Leipzig 1870-75.

[6] Cp. F. Bechtel, *Die Hauptprobleme der indog. Lautlehre seit Schleicher*. Göttingen, 1892.—The first one to oppose the traditional vowel theory was apparently the Danish scholar E. Jessen in the *Tidskr. f. filol. og pæd.* I (1860), p. 216. Müllenhoff, moreover—according to Scherer, *Z. Gesch. d. dt. Spr.* (Berlin, 1868), p. 7—had previously claimed in his lectures that the vowels *i* and *u* in Germanic, when parallel to a Skr. *a*, had passed through the intermediate stage of *e* and *o*. As a matter of fact, however, it was Curtius' article on the cleavage of the *a*- sound in Greek and Latin (repr. in his *Kleine Schriften*, vol. II, Lpz., 1886, pp. 13-49) that led to the abandonment of the old theory.

[7] Ample references are found in E. v. Borries' careful monograph: *Das erste Stadium des i- Umlauts im Germanischen*, Strassburg, 1887, pp. 3-14 (*Einleitung: Die neuen Theorieen über den indog. Vokalismus, speziell soweit sie germanisches e betreffen*). For additional references, see Reinhold Trautmann, *German. Lautgesetze* (Königsberg diss., 1906), pp. 9-16, and W. Braune, *Althochd. Gramm.*[3] (Halle, 1911), p. 47.

[8] Cp. *e. g.*, Amelung's monograph *Die Bildung der Tempusstämme durch Vokalsteigerung im Deutschen* (Berlin, 1871); the same author's posthumous treatise "Der Ursprung der deutschen *a*-Vokale" *ZfdA.* XVIII (1875), 161 ff.; Scherer's review of Hahn-Jeitteles' *Ahd. Gramm.*, *Zs. f. öst. Gymn.* 1873, p. 288 f. = *Kl. Schriften* I, 323 f.; Bezzenberger's study *Über die a- Reihe der got. Sprache* and the same author's remarks in Fick's *Vergl. Wörterbuch* III[3] (Göttingen, 1874), pp. 367-372; and Läffler's "*Bidrag*" quoted above (Note 3). All of these scholars agree, *e. g.*, in ascribing to Prim. Germanic a short *o* in addition to short *u*, altho they do not quite agree with each other as to the extent of the *o* (as compared with *u*).—O. Bremer, "Die germanische 'Brechung'," *Indogermanische Forschungen* XXVI (1909), 148 ff., has justly claimed the short *o* as a Prim.

which may be traced back to the year 1878 [9] gained the support of a majority of philologists. After having been endorsed by scholars like Braune, Brugmann, Kluge,[10] it has by this time found its way into nearly every Germanic grammar [11] and every manual or primer of Comparative philology. In spite of its popularity, however, this system is far from being satisfactory. With regard to ablaut phenomena characteristic of the Germanic languages it is a piece of patchwork made up largely of portions of former systems, yet lacking the symmetry and consistency of Grimm's and Holtzmann's views. Some rather objectionable features of the former systems have been retained, and have been added to by incorporating erroneous views of a more recent date.[12]

Germanic vowel; Bremer, however, went to the other extreme of denying the same privilege to the short *u*, even in cases like Goth. *juk* 'yoke,' where the old *u* is preserved at least in Gothic, or in the preterit plural of the second ablaut class (*Goth. budun, bugun* etc.), where it is found both in Gothic and in West Germanic.

[9] H. Paul, *Das Vokalsystem des Germanischen auf Grundlage der neuesten Forschungen*, a paper read at the 33d meeting of German philologists in Gera, Oct. 1, 1878. Cp. the report in *Zs. f. d. Phil.* x, p. 122-5, and Paul in *PBrB.* vi (1879), 76 ff. and 108 ff.

[10] W. Braune, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik* (Halle, 1886), § 52, Note 1. Brugmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gramm.* i (Strassburg, 1886), §§ 222 f., 284, 299, etc.; F. Kluge, *Vorgeschichte d. altgerm. Dialekte*, in Paul's *Grundriss* i, 1. Heft (Strassburg, 1889), p. 349 ff.

[11] Cp., in addition to the works mentioned, *e. g.*, A. Noreen, *Abriss der urgermanischen Lautlehre* (Strassburg, 1889); W. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik.* i, *Lautlehre.* (Strassburg, 1893; [2] 1911); W. Streitberg, *Urgerm. Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1896); Bethge, Dieter, etc., *Lautlehre der altgerman. Dialekte* (Leipzig, 1898); Richard Loewe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1905; [2] 1911).

[12] The principal objections to the current theory may be specified as follows: (1) the doctrine that the Gothic "broken vowels" are due to a rather recent and exclusively Gothic development from *i* and *u*, has become untenable. See the articles by Läffler and E. Kock, quoted above in note 3; (2) the contention that the vowel developed from the timbre of I.-Eur. syllabic consonants fell together in the Germanic languages from the outset with I.-Eur. *u*, is unwarranted. The parallelism of the groups *er* (= I.-Eur. *er*) : *or* (= I.-Eur. *'r*) and *in* (= I.-Eur. *en*) : *un* (= I. Eur. *'n*) decides in favor of the opinion held by Müllenhoff, Scherer, Bezzenberger, Amelung, Läffler (cp. the quotations in note 8) that the earliest form of this vowel in the Germanic languages was *o*, because in the case of *er* and *in* we are certain that *e* (not *i*) is the earlier vowel. (3) Heinzel's claim (*Niederfränk. Geschäftssprache*, Paderborn, 1874, p. 52 f.) that in West

Many of the shortcomings of existing theories might have been avoided, if the task of reconstructing the Primitive Germanic vowel system, a task which must precede the formulation of any ablaut theories, had been undertaken in a more systematic and methodical manner.[13] A proper method would seem to consist of assigning to Primitive Germanic above all those sounds and forms as to which all Early Germanic languages agree. The vowel *o*, e. g., proves to be Early Germanic in words like Goth. *auhsa* 'ox,' *dauhtar* 'daughter,' *faura* 'before,' *baurans* 'born.' If we here ascribe to Prim. Germanic, as is the custom now, forms like **uhsa, *duhtar, *fura, *burans*, this means presupposing in the case of *auhsa* and *dauhtar* a vowel found in Indo-European, but existing no longer in the Germanic languages; and it means in the case of *faura* and *baurans* presupposing a *u* contrary to the testimony of every Germanic and nearly every Indo-European language.

The reconstruction of Prim. Germanic, i. e., of the period immediately preceding the cleavage into East and West Germanic, will hardly carry us back any further than about the first century or the beginning of our era. Prim. Germanic in this definite sense is separated from the I.-Eur. parent speech by at least two thousand years. To a time somewhere between the beginning and the end of this long period, say about or after 1000 B. C., we must assign another prehistoric phase in the history of the Germanic

Germanic the relation between *e*: *i* is not parallel to that of *o*: *u*, is based on a misconception of the vocalism of the first ablaut series. Heinzel was not aware of the fact that the stem vowel of the past participle in this series is due to the analogy of the preterit plur. (cp. below under IV., "The West Germanic vocalism") and accordingly, from a strictly phonetic point of view, irregular. (4) As we notice in every West Germanic language the tendency to change I.-Eur. *i* in stem syllables to *e* before an *a* of derivative or inflectional syllables, there is no sufficient reason for denying the priority of the vowel *i* in cases like W. Germ. *etan* 'to eat' = Goth. *itan*, in spite of the fact that the W. Germ. *e* here coincides with I.-Eur. *e*. With regard to such instances, the earlier theories of Grimm and Holtzmann and the present author's attempt (in *JEGPh.* VI (1907), pp. 279-304) to reconcile their theories with our present conception of the I.-Eur. vocalism, may claim to be preferable to the current theory.

[13] The tendency on the whole has been to adapt the Germanic vocalism to certain preconceived theories—gained perhaps from the study of Sanskrit or of comparative I.-Eur. grammar—rather than to adapt our grammatical theories to the conditions actually found in the Old Germanic languages.

languages. We will name it Protogermanic, applying this name both to the results of Pregermanic sound changes (i. e., changes from Indo-European which Germanic shares with other I.-Eur. languages) and to certain specifically Germanic changes which appear to have taken place at a very early date.

I shall now attempt to trace the development of the Germanic vocalism, as far as the vowels *e* and *o* and *i* and *u* are concerned, from Indo-European through the intermediate phases of Protogermanic and Primitive Germanic down to the beginning of historical tradition.

I. The Indo-European Parent Speech

The Indo-European parent speech possessed the five vowels *a e i o u* (or, in a more systematic arrangement, *i e a o u*); in addition to these, however, at least one more vowel. I am referring to the I.-Eur. 'reduced' or 'neutral' vowel or 'sheva,' if we adopt the technical term familiar to students of Hebrew grammar. Such a vowel must have existed in I.-Eur. words like **gᵛ'rú-* 'heavy' (= Ssk. *gurú-*, Gr. *βαρύ-ς* Lat. *gravi-s*, Goth. *kauru-s*); **p'r-ós* and **p'r-ā* 'before' (= Ssk. *pur-ás* and *pur-ā'*; Gr. *πάρ-οϛ*, Goth. *faura*); I.-Eur. **ghž'mō* or *ghj'mō* 'man' (= Lat. *homo*, Goth. *guma*). As may be seen from these examples, the sheva-vowel is found before a liquid or nasal, and its pronunciation must have been similar to that of syllabic liquids or syllabic nasals in words like **vl'qo-s* 'wolf' (= Ssk. *vṛ́ka-s*, Goth. *wulf-s*), **grn̥o-m* 'grain' (= Lat. *grānum*, Goth. *kaurn*); **cntó-m* 'hundred' (= Ssk. *çatá-m*, Gr. *ἑ-κατό-ν*, Lat. *centu-m*, Goth. *hund*). There is in any case, no difference to be detected between the two in the Germanic languages.

II. The Protogermanic Phase

We may at once proceed to the second well-marked period in the development of the Germanic languages, which we have called Protogermanic. It is distinguished from Indo-European especially by two important vowel changes. I.-Eur. *o* has fallen together, as in most of the cognate languages, with I.-Eur. *a*. Both these vowels appear in Germanic as *a*. The *a*, e. g., found in the preter. sg. of the third, fourth, and fifth ablaut series is descended from I.-Eur. *o* and is not originally identical with the *a* found in the present of the sixth ablaut series.

The Germanic vowel system, however, cannot have lacked the vowel *o* very long, if indeed this vowel has ever been totally lacking, because at an early date, and probably while the old *o* was approaching the *a*, a new *o* developed from I.-Eur. sheva and from I.-Eur. syllabic consonants. This vowel is in Gothic preserved in its Protogermanic form in words like *faura, baurans, haurn, kaurn, kaurus.* The *o* vowel, however, was at this period not confined to the position before *r*, but was also found before a following nasal in words like **honda-m* 'hundred,' Goth. *hund*, **bonda-na-s* 'bound,' Goth. *bundans*, **noma-na-s* 'taken,' Goth. *numans*, etc.

It is much to be regretted that Protogermanic has left no literary monuments behind, and that we cannot expect to regain more of it by reconstruction than the barest outlines. The Germanic languages at this stage of their development must have presented an appearance similar in many respects to Greek and Latin. While many of the features of the Indo-European vocalism were faithfully preserved, the language was in other respects distinctly Germanic. Some of the innovations may be regarded as improvements; e. g., the many instances of sheva and of syllabic consonants in root syllables can hardly be reckoned among the attractive features of the I.-Eur. parent speech.

III. The Primitive Germanic Vocalism

In the course of many centuries the Germanic languages reached a novel and again a very characteristic stage, which is known by the name of Primitive Germanic. Like the preceding and the later stages, it possesses, in addition to the short *a*, the four short vowels *e i o u*. Yet these four vowels have meanwhile undergone some important changes. The mid vowels *e* and *o* developed a tendency to pass into the high vowels *i* and *u*. They succumbed to this tendency everywhere except when followed by one of the two consonants *r* or *h*, (or, more exactly, one of the three consonants *r h ƕ*, because the latter counts in Germanic as a separate consonant, not quite identical with *hw*). We therefore find *e* and *o* preserved in words like *beran* 'to bear,' p. p. *borans* (Goth. *bairan*, p. p. *baurans*), *werþan* 'to become,' p. p. *worþans* (Goth. *wairþan*, *waurþans*), *fehu* 'cattle, money' (Goth. *faihu*), *sehwan* 'to see' (Goth. *saihwan*). Before other consonants, however, *e* and *o* have been changed to *i* and *u*; e. g., *bindan* 'to bind' instead of Proto-

germ. **bendan*; *niman* 'to take' instead of **neman*; *itan* 'to eat' instead of **etan*; *bundum* 'we bound' instead of **bondom*; *hund* 'hundred' instead of **hond*.

While by this innovation, the earlier distinction between the mid vowels *e* and *o* and the high vowels *i* and *u* had been seriously affected, the old dividing line between the two sets was entirely removed by an additional sound change. The same consonants *r* and *h* which prevented the old *e* and *o* from turning into *i* and *u*, gained the power also to change the old *i* and *u* to *e* and *o*. E. g., the I.-Eur. word for 'man,' **vīró-s* (Ssk. *vīrá-s*, O. Ir. *fer*, Lat. *vir*) became *wer* (= Goth. *wair*, W. Germanic *wer* 'man' and *wer-ald* 'world'); the Protogerm. noun **mihs-tu-s* (related to the Lat. verb *mingere*) became *mehstu-s* (= Goth. *maihstu-s*, M. Low Ger. *mes*); I.-Eur. **dhur-* 'door' (Ssk. *dur-*, Gr. *θύρα*) changed to *dor* (Goth. *daur*, W. Germanic *dor*); I.-Eur. **ucsō'* 'ox' (Ssk. *ukṣā'*) to *ohsa* (Goth. *auhsa*, W. Germanic *ohso*); I.-Eur. **dhugh'ter-* 'daughter' (Ssk. *duhitár-*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*) to *dohter* (Goth. *dauhtar*, W. Germanic *dohter*).

Owing to this their double function the consonants *r* and *h* have succeeded in getting almost complete control of the Prim. Germanic vocalism, as far as the distinction between *e* and *i* and *o* and *u* is concerned. The I.-European sounds from which the various vowels were developed, can only be traced now with the aid of the cognate I.-Eur. languages or by means of the Germanic ablaut series. A word, e. g., like the verbal abstract *wist-s* for **wis-ti-s*, belonging to root *wes-* 'to be,' now shows the same vowel as *list-s* 'craft' or 'craftiness,' verbal abstract of the root *lis-*, or *nist* 'nest' = I.-Eur. **ni-sdo-s*.

We easily recognize that the new vocalism is virtually identical with the system found in Gothic. That Gothic has actually preserved the Prim. Germanic vocalism will become evident when we consider the next step in the development of the Germanic vowels as represented by the vocalism of the West Germanic languages.

IV. The West Germanic Vocalism [14]

In the Early West Germanic languages the dividing line between the mid vowels *e* and *o* and the high vowels *i* and *u* again appears

[14] For West Germanic we may generally substitute West Germanic and O. Norse, because the latter shares most of the W. Germanic innova-

thoroughly altered. A new element is in control of the various vowels, so much so that the former influence of the consonants *r* and *h* has been set aside and its traces appear almost obliterated. This new element is the vowel of derivative or inflectional endings, which in most instances means the vowel of the syllable immediately following upon the root syllable. The quality of the root vowel now becomes dependent upon the vowel of the ending in that a mid vowel of the ending requires a mid vowel also in the root syllable, while a high vowel in the ending requires a high vowel in the root syllable. The ending generally contains one of the three vowels *a i u*. The function of the vowel *i* is shared by the consonant *j*.

The influence exercised by the vowel *a* consists of preserving an *e* or *o* of the root syllable and of lowering an *i* or *u* to the grade of *e* and *o*. E. g., W. Germanic *beran* 'to bear' (= Goth. *bairan*), *selvan* 'to see' (= Goth. *saihvan*). But, on the other hand, *etan* 'to eat' as against Goth. *itan;* O.H.G. *lebēn* instead of Gothic *liban* (with I.-Eur. *i*); O.H.G. *sedal,* Ags. *sepel, sedl* (and *setl*), 'a settle, dwelling place' for Prim. Germanic **siþla-* (with I.-Eur. *i*. cf. Lat. *si-tu-s,* Ssk. *ksi-* 'to dwell,' Gr. *κτίζω*; these words have nothing to do with Lat. *sedere,* Goth. *sitan*)[15]; O. Sax. *beda,* O.H.G.

tions. To a certain extent, however, O. Norse occupies a position intermediate between Gothic and W. Germanic. *E. g.,* as was pointed out by Läffler (in the treatise quoted above, note 3), before *h* the old short *e* and short *o* (= Gothic *ai* and *au*) were apparently preserved. Matters are further complicated by many secondary changes peculiar to O. Norse, *e. g., drekka* = Goth. *drigkan*, W. Germanic *drinkan*, or *søkkva* (for * *senkva*) = Goth. *sigqan*, W. Germanic *sinkvan.* I must be satisfied here with referring to Noreen's *Altisländ. u. Altnorweg. Grammatik* (³ Halle, 1903) and *Altschwed. Grammatik* (Halle, 1904) and A. Kock's *Svensk ljudhistoria* (2 vols., Lund, 1906-11); and more particularly to Läffler's article "Bidrag till läran om *i*- omljudet" (see above, note 3), to A. Kock's article "Der *a*- Umlaut . . . in den altnord. Sprachen," *PBB.* XXIII (1898), 484-554 and to the same author's monograph *Umlaut u. Brechung im Altschwedischen*, Lund (and Leipzig), 1911-16 = *Lunds Univers. Årsskr.* N. F., Avd. 1, Bd. 12, Nr. 1. Cp. also my review of the latter in *MLN.* XXXIII (1917), 40-44.

[15] As regards the root (though not the grade of the root vowel) and the suffix, the Germanic noun * *si-þla-* is identical with the old I.-Eur. word **čšoi-tlo-m* (or **čšai-tlo-m*) 'settlement, colony' = Ved. *kṣé-tra-m*, Av. *šōiθrə-m*, Lat. *sae-culu-m.* Cp. my discussion of these words in the *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circular*, no. 296 (June, 1917), pp. 900-02.

beta 'request' (I.-Eur. *i*, cf. Goth. *bidjan*, Gr. *πείθω, πιστό-ς*).— W. Germanic p. ptc. *boran* 'born' = Goth. *bauran*; O.H.G. *ohso* 'ox' = Goth. *auhsa*; O.H.G. *gi-botan*, Ags. *boden* (past ptc. of *biudan* 'to command, bid') = Goth. *budan*.

The influence exercised on the root syllable by the vowels *i* and *u* and the consonant *j* is exactly the reverse of that of the vowel *a*. By these sounds an *i* or *u* of the root syllable is kept intact, while an *e* or *o* is raised to the grade of *i* or *u*. E. g., W. Germanic *itiþ*, 'he eats' = Goth. *itiþ*; *nimiþ* 'he takes' (O.H.G. *nimit*) = Goth. *nimiþ*; *sibun* 'seven' = Goth. *sibun*; *kuni* 'race, kin,' = Goth. *kuni*; *sunu* 'son' = Goth. *sunu-s*. But with alteration of the root vowel *biriþ* 'he bears' (O.H.G. *birit*) for Goth. *bairiþ*; **sihwþ* 'he sees' (O.H.G. *sihit*) for Goth. *saihwiþ*; O.H.G. *fihu* 'cattle' for Goth. *faihu* (cf. Lat. *pecu*); *furi* 'before' (Mod. Ger. *für*) alongside of *fora* (Mod. Ger. *vor*) = Goth. *faura*; *duri* 'door' (Mod. Ger. *Tür*) alongside of *dor* (Mod. Ger. *Tor*) = Goth. *daur*; prt. pl. *wurdun* 'they became' (O.H.G. *wurtun*, Ags. *wurdun*, later *wurdon*) = Goth. *waurþun*, alongside of the past ptc. O.H.G. *gi-wortan*, Ags. *worden* = Goth. *waurþan*.

The West Germanic rule of vocalic balance, however, is set aside when the root vowel is followed by nasal *plus* consonant. In such cases the Prim. Germanic (or, in other words, the Gothic) forms are retained: *e. g.*, O.H.G. *bintan*, past ptc. *gibuntan* = Goth. *bindan, bundans*. In Anglo-Saxon, Old Frisian, and Old Saxon even a single nasal—or at least the labial nasal—tends to preserve a Prim. Germanic root vowel; *e. g.*, Ags. and O. Sax. *niman*, past ptc. Ags. *numen*, O. Sax. *numan*, as against O.H.G. *neman, ginoman*; O. Sax. *gumo*, Ags. *guma*, against O.H.G. *gomo*.

Other apparent exceptions are due to analogy. Here belongs above all the past ptc. of the first ablaut class: W. Germanic *bitan* 'biten,' **rizan* 'risen' etc. Forms like these have often been urged as an alleged instance against Holtzmann's rule. But the *i* here is obviously due to the influence of the pret. pl., *e. g.*, *bitun, *rizun* (*rirun*).[16] The irregularity is one of the frequent instances of levelling of the ablaut like Mod. Engl. *speak, spoke, spoken* instead of *speak, spake, spoken* or Mod. Ger. *heisse, hiess, gehiessen*

[16] See, *e. g.*, Bethge in Dieter's *Laut- u. Formenlehre der altgerm. Dialekte* I (Leipzig, 1898) p. 12 and Dieter ib. p. 67. Cp. also my suggestions in *JEGPh.* VI (1907), p. 297 ff.

instead of *heisse, hiess, geheissen.*[17] The regular phonetic forms are seen in nouns like O.H.G. *stega,* Mod. Ger. *Steg* as compared with the past ptc. *gestiegen,* or W. Germanic **thegn* 'a mature young man' (O.H.G. *degan,* Engl. *thane*) as compared with the past ptc. **thigan* of the verb *thīhan* 'to prosper.'[18]

Vocalic balance is of course possible only in dissyllabic or polysyllabic words. The vocalism of monosyllables is not affected by it and accordingly agrees with the Gothic vocalism; *e. g.,* O. Sax. ipv. *seh* 'see' (= Goth. *saih*), W. Germanic *wer* 'man' (Goth. *wair*), *noh* 'yet' (O.H.G. and Mod. Ger. *noch* = Goth. *nauh*); and on the other hand, O.H.G. *bim, bis(t), ist* = Goth. *im, is, ist*; W. Germanic *in* = Goth. *in,* etc. Exceptions in this case too are due to analogy. Such exceptions occur especially in case of words in which monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms are found combined in Gothic in one and the same paradigm. *E. g.,* Goth. *wulfs,* pl. *wulfos,* cf. O. Sax. *wulf,* pl. *wulbos,* O.H.G. *wolf,* pl. *wolfa.* The phonetically correct forms would be nom. sing. *wulf,* plur. *wolfos.* In several cases the old duplicates are found in O. Norse, especially in the Elder Edda, alongside of each other, *e. g.,* nom. sg. *fugl.* pl. *foglar.* If additional proof were necessary, the monosyllables thus would prove that the West Germanic vowels have not developed from Indo-European independently of Gothic, but have passed through the identical stage in which the Gothic vocalism is still found at Ulfila's time.

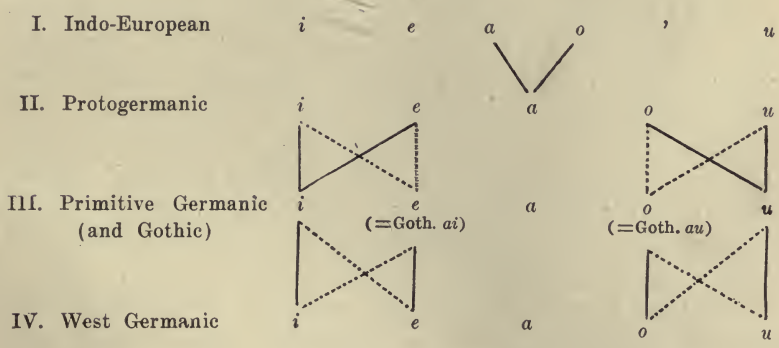
Finally I would call attention to a noteworthy exception, noteworthy for the reason that it serves to illustrate the principle underlying the main rule. The two numerals for 'seven' and 'ten' were in Indo-European *sept'm̥* and *déc'm̥,* with different accent, but with identical vowels both in the stem syllable and in

[17] A close parallel to the development of the first ablaut class in West Germanic is found in Old Swedish, where past participles like *buþin, frusin* (2d abl. class) and *burghin, hulpin* (3d abl. class), formed in analogy with the preterit plurals *buþu, frusu, burghu, hulpu,* gradually replace the earlier forms *boþin, frosin, borghin, holpin* etc. See the instructive discussion of these participles by Axel Kock, *PBB.* XXIII (1898), 503-506, and compare further: A. Noreen, *Altschwed. Gramm.* § 529, 3; A. Kock, *Svensk ljudhist.* II, p. 88 ff. and *Umlaut und Brechung im Altschwed.,* p. 34 f.

[18] The usual etymology of the noun **þegn,* connecting it with Greek τέκνο-ν. must be abandoned. Cp. the *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circular, l. c.* (June, 1917), p. 887.

the ending. They remain identical as regards their vocalism, in languages like Sanskrit (*saptá, dáça*), Greek (*ἑπτά, δέκα*), Latin (*septem, decem*). Their difference in Gothic (*sibun, taihun*) is in accordance with our theory. The similar difference, however, in the West Germanic languages (O.H.G. *sibun, zehan;* O. Sax. *sibun, tehan;* O. E. Fris. *sigun, sogon: tian;* O. W. Fris. *soven, saven: tien;* W. Sax. *siofan, seofon,* cf. Corp. *sibun,* Ep. *sifun: tien, týn;* Northumbr. *siofu, siofo: tén, téo, téa*) is not so easily understood, because we might expect to find *sibun* and **tihun.* In Frisian and Anglosaxon, to be sure, the loss in the numeral for 'ten' of the *h* may be held accountable for the irregular vocalism of this numeral. Not so in Old Saxon and Old High German, where the *h* is preserved. We notice that the stem vowels in O.H.G. and O. Saxon agree with those found in Gothic, while the ending remains the same only in the case of *sibun.* The inference seems unavoidable that, while in West Germanic the disparity in vocalism between stem and ending was generally avoided by altering the stem vowel, in the numeral for 'ten' the incongruity of the sequence *e—u* (Goth. *taihun*) was removed by changing the vowel of the ending.

The following scheme may serve as a brief outline of the theory set forth in this article:


I. Indo-European
i e a o ' u
II. Protogermanic
i e a o u
III. Primitive Germanic (and Gothic)
i e (=Goth. ai) a o u (=Goth. au)
IV. West Germanic
i e a o u

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NOTES ON LYLY'S *EUPHUES*

The following notes are made with reference to the new edition of the *Euphues* by Messrs. Croll and Clemons (London, George Routledge & Sons, 1916). For the convenience of the reader, references are given also to the pages of Professor Bond's edition (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1902).

P. 6 (B. I, 181). "Desire . . . to eat finer bread than is made of wheat." Cp. P. Faustus Andrelinus, *Ecl.* II, 18, (c. 1491): "Triticeoque petit meliorem pane farinam."

P. 19 (B. I, 191). "If you pound spices, they smell the sweeter." Cp. Erasmus, *Similia*, I, 622 B: "Ut aromata tum vehementius fragrant cum moventur ac teruntur frangunturve."

P. 24 (B. I, 194). "They that use to steal honey burn hemlock to smoke the bees from their hives." A practice mentioned by Plutarch, *Quaest. Nat.* XXXV.

P. 28 (B. I, 197). "Insomuch that I cannot tell whether the immortal gods have bestowed any gift upon mortal men either more noble or more necessary than friendship." Cicero, *Am.* VI, 20: "qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nil umquam melius homini sit a dis immortalibus datum."

P. 28 (B. I, 197). "Can any treasure in this transitory pilgrimage be of more value than a friend?" Cicero, *Am.* XXVII, 102: "Sed quoniam res humanae fragiles caducaeque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt, quos diligamus et a quibus diligamur."

P. 29 (B. I, 197). "Such friends with whom they may seem, being absent, to be present, . . . being dead, to be alive." Cicero, *Am.* VII, 23: "Quocirca et absentes adsunt et . . . mortui vivunt."

P. 36 (B. I, 202). "A sweet panther." Add the statement of Philostratus that "panthers delight in spices" (*Apollon.* II, 2).

P. 40 (B. I, 205). "The eagle's wing will waste the feather as well of the phœnix as of the pheasant." Add a reference to Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, V, 7, 1.

P. 43 (B. I, 208). "The bee is oftentimes hurt with her own honey." Pliny, *N. H.* XI, 19, 67: "nocent et sua mella ipsis inlitaeque ab aversa parte moriuntur."

P. 44 (B. I, 208). "Have ye dealt more favourably with brute

beasts than with reasonable creatures? The filthy sow when she is sick eateth the sea-crab and is immediately recured; the tortoise having tasted the viper sucketh *Origanum* and is quickly revived; the bear ready to pine licketh up the ants and is recovered; the dog having surfeited to procure his vomit eateth grass and findeth remedy." Add a reference to Plutarch, *Quaest. Nat.* XXVI.

P. 46 (B. I, 210). "The fire kept close burneth most furious." Cp. *Two Gentlemen of Verona,* I, 2, 30: "Fire that's closest kept burns most of all"; Baptista Mantuanus, *Ecl.* VII, 81: "occultus longe magis aestuat ignis"; Ovid, *Met.* IV, 64: "quoque magis tegitur, tectus magis aestuat ignis."

P. 47 (B, I, 210). "That river in Caria which turneth those that drink of it to stones." Possibly Lyly was thinking of the region in Cissia, where "the inhabitants are very short-lived, because the bituminous drinking-water coats almost the whole intestine with a deposit" (Philostratus, *Apoll.* I, 24). Cp. also Ovid, *M.* XV, 313: "Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum saxea reddit Viscera."

P. 49 (B. I, 212). "He which toucheth the nettle tenderly is soonest stung." Werner has a medieval Latin proverb, "Omnibus urtica palpantibus est inimica." Add Erasmus, *Similia,* I, 606: "Quemadmodum urtica, si contanter attingas ac timide, adurit."

P. 49 (B. I, 212). "The fly which playeth with the fire is singed in the flame." Cp. Erasmus, *Similia,* I, 616 E: "Uti pyralis ultro advolans lucernis, adustis alis collabitur ac perit."

P. 49 (B. I, 212). "The vine watered with wine is soon withered." Plutarch discusses this, *Quaest. Nat.* XXXI.

P. 53. ((B. I, 215). "The painted sheath with the leaden dagger." Add Mario Equicola, *Di Natura d'Amore,* lib. V: "Parlando poco honestamente un bel giovane, disse à lui Diogene: Tu cavi una spada di piombo della guaina d'avorio."

P. 58 (B. I, 219). "Though the stone *Cylindrus* at every thunderclap roll from the hill." See Ps.-Plutarch, *De Fluviis,* XIX.

P. 62 (B. I, 222). "Thou hast the stone *Continens* about thee, which is named of the contrary," etc. Perhaps this is an adaptation of the stone *Sophron* ("which is named of the contrary"). Ps.-Plutarch, *De Fluviis,* IX, 3.

P. 63 (B. I, 222). "The herb Araxa, most noisome to virginity." See Ps.-Plutarch, *De Fluviis,* XXIII, for the herb Araxa (a name which in the local dialect means *misoparthenos*).

P. 77 (B. I, 235). "As thou hast reaped where another hath sown . . . thou mayest be measured unto with the like measure that thou hast meten unto others." For the Scriptural language, cp. *Luke,* XVII, 21, *Matthew,* VII, 2.

P. 81 (B. I, 238). "I have heard that women either love entirely or hate deadly." Baptista Mantuanus, *Ecl.* IV, 117: "vel te ardenter amat vel te capitaliter odit."

P. 81 (B. I, 238). "In misery, Euphues, it is a great comfort to have a companion." Cp. the verse quoted in Marlowe's *Faustus,* II, 1: "Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris." The same verse is quoted in Robert Greene's *Menaphon* (Grosart's ed., p. 45).

P. 82 (B. I, 239). "Venus was content to take the blacksmith with his polt-foot." Ovid, *Am.* II, 17, 19-20: "Volcano Venerem, quamvis incude relicta Turpiter obliquo claudicet ille pede."

P. 87 (B. I, 244). "Would thou wert less fair or more fortunate, either of less honour or of greater honesty." Ovid, *Am.* I, 8, 27: "Tam felix esses quam formosissima vellem"; *Am.* III, 11, 41: "Aut formosa fores minus, aut minus improba, vellem."

P. 97 (B. I, 250). "That Hiena when she speaketh like a man deviseth most mischief, that women when they be most pleasant pretend most treachery." Cp. Baptista Mantuanus, *Ecl.* IV, 196: "Est in eis pietas crocodili, astutia hyaenae; Cum flet et appellat te blandius, insidiatur." Cp., also, Lyly, p. 60: "The crocodile shroudeth greatest treason under most pitiful tears."

P. 99 (B. I, 251). "Is it not true which Seneca reporteth, that as too much bending breaketh the bow so too much remission spoileth the mind?" The new Thesaurus quotes Ps.-Seneca, *Monita,* 187: "Arcum intentio frangit, animum remissio."

P. 99 (B. I, 251). "The old verse, 'That Galen giveth goods, Justinian honours.'" One version of the 'old verse' is quoted in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy,* I, 2, 3, 15:

> Dat Galenus opes, dat Iustinianus honores,
> Sed genus et species cogitur ire pedes.

Burton quotes it from "Buchanan. eleg. lib.," but his reference seems to be wrong. Cp., also, *Les Matinées du Seigneur de Cholières,* II, (1585): "Je m' en rapporte au proverbe qui trotte en la bouche d'un chacun, que

> Les escus à monceaux trichent chez Galien,
> Au lieu que les honneurs suivent Justinien."

One of the *Epistulae Obscurorum Virorum,* II, 15 (c. 1517) has: "quia scientia Iuris est de pane lucrando: unde versus

> Dat Galienus opes et sanctio Iustiniani:
> Ex aliis paleas, ex istis collige grana."

On this passage a recent editor, Mr. F. G. Stokes, quotes Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Op. Omn.,* Basel, 1551, p. 619: "Only Justinian and Hippocrates fill the purse" ("Solus Iustinianus et Hippocrates marsupium implent," *Ep.* CXI).

P. 102 (B. I, 253). "The nature of women, which is grounded only upon extremities, . . . insomuch as they have neither mean in their frumps, nor measure in their folly." Cp. Baptista Mantuanus, *Ecl.* IV, 110: "Femineum servile genus . . . extremis gaudet . . . vel lenta iacet vel concita currit . . . temperiem numquam, numquam mediocria curat."

P. 108 (B. I, 257). "That for the light behaviour of a few I should call in question the demeanour of all. I know that as there hath been an unchaste Helen in Greece, so there hath been also a chaste Penelope." Ovid, *A. A.* III, 9-16: "parcite paucarum diffundere crimen in omnes . . . Si minor Atrides Helenen . est pia Penelope," etc.

P. 108 (B. I, 258). "A great distinction to be put between vitrum and the crystal, yet both glass." Cp. Erasmus, *Similia,* I, 597 F: "vitrum mire crystallum imitatur, res vilissima rem longe preciosissimam."

P. 109 (B. I, 258). "Though the tears of the hart be salt, yet the tears of the boar be sweet." Cp. Mario Equicola, *Di Natura d'Amore,* lib. IV: "Plutarcho scrive le lagrime del cignale esser dolci, e quelle del cervo amare" (Venice ed., 1626, p. 214). See Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* VII, 2, 2, and *Quaest. Nat.* XX.

P. 115 (B. I, 263). "The little drops of rain pierce the hard marble, iron with often handling is worn to nothing." Cp. Erasmus, *Similia,* I, 573 A: "Ut stilla cavat assiduitate saxum, ut ferrum contrectatione atteritur."

P. 145 (B. I, 289). "As it was feigned of nectar, the drink of the gods, the which the more it was drunk the more it would overflow the brim of the cup." Cp. the description of the loving cup of Tantalus (who "communicated nectar to mankind"), Philostratus, *Apollon.* III, 32: "the bowl, which in due course supplied

each guest in turn with sufficient drink; for the liquor abounded in perpetual increase like a natural wellspring" (Phillimore's transl.).

P. 165 (B. I, 307). "Milo, that great wrestler, began to weep when he saw his arms brawnfallen and weak, saying, 'Strength, strength is but vanity.'" Cp. Cicero, *De Sen.* IX, 27: "Qui cum iam senex esset athletasque se exercentis in curriculo videret, aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur illacrimansque dixisse, 'at hi quidem mortui iam sunt.'"

P. 166 (B. I, 308). "The whole course of life is but a meditation of death." Cp. Cicero, *T. D.* I, 30, 74: "Tota enim philosophorum vita, ut ait idem, commentatio mortis est."

P. 167 (B. I, 309). "It is said that thunder bruiseth the tree but breaketh not the bark, and pierceth the blade and never hurteth the scabbard." Cp. Seneca, *N. Q.*, II, 52, and II, 31.

P. 180 (B. I, 320). "They say to abstain from pleasure is the chiefest piety." Cp. Ovid, *Her.* XVII, 98, "est virtus placitis abstinuisse bonis."

P. 182 (B. I, 322). "He runneth far that never returneth." Cp. Heywood, *Proverbs* (p. 74): "He runneth far that never turneth again."

P. 197 (B. II, 7). "Which maketh me to present your Lordship . . . with half a face, as the painter did him that had but one eye." Cp. Guazzo, *Civil Conversatione*, lib. III: "imitando quel pittore, il quale havendo a ritrarre un signore losco, non lo volle dipingere con la faccia intiera, ma lo appresenta in profilo, nascondendo la parte manchevole dell' occhio" (Venice ed., 1590, p. 176a).

P. 200 (B. II, 9). "One hand washeth another, but they both wash the face." Guazzo, *Civ. Conv.*, lib. III (p. 239a): "come si dice volgarmente, ch' una mano lava l'altra, ed amendue il viso."

P. 203 (B. II, 11). "Wherein they resemble angry dogs, which bite the stone, not him that throweth it." Add a reference to Plutarch, *Quaest. Nat.* XXXVII. Professor K. F. Smith gives me a passage from the *Armorum Iudicium* of Pacuvius, fr. 14 R:

> Nam canis, quando est percussa lapide, non tam illum adpetit,
> Qui sese icit, quam illum eumpse lapidem, qui ipsa icta est, petit.

P. 249 (B. II, 50). "As they that angle for the tortoise, having once caught him, are driven into such a litherness that they lose all their spirits, being benumbed." Perhaps Lyly was thinking

of the 'torpedo'; Pliny, *N. H.* XXXII, 1; Plutarch, *De Solert. Animal.* XXVII.

P. 253 (B. II, 53). "I sold the skin before the beast was taken." Add a reference to the bear story in the Memoirs of Philippe de Comines, IV, 3: "Il me disoit que jamais je ne marchandasse de la peau de l'ours, jusques à ce que la beste fust morte." Cp., also, the fable in the *Hecatomythium* of Laurentius Abstemius, I. 49 (printed at Venice in 1499 and reprinted very recently by Dr. Arcadius Avellanus, of New York, *Fabulae Tusculanae,* vol. I, pp. 66-67): "Heus, inquit, venator, quid tibi ursus in aures susurravit? Cui venator, Monuit me, inquit, ne deinceps ursi pellem, nisi eum prius cepissem, vendere vellem."

P. 258 (B. II, 57). "In love Ulysses more prevailed with his wit." Ovid, *A. A.* II, 123: "Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulixes, Et tamen aequoreas torsit amore deas."

P. 271 (B. II, 68). "He that will sell lawn must learn to fold it." Heywood, *Proverbs,* I, 8: "He that will sell lawn before he can fold it, He shall repent him before he have sold it.

P. 277 (B. II, 73). "Nor Hippocrates busy himself with Ovid's art, and yet they both described Venus." Cp., perhaps, the dedication of Robert Greene's *Orpharion*: "Ennius (Right Worshipful) had a Maecenas, though his verses were rude, and Hippocrates durst present his pictures, though they were rough" (Grossart's ed., XII, 5).

P. 282 (B. II, 77). "Hippocrates' twins, who were born together, laughed together, wept together, and died together." Cp. Milton, *Eikonoklastes,* XXI: "were they all born twins of Hippocrates with him and his fortune, one birth, one burial?"

P. 284 (B. II, 79). "As it would have moved the soldiers of Ulysses to sorrow." Virgil, *Æn.* II, 6-8: "Quis talia fando . . . duri miles Ulixi Temperet a lacrimis?"

P. 303 (B. II, 93). "Wit . . . constant in nothing but inconstancy." Cp. Ovid, *Tr.* V. 8, 18 (of Fortune): "et tantum constans in levitate sua est."

P. 308 (B. II, 97). "Wherein thou dost imitate Sciron and Procrustes." Possibly Lyly's error (about Sciron) is due to Ovid, *Her.* II, 19: "cum fuerit Sciron lectus torvusque Procrustes."

P. 310 (B. II, 98). "Turning . . . thy tail to the wind with the hedgehog." Perhaps suggested by Plutarch, *De Solert. Animal.*

XVI: "Their holes have two openings . . . So that when they perceive the alteration of the air . . . they stop up that which lies to the wind and open the other."

P. 318 (B. II, 105). "Speak what they should not . . . hear what they would not." Werner has a medieval Latin proverb: "Qui loquitur quod vult, quod non vult audiet ille." Cp. Alcaeus, *Frag.* 47 (Crusius).

P. 324 (B. II, 110). "Her hair black yet comely, and such had Leda." Ovid, *Am.* II, 4, 42: "Leda fuit nigra conspicienda coma."

P. 327 (B. II, 112). "Hannibal . . . submitted himself in Apulia to the love of a woman." Cp. Mario Equicola, *Di Natura d'Amore,* lib. I (p. 13): "Annibale (d'Amor preso) d'una giovane in Puglia" (cited from Petrarch, *Trionfo d'Amore,* cap. iii). The passage in Petrarch is: "L'altr' è il figliuol d'Amilcar'; e nol piega
In cotant' anni Italia tutta, e Roma; Vil feminella in Puglia il prende, e lega."

P. 331 (B. II, 115). "In the head of a young colt a bunch named Hippomanes." Add Ovid, *A. A.* II, 100: "quod a teneri fronte revellit equi"; Virg. *Æn.* IV, 515.

P. 333 (B. II, 117). "If incantations . . . could have prevailed, Circes would never have lost Ulysses . . . Medea would not have suffered Jason to alter his mind." Ovid, *A. A.* II, 103: "Phasias Æsoniden; Circe tenuisset Ulixem, Si modo servari carmine posset amor."

P. 335 (B. II, 118). "Cato was of that mind that three enchanted words could heal the eyesight, and Varro that a verse of Sibylla could ease the gout." Perhaps this refers to the charm against foot-ache quoted by Varro, *R. R.* I, 2, 27: "Terra pestem teneto, salus hic maneto." Cato gives some enchanted words that were good for a dislocation, *Agr.* 160: "Huat hauat huat, ista pista sista," etc.

P. 336 (B. II, 119). "Lions fawn when they are clawed, tigers stoop when they are tickled." Ovid, *A. A.* II, 183: "obsequium tigrisque domat Numidasque leones."

P. 337 (B. II, 120). "For I love to stand aloof from Jove and lightning." Cp. Guazzo, *Civ. Conv.* lib. II, (p. 130b): "Io veggo, che secondo il proverbio, volete star lontano da Giove e dal folgore."

P. 340 (B. II, 122). "She that readeth such toys will also answer them." Ovid, *A. A.* I, 481: "quae voluit legisse, volet rescribere lectis."

P. 341 (B. II, 124). "They that are stung with the scorpion are healed with the scorpion." Cp. Erasmus, *Similia,* I, 621 D: "sicut scorpius si post ictum admoveatur vulneri, venenum ad se attrahit."

P. 346 (B. II, 128). For the figure of the 'unripe grape' cp. Horace, *Od.* II, 5, 10: "tolle cupidinem Immitis uvae."

P. 350 (B. II, 131). "Tie themselves to the mast of the ship (with Ulysses)." Homer, *Od.* XII, 178.

P. 350 (B. II, 131). "Throwing a stone at the head of him unto whom they immediately cast out an apple." Cp. Virg. *Ecl.* III, 64: "Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella."

P. 360 (B. II, 139). "To wring water out of the pumice." Cp. Plautus, *Pers.* 41: "tu aquam a pumice nunc postulas."

P. 391 (B. II, 168). "In one eye to have two apples, which is commonly applied to those that witch with the eyes." Cp. Ovid, *Am.* I, 8, 15: "pupula duplex." For the whole matter, see an article by K. F. Smith, *Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve,* Baltimore, 1902, pp. 287-300.

P. 399 (B. II, 175). "To doubt when the cow is mine who should own the calf." Proverbial; see Bebel's *Adagia Germanica,* ed. W. H. D. Suringar (Leiden, 1879) pp. 49, 283.

P. 408 (B. II, 184). "The stone Pantura, which draweth all other stones, be they never so heavy." Add a reference to Philostratus' account of the stone Pantarbe, "which is said to have the same properties as the magnet" (*Apollon.* III, 46): "Why you may sink as many stones as you please anywhere in rivers or in the sea, and not even near each other, but broadcast and at random. This stone, if you let it down to them, gathers them all by the diffusive action of its spirit; and the stones will fasten themselves to it beneath in a cluster, like swarming bees" (Phillimore's transl.).

P. 412 (B. II, 187). "To write in water." Proverbial; see Catullus, 70, 4, and his commentators.

P. 415 (B. II, 189). "If I had brought, ladies, little dogs from Malta." Cp. Erasmus, *Similia,* I, 610A: "Ut canes Melitaei potissimum in deliciis sunt opulentis ac potentibus foeminis."

P. 431 (B. II, 203). "To throw as big stones as Turnus." Virgil, *Æn.* XII, 896.

P. 439 (B. II, 209). "The quiet reign of Numa Pompilius." Horace, *Od.* I, 12, 33: "quietum Pompili regnum."

P. 447 (B. II, 215). "She hath exiled the swallow that sought to spoil the grasshopper, and given bitter almonds to the ravenous wolves." The spoiling of grasshoppers by swallows is twice mentioned by Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* VIII, 7, 3, and *De Solert. Animal.* XXIV. The mention of "bitter almonds" may be due to *Quaest. Conviv.* I, 6, 4: "if a fox eats bitter almonds without drinking, his moisture suddenly fails, and it is present death."

P. 448 (B. II, 216). For an English paraphrase of the poem *Iovis Elizabeth* see Francis Sabie, *Pan's Pipe,* reprinted by J. W. Bright, *Modern Philology,* VII, pp. 441 and 462.

P. 459 (B. II, 225). "The severity of Cato who removed Manlius from the Senate, for that he was seen to kiss his wife in presence of his daughter." Cp. Guazzo, *Civil Conversatione,* lib. III: "Catone Censore privò Manlio del Senato solamente per haver bacciata la moglie in presenza della figliuola" (p. 209a).

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GOETHE'S *FAUST,* PART I, AS A SOURCE OF PART II[1]

Faust I as text, and *Faust* II as the aging poet's commentary on his earlier inspired utterances, is the theme of this paper. These profoundly wise but often falteringly expressed elaborations have of course nothing to do with echoes like

> Zum Augenblicke dürft' ich sagen:
> Verweile doch, du bist so schön! (11581).

This repetition of l. 1699 was a dramaturgical necessity, a restatement of the inner compact controlling Parts I and II of *Faust;* it has nothing to do with the slower rate of production and the more sluggish poetical invention which made it necessary for the aged poet to "commandeer poetry" in Part II, instead of experiencing the abundance of the "Quell gedrängter Lieder" of his youthful period (118).

[1] This paper is the result of a suggestion received in Prof. A. R. Hohlfeld's Seminary on *Faust.*

Quite characteristically, the first of the real borrowings to be mentioned here has to do with a bold metaphor, as shudderingly symbolical as "die Schärfe, die nach meinem [Nacken] zückt" (4594), which Goethe had made such effective use of in the Kerkerszene:

> Wie sonderbar muss diesen schönen Hals
> Ein einzig rotes Schnürchen schmücken,
> Nicht breiter als ein Messerrücken! (4203 ff.).

In Part II the maidens of the chorus appeal to Phorkyas:

> Sprich und sage, sag uns eilig: wie entrinnen wir den grausen
> Garstigen Schlingen, die bedrohlich, als die schlechtesten Geschmeide,
> Sich um unsre Hälse ziehen? (8966 ff.).

Other more or less similar examples are: (2) The ironical allusions to book-learning as superior to living experience (1102 and 6988). (3) The danger to which a man exposes himself who has seen the truth, at least in part, and then gives it to the world (590 and 6233). (4) The idea of a man nudging a girl during the dance as the beginning of a speedy love affair (958 and 5189). (5) The faithless sweetheart who, even before she has left one lover, is ogling another (1682 and 5362). (6) The man drinking in the inn borrows from the inn-keeper when his funds have given out (2166); in Part II is found the same idea, but with the addition that when the inn-keeper refuses to lend any more, his wife, and finally his daughter, will do so (5281). (7) Mephistopheles' recommendations to Faust and the Emperor to labor in the fields with their own hands (2353 and 5039). (8) The feeling of being shut in by surrounding natural objects (1080 and 9811). (9) This same feeling in connection with surrounding artificial objects (922 and 6926). (10) The idea of levitation, induced by a day-dream or by extreme longing (1074 and 9713). (11) The value of the present in contrast to the past and the future (79 and 9382). (12) The proverb-like play on the words "geschehen" and "getan" (225, 4111 and 4771). (13) The skull and the living head (664 and 6768). (14) Fallen stars *lying on the ground* (4379 and 10751), something much more unusual than mere falling stars, as Goethe himself says in the second of the two passages. (15) References to Mephistopheles as the son of Chaos (1384 and

8027) and (16) to his great age (1776 and 6817). (17) It is the poet who creates fame (154 and 5615).

In the second place, Part II contains elaborations of thoughts stated very briefly and compactly in Part I. By choice or necessity the poet is moving in Part II "mit holdem Irren" toward his goal.

As the first example of this, compare the almost enigmatical line of Part I:

> Ich wollt' indes wohl tausend Brücken bauen (2369)

with the following passage of Part II:

> Das sprecht Ihr so! Das scheint Euch sonnenklar;
> Doch weiss es anders, der zugegen war.
> Ich war dabei, als noch da drunten siedend
> Der Abgrund schwoll und strömend Flammen trug;
> Als Molochs Hammer, Fels an Felsen schmiedend,
> Gebirgestrümmer in die Ferne schlug.
> Noch starrt das Land von fremden Zentnermassen;
> Wer gibt Erklärung solcher Schleudermacht?
> Der Philosoph, er weiss es nicht zu fassen,
> Da liegt der Fels, man muss ihn liegen lassen,
> Zuschanden haben wir uns schon gedacht.—
> Das treu-gemeine Volk allein begreift
> Und lässt sich im Begriff nicht stören;
> Ihm ist die Weisheit längst gereift:
> Ein Wunder ist's, der Satan kommt zu Ehren.
> Mein Wandrer hinkt an seiner Glaubenskrücke
> Zum Teufelsstein, zur Teufelsbrücke. (10105 ff.)

(2) Mephistopheles' limp, in Part I, observed alone by the experienced Siebel,

> Was hinkt der Kerl auf einem Fuss? (2184)

has become in Part II a moral lameness, patent to all:

> Es ist so heiter,
> Den alten Sünder
> Uns nachzuziehen,
> Zu schwerer Busse.
> Mit starrem Fusse
> Kommt er geholpert,
> Einhergestolpert;
> Er schleppt das Bein,
> Wie wir ihn fliehen,
> Uns hinterdrein. (7700 ff.)

(3) So too in Part I there is a bare reference to hidden pots of gold:

> Ich kenne manchen schönen Platz
> Und manchen altvergrabnen Schatz;
> Ich muss ein bisschen revidieren (2675 ff.)

but in Part II Mephistopheles gives an explanation of how these treasures came to be buried:

> Ich schaffe, was ihr wollt, und schaffe mehr!
> Zwar ist es leicht, doch ist das Leichte schwer;
> Es liegt schon da, doch um es zu erlangen,
> Das ist die Kunst, wer weiss es anzufangen?
> Bedenkt doch nur: in jenen Schreckensläuften,
> Wo Menschenfluten Land und Volk ersäuften,
> Wie der und der, so sehr es ihn erschreckte,
> Sein Liebstes da- und dortwohin versteckte.
> So war's von je in mächtiger Römer Zeit,
> Und so fortan, bis gestern, ja bis heut'.
> Das alles liegt im Boden still begraben,
> Der Boden ist des Kaisers, der soll's haben. (4927 ff.)

(4) In Part I there is mere mention of fortune-telling by means of the crystal (880), but in Part II Goethe dwells upon it at some length:

> Du weisst, das Bergvolk denkt und simuliert,
> Ist in Natur- und Felsenschrift studiert.
> Die Geister, längst dem flachen Land entzogen,
> Sind mehr als sonst dem Felsgebirg gewogen.
> Sie wirken still durch labyrinthische Klüfte
> Im edlen Gas metallisch reicher Düfte;
> In stetem Sondern, Prüfen und Verbinden
> Ihr einziger Trieb ist, Neues zu erfinden.
> Mit leisem Finger geistiger Gewalten
> Erbauen sie durchsichtige Gestalten;
> Dann im Kristall und seiner ewigen Schweignis
> Erblicken sie der Oberwelt Ereignis.

Additional examples mentioned without quoting are: (5) Whereas, in Part I, Mephistopheles is several times spoken of as the lord of all sorts of vermin (1334, 1516, 4302), in Part II Goethe dwells upon the idea at some length (6592-6615). (6) In Part I the ravens of Mephistopheles are merely mentioned (2490), but in Part II they receive considerable notice (10664-78). (7) In Part I Faust sees in a vision a winged, fiery wagon approaching (702);

in Part II occurs a considerably longer description of a similar phenomenon (5511-24).

In other cases what appears as a suggestion in Part I is developed in Part II into a whole scene. Compare, in this connection, (8) the line of Part I spoken to Faust by Mephistopheles in Gretchen's room:

> Indessen könnt Ihr ganz allein
> An aller Hoffnung künft'ger Freuden
> In ihrem Dunstkreis satt Euch weiden (2669 f.)

with the scene in Part II where the courtiers are actually feasting on the vision of Paris and Helen (6439-78). (9) One might say that the two lines of Part I:

> Und was das liebe junge Volk betrifft,
> Das ist noch nie so naseweis gewesen (4090 f.)

contain the kernel of the whole "Baccalaureus" scene of Part II (6685 ff.).

In still other cases a scene which is merely *described* in Part I is actually *dramatized* in Part II; instead of merely *hearing* of it, we *see* it. (10) Note what the Poet says in Part I of the annoying crowd:

> O sprich mir nicht von jener bunten Menge,
> Bei deren Anblick uns der Geist entflieht.
> Verhülle mir das wogende Gedränge,
> Das wider Willen uns zum Strudel zieht.
> Nein, führe mich zur stillen Himmelsenge,
> Wo nur dem Dichter reine Freude blüht,
> Wo Lieb' und Freundschaft unsres Herzens Segen
> Mit Götterhand erschaffen und erpflegen (59 ff.)

What we *hear* about here in Part I, we *see* in Part II, where the crowd is actually driven away (Die Menge flieht, rein ist der Platz, 5682) and Plutus says to Knabe Lenker:

> Nun bist du los der allzulästigen Schwere,
> Bist frei und frank, nun frisch zu deiner Sphäre!
> Hier ist sie nicht! Verworren, scheckig, wild
> Umdrängt uns hier ein fratzenhaft Gebild.
> Nur wo du klar ins holde Klare schaust,
> Dir angehörst und dir allein vertraust,
> Dorthin, wo Schönes, Gutes nur gefällt,
> Zur Einsamkeit!—da schaffe deine Welt (5689 ff.).

And with the words:

So lebe wohl! Du gönnst mir ja mein Glück (5707)

Knabe Lenker departs.

(11) Similar is the relation in the following. In Part I, in the scene "Vor dem Tor" (1034 ff.), Faust gives a description of the alchemistic studies of his father, speaks of "die schwarze Küche," of the mixing of the liquids, of "Vermählung" and "Brautgemach," of the product in the glass, "die junge Königin." In Part II, in the laboratory scene (6819 ff.), we again seem to have the dramatic presentation, the working out, on the stage, of that which, in Part I, was but described. Here we find Wagner in his "schwarze Küche"; there is talk of "verliebtes Paar"; he is mixing liquids, and obtains, also in a glass, his product, Homunculus.

In the third place, a number of situations occurring in Part I have strikingly close counterparts in Part II; this becomes especially apparent when merely variant details are omitted and only the fundamental idea remains. (1) In Part I Faust suddenly releases the handsome witch with whom he has been dancing, because a mouse has jumped out of her mouth (4178). This same situation, with details changed, occurs four times in Part II: (a) Mephistopheles seizes the most beautiful of the Lamiae, only to let her go when he finds he is holding "ein dürrer Besen" (7770); (b) in the carnival scene the crowd grasps at the magic gifts, only to find that

Es löst sich auf das Perlenband,
Ihm krabbeln Käfer in der Hand, etc. (5598 f.);

(c) in the same scene the Furies are announced as follows:

Die Furien sind es, niemand wird uns glauben,
Hübsch, wohlgestaltet, freundlich, jung von Jahren;
Lasst euch mit ihnen ein, ihr sollt erfahren,
Wie schlangenhaft verletzen solche Tauben (5349 ff.);

(d) the chorus maidens say of the cheeks of Faust's handsome pages:

Gern biss' ich hinein, doch ich schaudre davor;
Denn in ähnlichem Fall, da erfüllte der Mund
Sich, grässlich zu sagen! mit Asche. (9162 ff.).

(2) In Part I we see Faust conjuring the Earth Spirit and then being overcome by the result of his efforts:

> Schreckliches Gesicht!
> . . . . . .
> Weh! ich ertrag' dich nicht! (482 ff.).

Compare the scene in Part II where Anaxagoras conjures the moon-goddess:

> Du! droben ewig Unveraltete, . . .
> Dich ruf' ich an bei meines Volkes Weh . . !
> . . . . . .
> Bin ich zu schnell erhört?
> . . . . . .
> Nicht näher, drohend-mächtige Runde!
> Du richtest uns und Land und Meer zugrunde! (7902 ff.).

These two dramatic presentations of the situation are paralleled by the description in Faust's monolog at the beginning of Part II:

> So ist es also, wenn ein sehnend Hoffen
> Dem höchsten Wunsch sich traulich zugerungen,
> Erfüllungspforten findet flügeloffen;
> Nun aber bricht aus jenen ewigen Gründen
> Ein Flammenübermass, wir stehn betroffen;
> Des Lebens Fackel wollten wir entzünden,
> Ein Feuermeer umschlingt uns, welch ein Feuer! (4704 ff.).

(3) The situation in Part I where Faust observes the strange antics of the poodle, while Wagner remains blind to them, has several counterparts in Part II: (a) Mephistopheles, Homunculus, and Faust's dream (6921 ff.); (b) Anaxagoras, Thales, and the moon (7930 ff.); (c) Faust, Mephistopheles, and the flood (10734 ff.). (4) As, in Part I, the poodle grows before Faust's eyes (1247 ff.), so grow, in Part II, (a) the key that is to admit Faust to the Mothers (6259 ff.), (b) the moon which Anaxagoras has conjured (7914 ff.), and (c) Zoilo-Thersites (5471 ff.). (5) In the "Auerbachs Keller" scene of Part I the various revelers are affected differently by the magic of Mephistopheles, and each one tells his own sensations. One says:

> Es war ein Schlag, der ging durch alle Glieder!

Another:

> Nein, sagt mir nur, was ist geschehn?

Another:

Es liegt mir bleischwer in den Füssen. (2324 ff.)

Of this situation there are several counterparts in Part II: (a) where Mephistopheles causes the courtiers to experience various sensations:

Mir liegt's im Fuss wie Bleigewicht—
Mir krampft's im Arme—das ist Gicht—
Mir krabbelt's an der grossen Zeh'—
Mir tut der ganze Rücken weh— (4993 ff.);

(b) in the carnival scene (5485 ff.):

Nein! Ich wollt' ich wär' davon—
Fühlst du, wie uns das umflicht,
Das gespenstische Gezücht?—
Saust es mir doch übers Haar—
Ward ich's doch am Fuss gewahr—;

(c) the soldiers after the disappearance of Habebald and Eilebeute. One says:

Ich weiss nicht, mir verging die Kraft;

Another:

Mir ward es vor den Augen schlecht,
Da flimmert' es, ich sah nicht recht.

(6) An interesting counterpart to the scene in Part I where the Church steps in and confiscates Faust's present to Gretchen on the ground that it is tainted with magic (2805 ff.) is found in Part II where the Archbishop, for the same reason, demands and seizes much of that which the Emperor has won with the help of Faust and Mephistopheles.

In conclusion it will be of interest to look at Gretchen and Helena with this same idea of the dependence of Part II on Part I in mind. The conception of the Helena episode is early. But here too, as in all the above, the actual working out of the theme, the details and finishing touches, belong to the last years of the poet's life. It is true, the two characters are on different planes, and stand at opposite poles, just as the two parts of the poem differ radically from each other. Nevertheless, a certain parallelism of action, of situation and even of minor details may be observed. The fact that

Gretchen is a part of the "little world," and Helena of the "big," must of course be kept in mind in this connection.

(1) Both Gretchen and Helena represent "das Ewig-Weibliche." (2) Gretchen holds in Part I essentially the position that Helena holds in Part II; Faust's love for Gretchen is parallel to his love for Helena. (3) Mephistopheles is equally instrumental in bringing Faust and Gretchen, and Faust and Helena, together, notwithstanding his function as go-between is more emphasized in the former case. (4) His purpose with both pairs is the same, viz., to get Faust to lose himself in the enjoyment of love, in the case of Gretchen, a physical oblivion, in that of Helena, an intellectual. (5) Twice he is frustrated, for in either case Faust conceives a love far above the comprehension of the materialistic Mephistopheles. (6) As a result, Faust and Gretchen combine against him, as do also Faust and Helena (9435 ff.). If now the action of Part I is reviewed in sequence, we find (7) that Faust at the beginning is insusceptible to feminine charms. That is also the case in Part II, for at first he speaks of Helena without any personal interest:

> Das Musterbild der Männer so der Frauen
> In deutlichen Gestalten will er [der Kaiser] schauen (6185 f.).

(8) The preliminary step to his falling in love in each case is an unwelcome journey, in Part I to the witch's kitchen, in Part II to the Mothers. (9) In the witch's kitchen Faust is aroused to a desire for Gretchen by the vision in the mirror; the vision of Helena arouses in him a passionate desire for her. (10) As the vision in the mirror fades when Faust approaches it too closely, so does the adumbration of Helena (2433 and 6561). (11) The effect of the vision in the mirror is similar to that which Helena makes:

> Was seh' ich? Welch ein himmlisch Bild
> Zeigt sich in diesem Zauberspiegel! (2429 f.)

are the words of Part I, while in Part II we read:

> Hab' ich noch Augen? Zeigt sich tief im Sinn
> Der Schönheit Quelle vollen Stroms ergossen? (6487 f.)

Compare also Faust's words as he looks into the mirror:

> Weh mir! ich werde schier verrückt (2456)

with those he utters while Chiron is telling him about Helena:

> Bin ich nicht schon verwirrt genug?
> . . . . . .
> O ganz und gar
> Verlier' ich mich! (7407 ff.)

(12) Mephistopheles' pretension that he is unable to win Gretchen for Faust (2624) is paralleled in the case of Helena (6193 ff.). Nevertheless he proceeds to arrange matters, since we find him (13) paving the way for the further acquaintance of Faust and Gretchen by his deception in connection with Marthe's husband; in preparing to bring Faust and Helena together, he again, as Phorkyas, makes use of deception, this time in connection with Helena's husband. (14) Thereupon he proceeds to the main business of introducing Faust into the conversation, whom he mentions in complimentary terms:

> Habe noch gar einen feinen Gesellen,
> . . . . . .
> Ein braver Knab'! ist viel gereist,
> Fräuleins alle Höflichkeit erweist. (3015 ff.)

In Part II, in answer to Helena's question: Wie sieht er aus? he says:

> Nicht übel! mir gefällt er schon.
> Es ist ein munterer, kecker, wohlgebildeter,
> Wie unter Griechen wenig', ein verständiger Mann. (9010 ff.)

(15) As in Part I Gretchen's beauty is for the sake of contrast confronted with ugliness in the person of Marthe, so in Part II Helena's beauty is placed side by side with ugliness in the person of Phorkyas:

> Wie hässlich neben Schönheit zeigt sich Hässlichkeit (8810).

(16) The trinkets that Faust gives Gretchen are paralleled by the rich gifts presented to Helena. (17) The otherwise insignificant act of kissing the hand receives some weight in both cases (3081 and 9359). (18) In the garden scene Faust and Gretchen are interrupted by Mephistopheles at the moment when they are most lost in an ecstasy of love. Faust is enraged at the interruption; stamping his foot he cries, Wer da? and to the words Gut Freund he answers Ein Tier (3205 ff.). Compare the scene between Faust

and Helena, where they are lost in each other's love; just at this moment Phorkyas rushes in, and again Faust is angry at the interruption:

> Verwegne Störung! widerwärtig dringt sie ein. (9435 ff.)

(19) Gretchen feels the evil presence of Mephistopheles, as is shown by the scene in the garden (3427 ff.); Helena shares that feeling with respect to Phorkyas:

> Ein Widerdämon bist du, das empfind ich wohl,
> Und fürchte, Gutes wendest du zum Bösen um (9072 f.).

This rather mechanical enumeration of the steps in which the Faust-Helena action resembles the Faust-Gretchen action may have the advantage of bringing out more clearly than is usually realized the extent to which the two are similar. Quite apart from these two episodes, the recurrence of so many ideas and situations of Part I in Part II, as presented above, seems to show pretty clearly that Goethe, while under the strain of finishing Part II, frequently helped himself in matters of detail by once more using material that had been previously employed in Part I.

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FIONA MACLEOD

Has the Celtic folk-lore and legendary lore in general, of the so-called Fiona Macleod, ever been checked up? This should be done, if it is to serve for students, and the entire mass and every part of it be confirmed or discarded, by those competent; for a very little reading in the lore of northwestern Spain has thrown the gravest doubt in my mind on the accounts of that prose poetess whose very existence is a mystification. In the folk-lore of Galicia and the Asturias you meet the Sin-Eater, the Washer of the Ford, the dark star, and some minor correspondences that I propose to indicate briefly here.

The convincing *Life* of William Sharp written by his gallant

wife[1] shows to the careful reader that the Fiona Macleod episode was not unique in his life; that it was possibly the outcome of the same sort of emotional and poetic explosion, so to speak, as had already produced *Sospiri di Roma;* that it was fostered by living in a lush miasmic dell, and with lapse of time and change of residence became difficult to maintain. The successive books of Fiona Macleod show a dwindling of the initial impetus and increasing dependence on the literary material available to a hard-worked producer.

William Sharp had of the Celtic genius those traits more often associated with Ireland than Scotland: an explosive and irresponsible temper, more apt to project than to complete; a love of mystification; an easy-going conscience in matters intellectual. *Green Fire,* it seems, was never republished because the Breton lore and the Breton description were done too much out of his head.[2] The phenomenon of an imaginary reminiscence which doubtless figures in his later writings both as William Sharp and as Fiona Macleod, also in personal correspondence—*i. e.,* what he thought he remembered hearing from old Gaelic servants and fishermen—is too common to count as abnormal or insincere. What good autobiography is certainly free of it? He had long before put on the petticoats in literature, as when with Blanche Willis Howard he collaborated in a novel and wrote the wife's part. He had used or intended more than half a dozen pseudonyms already, and published fragments from the "Lost Journals" of Piero di Cosimo that deceived critics.[3] With their dear friend Mrs. Mona Caird and a good many of their London circle, the Sharps heard plenty of the sentimental, elemental, anthropological, and supranatural manifestation of womanhood which was the last incarnation of the Victorian ideal, and constituted the rest of Fiona Macleod's stock in trade. The violent action of the tales William Sharp had learned by writing stories for boys. In the psychology which the *Life* reveals, there is plenty which can be called irregular, but nothing which could be called abnormal. The parallel case is not Sally Beauchamp, but Thomas Chatterton.

The Sin-Eater is a Gallegan figure—*i. e.,* a man who eating

[1] *William Sharp (Fiona Macleod). A Memoir compiled by his Wife,* Elizabeth A. Sharp, Duffield & Co., New York, 1910.

[2] *Life,* p. 276. [3] *Life,* p. 247.

above a corpse assumes thereby the sins of the dead man—and is named by the novelist Emilia Pardo Bazán.[4] William Sharp knew her work, for he quotes a phrase of hers in 1894, writing to Mr. Alden of *Harper's*.[5]

The Washers of the Fords are *Xanas*, white women who live enchanted in fountains and on St. John's Eve, before dawn, wash their clothes and spread them in the dew. D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal in his collection of Asturian romances,[6] and Señor Murguia in his *Galicia*[7] volume, offer sources easily accessible; or the author might have met the white ladies as the Night-Washers in Brittany. His introduction of the subject is wary, if not ambiguous: "I doubt if any now living, either in the Hebrides or in Ireland, has heard even a fragmentary legend of the Washer of the Ford. The name survives, with its atmosphere of a remote past, its dim ancestral memory of a shadowy figure of awe haunting a shadowy stream in a shadowy land."[8] In the *Biblioteca de las Tradiciones Españolas*, the eighth volume is given over to two long articles, an Essay on the Rose by Cecilia Schmidt Branco, and *Folk-Lore de Proaza* by Señor Giner Arivau.[9] On p. 229 appears a stream with washers who waylay the traveller and ask for his kerchief, which suits well with Fiona Macleod's account. In this same article of Giner, as in some of the *Romances* of Menéndez Pidal, the Magdalen figures in something the same romantic aspect, barring the erotic note: and the fleeting souls that are lost if they are not

[4] The reference to title and page is unluckily mislaid, but the fact stands in my transcript of notes made immediately on finishing the reading last spring: and I had rather let the point go by default than search through the nine volumes of the Spanish Folk-Lore Society, and the twenty-seven of the Countess's collected works. Cf. *The Sin-Eater and Other Tales*, Patrick Geddes and Colleagues, Edinburgh, 1895.

[5] *Life*, p. 217.

[6] *Colección de los Viejos Romances que se cantan por los Asturianos* por Juan Menéndez Pidal. Madrid, 1885.

[7] *España, sus Monumentos y Artes: Galicia*, por Manuel Murguia, Barcelona, 1888.

[8] *The Washer of the Ford*, Patrick Geddes and Colleagues, Edinburgh 1896, pp. 9-10. The reference to Sir Samuel Ferguson which follows, does indeed supply the phrase, but the Banshee in *Congal* is a very different figure. *Congal*, Sir S. Ferguson, London, 1872, p. 57.

[9] *Biblioteca de las Tradiciones Populares Españolas*, tomo VIII, Madrid, 1886, pp. 101-310.

shriven, are precisely *almas en pena,* or the souls who go on pilgrimage in swarms across the sky.[10] The substitution of shrouds for handkerchief is of course sheer "literature."

A sub-title, in one of the later volumes, *Under the Dark Star,* and *children of the dark star* are striking phrases. It happens that the same epithet was applied by medieval travellers to the granite land that lies at the end of the world. The Latin secretary of the Knight of Rozmital writes that Finisterre was called *Stella obscura,* and Gabriel Tetzel his companion, is equally explicit.[11] Sr. Murguia [12] accepts the phrase as current, and explains it partly by reference to the land of the dead.

Whether Sharp was acquainted with the work of Murguia and Menéndez Pidal, I have no way to know, but I do hold proof that he had access to Sr. Giner's article, for he drew from the essay on the rose [13] in the same volume, for one or more papers sown with allusions to Mr. Yeats. These were published in *Country Life,* republished as *Rosa Mystica* in *Where the Forest Murmurs.*[14] The evidence is of a kind familiar to scholars, the same that serves to show how the author of the *Cursor Mundi* used Petrus Comestor.

[10] *Washer*, p. 43.

"It is Mary Magdalen my name is and I love Christ.
And Christ is the Son of God and Mary the Mother of Heaven.
And this river is the river of death, and the shadows
Are the fleeting souls that are lost if they be not shriven."

V. Giner, pp. 137-140 for the Magdalen, "que tanto amó en el mundo"; 228-31 for the *Xanas;* 234-7 for the *almas en pena;* 267-8 for souls wandering. *V.* Menéndez Pidal, Romance LXIV, p. 219, for the Magdalen; LXVI, p. 222, for the *Alma en Pena. Cf.* the popular saying about S. Andrés de Teijido, that those must make the pilgrimage after death, who have not made it in life, quoted in the *Cancionero Popular Gallego* of José Perez Ballesteres, *Biblioteca,* VII, 195, note.

[11] *Des böhmischen Herrn Leo's von Rozmital Ritter- Hof- und Pilger-Reise durch die Abendlande, 1465-1467.* Stuttgart, 1844, pp. 91 and 177. Tetzel's words are: "Von Sant Jacob ritt wir auss gem Finstern Stern als es dann die bauren nennen, es heisst aber Finis terrae."

[12] *Galicia*, p. 133 and again 197.

[13] *A Rosa na Vida dos Povos* por Cecilia Schmidt Branco, in *Biblioteca de Tradiciones,* tomo VIII, pp. 1-168. Cited as C. S. B.

[14] *Where the Forest Murmurs, Nature Essays*, by Fiona Macleod. London, 1906, cited as F. M.

Reference to a pair of pages as the book opens must suffice here for the reader to make comparisons. With F. M., p. 344, for Bion and the dance of Eros, compare C. S. B., p. 6; for Christ's blood, the crown of thorns, and the ladder, F. M., p. 345, compare C. S. B., pp. 7, 9, and again 9. With the chapter in C. S. B. on "the rose in medicine and magic," compare a letter in the *Life*, p. 405. The method of Gaelicizing is simple and easily illustrated; Senhora Branco writes, translating from Brand, that the white rose is always planted on a maid's grave, the red rose reserved for someone distinguished for goodness and especially benevolence (p. 32). F. M. makes the girl Irish and the other a drowned fisherman and buries both flowers. "I know of a dead Irish girl into [*sic*] whose right hand was placed a white rose, and of a drowned fisherman in whose hand was placed a red rose, symbols of spiritual rebirth and of deathless youth" (p. 345). This is quite like substituting a shroud for a pocket-handkerchief in the interest of romance, and there is an odder bit of transmutation earlier, on p. 339: "In the long history of the rose, from the time when the Babylonians carried sceptres ornamented now with this flower, now with the apple or lotus." Now, earlier in C. S. B. at the foot of a page,[15] the word *sceptre* catches the eye, and it takes a moment of careful reading to make out that the golden sceptre and the wild rose are simply figures on a shield, substituted one for the other. I am therefore convinced that the Babylonian and lotus elements came out of the Magic that Sharp and Mr. Yeats were dabbling in, that the apple was a Celtic tag, and that the solemn Asian allusion is sheer *pastiche*.

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[15] A count of Berge in 1090, believing his wife unfaithful, killed her and exposed her children, who grew up in a rose-thicket. The Count while hunting found them, and recognizing the injustice, took them back, and in sign of penitence "substituiu o sceptro d'ouro do seu brazão por uma rosa silvestre," p. 16, last two lines.

Ossian en France. By P. Van Tieghem. Paris, Rieder, 1917. 2 vols., 441 and 544 pp.

L'Année littéraire (1754-1790) comme intermédiaire en France des littératures étrangères. By P. Van Tieghem. Paris, Rieder, 1917. 162 pp.

These three volumes represent the author's labors for the doctorate at the Sorbonne. The monumental tomes on *Ossian en France* are among the most important contributions to recent French scholarship. They form another addition to that imposing series by Maigron, Thomas, Baldensperger, Estève, and Farinelli, which record respectively and thoroughly the fortunes of Scott, Young, Goethe, Byron, and Dante in France. The new work is quite on a par with its predecessors. The minor thesis will serve as a *vade-mecum* for investigators of Fréron's *Année littéraire.*

This pamphlet consists of a "Mémoire," sketching the history and doctrines of the journal, and of a well-arranged "Index analytique" of the chief articles bearing on foreign literatures. The conclusions of Dr. Van Tieghem are that this review was the most valuable of its time, and that Fréron was not so black as Voltaire had painted him; also that the English influence was by far the most significant in the period covered—317 numbers out of 552 for all foreign literatures.

It is no slight task to examine 292 volumes, and Dr. Van Tieghem has probably mentioned, and often briefly characterized, most of the articles in the *Année littéraire.* Yet his study cannot be deemed complete. If one follows, for English literature only, the method of *sondages,* and tries out the journal for two typical years—1771 and 1788 have been chosen as respectively fat and lean years—these results will appear. In 1771, four works were reviewed in the *Année littéraire* which are not mentioned in Dr. Van Tieghem's index; further, he does not record four or five other passing references to English authors, including the demonstration of Voltaire's plagiarism from Mandeville; also he misinterprets the argument in a *compte rendu* of *Garrick: or the English Actor.* In 1788, there are, all told, three omissions, including an account of Burke's oration on the trial of Warren Hastings. In certain cases, it is true, Dr. Van Tieghem's "Index alphabétique"

does not exhaust his "Index analytique"—but evidently there are real omissions from both.

A partial explanation would seem to be that he has simply used the index of articles at the end of each volume of the journal. This would account for the omission of passing references as well as of more interesting matters not wholly revealed in the index of the journal itself. But it does not account for leaving out certain authors mentioned in that index, as well as regularly reviewed in the text of the *Année littéraire*. Dr. Van Tieghem's intention was to give "l'indication de *tous* les comptes rendus ou annonces d'ouvrages étrangers . . . ," excepting some scientific works and grammars. It can only be said that, judging by the above samples, he has failed of his intention. But the "Mémoire" at any rate is informing and judicious and the "Index analytique" may prove convenient to workers who will be on their guard against *lacunes*.

The *Ossian en France* is quite another matter, both in scope and sureness of method. These thousand pages unroll for us the five-act drama of Ossian,[1] from "Revelation" to "Decline"; we follow his three-fold vogue, due to a scholarly curiosity, a poetic sympathy, and a caprice of fashion.[2] His fortunes were more subject to caprices, because, unlike Dante or Byron, his name and fame were exposed to very real doubts. The figure of the Bard rises through a succession of mists; so Dr. Van Tieghem emphasizes the importance of the various French veils that bedeck him, as well as of the periodicals that interpret him, and even of neglected and secondary volumes that reflect the "idée moyenne" of their period. That the method employed is sufficiently "sociological" will be seen by the use of several strata of testimony, notably baptismal registers and the catalogues of 640 private libraries. The author is careful to give the "limits" of Ossianism (co-existing counter-currents and reactions), and through his close scrutiny of detail and of individual notes may be relied upon to distinguish the "main manifestations of the French spirit as regards Ossian." The work is further marked by the clearness of

[1] We may use the word, as Dr. Van Tieghem does, "sans distinguer ce qui est moderne et ce qui appartient à l'ancien fonds gaélique" (I, 99). From the standpoint of the French vogue, there was little discrimination between the true Ossianic cycle, Macpherson or Smith, Le Tourneur or Baour-Lormian.

[2] This paragraph is drawn mainly from the *Avant-propos*, I, 1-6.

its divisions, from the large phases down to paragraphs, by the pithy conclusions to books or chapters, by the habit of pausing to record the complexes of critical opinion from epoch to epoch. Restrained in the use of parallel passages, Dr. Van Tieghem sets down as samples only those that are significant and convincing.

A long introduction [3] gives us an account of the whole history of "Ossian," Macpherson and the controversy. It is claimed that this is the only up-to-date and impartial *résumé* available. But it is done admittedly at second-hand, since the author has no pretention to be a Celtic scholar—a disability shared by his present reviewer. Here then it will be sufficient to indicate the ground covered, particularly from the French angle, and to suggest some differences of opinion.

The Introduction includes a discussion of Gaelic poetry, of James Macpherson, his life and character, and an analysis of his *Ossian* as well as that of Smith; it treats the whole question of authenticity, with the light thrown by the publication of genuine Celtic poems, Macpherson's distant kinship with these, and the probable method of his work. Of special interest are these leading characteristics of the poems, effective in Europe: their fragmentary nature, their lyric and elegiac *motifs,* associated with the melancholy flight of time and of happiness, the novelty of the landscape element, and the comparative novelty of the form, which mediated acceptably between classic and romantic. Of more disputable worth are the arguments [4] employed by Dr. Van Tieghem to sustain his thesis that the Gaelic "originals," published in 1807, were composed as early as 1760, before the English text, by Macpherson and his collaborators; there is also a certain amount of contradiction as to the worth of Macpherson's prose and the correctness of the Gaelic text.

In the main body of the work, the first phase dealt with is the "Revelation" of Ossian to France, extending from 1760 to 1776.[5] This revelation was due first to the intermediary of the cosmopolitan *Journal Etranger* and to the translations of Turgot. Suard and Diderot maintain that here is the truly great primitive poetry,

[3] I, 7-99.

[4] See especially pp. 54 f., 84-89. It seems clear that Dr. Van Tieghem here becomes involved in a critical morass.

[5] I, 103-301.

and in fact Ossian's entrance was happily accomplished through Macpherson's more lyrical passages. Frenchmen knew the *Fragments* long before *Fingal*. *Carthon* became famous through its apostrophe to the sun, and the "style oriental" furnishes analogies for the primitivists. Well-considered doubts concerning authenticity arise quite early, but appear to have taken no vigorous hold. Only a small part of Ossian was at first made known in France, but this part represents his best features.

The reasons for his success are well indicated. Monotonous *fade* neo-classicism still dominated poetry, though the English influence, it is admitted, had already affected the novel, and the poetic horizon was shortly to be "enlarged" by Le Tourneur's translation of Young, etc. The *Night Thoughts* and Ossian invade France together; the vogue of both is connected with the *genre sombre,* that *mal* of the waning century. Other tastes, for Scandinavian antiquities, and especially an interest in "bards," carry the Ossianic corpus down confused and turbid streams. The figure of Ossian becomes, *par excellence,* that of the heroic Bard, and as such represents the poetry of genius and not of art (cf. Diderot).

French poetic prose had acceptably rendered the transitional character of this style. "Macpherson semble avoir écrit pour l'Europe." Readers found the proper attractive *dosage* of stylistic and imaginative novelty; more important still were the "Celtic twilight" of the landscape, the penchant for ruins, general mournfulness, sublime unrealized heroes, the vague supernatural, a lyricism, a romanticism more marked even, thinks Dr. Van Tieghem, than those of Rousseau!

"Critiques et rhéteurs" were usually enthusiastic in their support of Ossian, placing him among the greatest poets. Such was the rage for "virtue" and for heroics, such was the effect of translating Dr. Blair's *Dissertation* and of circulating Cesarotti's elegant appreciations. Against this current struggled in vain the *Journal Encyclopédique,* the first important European protest against this "poésie rocailleuse"; and in vain were the gibes of Voltaire, the "spirit that denied" Ossian, among other things, in the name of nature and truth.

An anonymous presentation of certain fragments, the *Contes et Poésies Erses* of 1772, probably came from the workshop of Le Tourneur. More important is the vigorous and individual translation of *Temora,* by the Marquis de St. Simon. And the vogue

of *Werther,* with the fervent adulation there expressed for Ossian, its similar sustaining of the pathetic fallacy, its fine translations of the *Songs of Selma,* contributed enduringly to the fame of Macpherson and is hardly at its height in this first period.

The second phase ("La Diffusion," 1777-99)[6] is marked chiefly by the complete translation and favorable reception of Le Tourneur. Already known as the popularizer of Shakespeare and of Young, Le Tourneur becomes the official interpreter of Macpherson for his generation. *Fingal* and other novelties confer a "distinctly epic character" on this work, which uses the *style noble,* clings to neo-classic vagueness, is inexact in various ways, and really transposes rather than translates. Parallel passages from Le Tourneur and from his predecessors show his comparative weakness and colorlessness. We are already two removes from the true Ossian. But the time was ripe for an opportune translator, whatever his demerits; critics and readers bathe happily in his facile flow.

There follow the first translations in verse and free imitations in the manner of Ossian. These are mostly feeble, but the vogue enlists such collections as the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Romans,* such names as Restif de la Bretonne, Léonard, Bernardin de St. Pierre, and the inevitable Ducis. The Bard plays on the sympathies of the "sensibles." In criticism, S. Mercier values him for romantic elements, and Marmontel holds by his primitivism. During the difficult Revolutionary period, circulated in fresh editions of Le Tourneur, translated by M.-J. Chénier, appreciated by his greater brother, Macpherson provokes perhaps less enthusiasm, but is esteemed a kind of classic, and still holds out the lure of fresh landscape, longings, and emotions. Parny confuses him with the Scandinavian North, and the *émigrés* carry him abroad—even into the Highlands, it appears, without awakening scepticism.

The Ossian of Smith was also translated (1795), *à la* Le Tourneur, by two authors who used the strange pseudonym of "Hill." Henceforth Smith-Hill, by the side of Macpherson, plays a considerable part in the general Ossianic mania. All of the legendary Ossian is now before the French reader.

The third act in the drama—"the apogee"—covers the

[6] I, 305-341. Cf. M. Estève's "Infiltration" and "Invasion" of Byronism.

Napoleonic era.[7] It is the most pronounced period of the vogue, whether the Bard be considered for his real influence on literature and art, or as a more ephemeral and superficial mode, due largely to the personal taste of Napoleon. Whatever his inspirational value for ambitious dreams, Le Tourneur was almost a bedside book of the Emperor, and Ossian becomes in a sense the official poet of the Empire. The cult is visible in many occasional poems. Courtiers and generals, "Hommages poétiques" and celebrants of the King of Rome, the Princesse de Salm and Mme. de Cottin's romance of *Malvina* variously bear witness to a craze which reached its height in the first five years of the century. An interesting sidelight is thrown by the popularity of such given names as Ossian, Oscar, and Malvina.

The version of Baour-Lormian (1801) shows some poetic skill, but is too conventional and neo-classic. It transposes the text of Le Tourneur, not the English, and Baour-Lormian is scarcely more than a second cousin, once removed, to Ossian. The work of "Hill" is also represented in later editions of these *Poésies galliques,* which constitute a sort of "Ossianic anthology," adapting and greatly abridging its sources. Harmonious, seldom specific, sentimental rather than heroic, Baour-Lormian is "the Ducis of Ossian." But he too found many gentle readers, and the catalogues of private libraries mention frequent copies of this version, on a par with that of Le Tourneur.

Among minor renderings and third-rate imitations, one notices the attempted upbuilding of a *genre ossianique.* The theory of this was that dreamers could wander in the Ossianic otherworld, finding there a new *merveilleux.* The ballad of bardic inspiration is another feature of the time, likewise the popular harp which became fashionable partly in this connection. Ossian invades the theater in a successful tragedy by d'Arnault, and the opera in several compositions. In painting, a more enduring fame has been attached to the "Ossian" of Girodet and of Ingres, and to the "Malvina" of Gros.

In literature, there is first "l'ossianisme intime" of certain secondary or isolated dreamers. Ballanche, Senancour, and Nodier were stirred by the Caledonian sentiment or landscape. The importance of Nodier in promoting the vogue, through various Scotch

[7] II, 3-254.

and German fusions, seems insufficiently estimated. But the two pre-Romantics most profoundly affected were Chateaubriand and Mme. de Staël. The former from early youth was predisposed to this influence. He discovered in England the Ossian of Smith, which he partially translated. In his own work he reflects the Ossianic primitivism, the taste for Northern nature and ruins and, one may add, the "vague des passions." In *René* and elsewhere he fabricates an Ossian after his own kind. He compares the Bard with Homer, and cites him often in literary judgments, even after losing faith in his authenticity. Chateaubriand, by his knowledge of English, his profound sympathy with the poet, his commanding position, was the "best herald" of Ossian in the new France.

Mme. de Staël made him rather the main support of her literary theory; for her and her school, Ossian is predominantly the "Homer of the North." In his sadness, morality, and individualism, he incarnates the principles of the Northern literatures, which mostly derive from him—"bel exemple de fausse fenêtre pour la symétrie." Severely attacked in her own time, Mme. de Staël's system was bound to crumble, but not before she had added her quota to the fame of the Bard. The general criticism of the Empire rallies around the two points of authenticity and poetic worth, and the most extreme opinions are to be found on either side of these two questions. Adverse criticism is the stronger, in spite of the poet's popularity. His unreality and monotony were distasteful to many judges.

The fourth phase is "Ossianism and Romanticism," from 1815 to 1835.[8] Ossian seems now a fixed star in the literary firmament; he appeals—as always—to many amateurs, as well as to the great poets of the era. Inferior versified translations still appear, the "Golden Legend" of the Bard still wins belief, his vogue still forms an "anastomosis" with that for things Scandinavian, and he actually plays a political rôle in the strife of Royalists and Republicans. Authoresses like Mme. de Genlis and Delphine Gay, wild Romanticists like Boulay-Paty and Jules Lefèvre, lead the Caledonian through strange metamorphoses and phantasmagorias. More interesting is his influence on the chief Romantic poets—and in the first place, Lamartine. Here Dr. Van Tieghem brings

[8] II, 257-393.

wider knowledge and more exact detail to the studies already made by Zyromski, Poplawsky, etc. He establishes that the text most used by Lamartine was that of Smith-Hill; he analyzes the poet's youthful Ossianic soul-state and the episode of Lucy; he believes that only two later poems (*Jocelyn* and one of the *Harmonies*) directly refer to Ossian; he is sceptical concerning the many parallel passages adduced by Poplawsky; but he admits that a vague Ossianic atmosphere penetrates a good deal of Lamartine; and he concludes that this influence is particularly visible in the two series of the *Méditations*. Here more use might have been made of M. Lanson's edition of the *Premières Méditations*. Dr. Van Tieghem tabulates statistically the poetic groups and the elements akin to Ossian: feeling for landscape, melancholy attached to the "caducité des choses," the question of immortality, the similarity in expression and style.

Vigny and Hugo, in so far as they are addicted to dreaminess, show some sympathy with the Bard. Musset more frequently alludes to him; there are Ossianic echoes in *La Coupe et les Lèvres*, and the apostrophe to the evening-star, from *Le Saule*, is probably the most famous and excellent of all the French imitations. Minor and "forgotten" singers, Mérimée for mystification (*La Guzla*) and Balzac for critical acumen, variously continue the vogue. In criticism, indeed, "Ossian est à l'ordre du jour." His historical, poetic, and descriptive merits are upheld. With the passing of the Empire critics, his authenticity is less frequently questioned. Villemain alone has almost modern doubts, and Villemain's pages remain among the best on the general subject. He shows the improbability of Macpherson as a primitive document and registers, as a contemporary, the chief causes of the furor.

As Romanticism grew to full stature, it grew away from Ossianism. Byron complicated the vogue, and Walter Scott was the more authentic Minstrel who assumed the heritage of the Bard. The last act is the tragic "Déclin,"[9] after 1835. It may be briefly epitomized as a catastrophe, in accord with historical, if not purely poetic justice. More and more, when confronted with realistic and scientific issues, do the popular texts of Ossian appear *suspects* and threadbare. His inauthenticity, finally revealed, reacts on his poetic evaluation.

[9] II, 397-470.

The current translation today, that of Christian, is ridiculously out of date. Under the Third Empire and Republic, ignored more and more by travellers and writers, Ossian has been virtually forgotten, save for the rare reminiscences of some poet like Leconte de Lisle or Angellier, and save for the illuminating studies of the *celtisants*. In this connection Dr. Van Tieghem might have given us a more consecutive account of how the misty bardic poems gradually evaporated in the sunlight of scholarship. The views of literary critics and of the "celtomanes," from Renan down, are recorded, but there is much less about the "celtisants savants."

The conclusion to Dr. Van Tieghem's volumes is another admirable *résumé*, emphasizing these distinctive contributions of his study. The vogue of Ossian should not be attributed too preponderantly to the "sentimental aspect." He was also appreciated as a literary and historical document and for his moral beauty. The usual delimitation of Ossianism to the Napoleonic era must be widened at either end (1780 to 1830), if one would distinguish the literary cult from the mere mode. The Bard provides not only "important elements of pre-romanticism," but he bridges over the Empire by his canny neo-classicism. Finally, it is difficult for Ossian to appeal to modern Frenchmen through any of the antiquated disguises which he has worn in their country.

Little comment need be added to what has been said in passing concerning this masterly exposition. The author's industry, his critical sense and method are rarely at fault. *La fichomanie* has not, as too often, impaired his artistic feeling and power of expression; witness the pages on *Werther* and on Musset. If sometimes we find an excess of enthusiasm, as when the debate about Ossian is characterized as the "most important and passionate quarrel which has ever divided the world of letters,"[10] that is understandable. If sometimes, as in the case of Lamartine, there is an admitted vagueness as to the precise influence, we must concede that when to Ossian's own vagueness is added that of Lamartine, the precipitate is likely to be very misty indeed. Dr. Van Tieghem seems generally just toward Ossian and Macpherson, if occasionally ironic (there is much temptation) regarding their French appreciators and rather censorious of previous workers in the field.[11]

More might have been made of *Le Peintre de Salzbourg* and less

[10] I, 53; see also I, 191.

[11] I, 2; II, 299.

of the indifferent Stendhal. We have little or nothing about the real Ossianic cycle, if indeed that has figured in French letters. It has been suggested that we have too little with regard to the probable influence of the "Revelation" on the theory of the epic.[12] There are, in fact, hints in this connection—concerning the wane of the *épopée,* the new *merveilleux,* and even the beginning of the Wolffian theory—which might well be worked up into a study of Ossian and the epic. The Index, of proper names only, omits various journals and other titles that one would like to find. The classified bibliography[13] shows confusion and overlapping in several of its divisions. It seems sufficiently comprehensive, though not so monumental as that accompanying Professor Baldensperger's *Goethe en France.* As compared with M. Estève's *Byron et le Romantisme français,* the present work, to my mind, lacks a certain grandeur of appeal; but that may well be due to the difference of subject. Certainly Dr. Van Tieghem's able volumes present a very convincing harmony of science and art.

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Living French. By Richard T. Holbrook. Boston, Ginn and Company, 1917. xvii + 480 pp.

Mr. Holbrook has more than once had occasion to express his views on the editing of text-books to be used in the teaching of French,[1] and it is naturally these views which have determined the general character and special features of the book before us. In the first place, this grammar will dispel any delusion its readers may have entertained as to French being "an easy subject." In the second place, it marks a distinct advance over the average type of French grammar in that, as the title indicates, French is treated as a living language, the spoken form of which is no less important than its written form. The author's attitude throughout is that of an observer and recorder of actual phenomena, rather than that of

[12] I am indebted to Prof. W. A. Nitze for this suggestion.

[13] II, 477-519.

[1] Cf. *MLN,* xxx, 223-227; *Mod. Lang. Journal,* i, 18-32.

a legislator. Mr. H.'s recognition of the principles of modern linguistic science, his scrupulous accuracy, and above all his thorough familiarity with French usage, have admirably equipped him for this work.

Part I consists of an "Introductory Survey," devoted mainly to the pronunciation of French, and 77 "Lessons" of 4 pages each. The arrangement of the material in the individual lessons varies greatly from one lesson to another. A noteworthy feature is the absence of special vocabularies in each lesson, and meaningless paradigms are to a large extent replaced by phrases which present the forms in a reasonable context. Part II comprises (a) a thorough treatment of the forms (oral and written) of typical French verbs, with occasional additional facts as to the syntax of the verb, (b) details concerning the gender and number of nouns, (c) an English-French Vocabulary, (d) a French-English Vocabulary, and (e) a General Index.

Many of the lessons include connected passages in French, of varying length and drawn from a wide range of sources, from Gaston Paris to Alfred Capus.[2] These selections from real French, for the most part judiciously chosen and worth while for their own sake, are on the whole better than the usual made-to-order "reading-exercise." The shorter examples are in general intended to illustrate "the usage of unaffected conversation and of unaffected writing." This does not mean that literary usage is slighted. It merely means (and this is one of the most important features of the book), that the author has throughout taken the greatest care, in commenting upon his examples, to distinguish between different kinds of style and usage, to characterize his examples as "bookish," "colloquial," "jocular," "not living French," etc.

In a number of instances, the desire to force the use of a certain French construction or the effort to cram too much into too small a space, has resulted in sentences which are amorphous or at least decidedly un-English, and sometimes quite unintelligible. *E. g.* § 143, 1, 8: "And was the henhouse behind which this fox was accustomed to prowl near the house where that dog's master

[2] In many cases, the source should be indicated more exactly. This applies particularly to titles which are quoted without mention of the author's name.

lived?"[3] Of doubtful pedagogic value are a few exercises in which the student is to correct faulty French sentences.

Mr. H. lays especial stress on correct pronunciation. The first few paragraphs define the field of grammar, explain briefly but accurately and in an interesting manner the physiological facts necessary for an elementary understanding of phonetics, and establish a summary classification of speech-sounds. The author draws instructive comparisons between French and English sounds and suggests a number of simple experiments. As particularly commendable I may mention the clear and simple description of the nasal vowels (§ 10) and the accurate definition of the term "syllable" (§ 27). Mr. H. assumes that the Standard French *r* is the uvular [ʀ], but I question the advisability of insisting on it for those students who find it very difficult, as a good [r] is better than a bad [R].[4] The statement in regard to the emotional shift of accent (§ 25, *e*) is not quite exact: "Emotional words may become paroxytonic, seldom proparoxytonic." The general tendency in such cases is to shift the stress to the first syllable (regardless of the number of syllables), or to the second syllable if the word begins with a vowel.[5] The only serious omission in the treatment of pronunciation is the failure, in speaking of liaison (§ 31), to mention the linking of *-d*.

For words or groups in regard to which usage hesitates or authorities differ, Mr. H. generally follows the pronunciation preferred by Martinon. So, § 24, *a*, and *passim*: *aujourd'hui* [o-]; § 31, *c* (also §§ 87, II; 354, *h*): *à neuf heures* [anøvœ:R]; § 87, V (and § 469): *je sais* [sɛ]; § 96, l. 10: *rez-de-chaussée* [Rɛ]; § 174, N.: *âge* [a:ʒ].—Very doubtful is the progressive assimilation indicated for the linking after *êtes:* [vuzɛ:t(s)] (§ 42; cf. also § 54, *b:* [pətitsami]; § 64: [paRlat(s)]; § 177, *a:* [mɛ̃:tsokazjɔ̃]). The inverse phenomenon (regressive assimilation) is of course constant in French (as indicated in § 48, l. 3 for *subtil* [syptil]).—I know of no authority for the following pronunciations: § 9, *b: château*

[3] Similarly § 96, III, 2; § 102, II, 4; § 106, I, 2; § 130, II, 1; § 143, I, 3. 7; § 146, I, 10; § 160, III, 7; § 226, II, 2.

[4] Since the "glottal (?) *r*" is mentioned (§ 16), it should be described. Passy (*Petite phonétique comparée*, § 223) describes this sound as a voiced *uvular* fricative. In this review [R] has been used for [ʀ].

[5] Cf. Passy, *l. c.*, §§ 85-88, and Martinon, *Comment on prononce le français*, p. 10.

[ʃà·to][6]; § 11, *b: pays* [pèi] (indicated as an alternative pronunciation)[7]; § 29, *c,* (and elsewhere): *chien* [ʃɛ̃]; § 158, 2: *essuiera* [èsɥ)əi·j(Ra] and *essuie-s* [èsɥi(:)j] (alternative pronunciations).[8]—§ 219, *B: craignions* [kRɛ·pɔ̃]. If so, the example which follows (*Nous craignions qu'il n'éteigne la lumière*) would be quite ambiguous. Cf. also §§ 158, *a;* 397, N. 2 and f.-n.; 469, *L. S.* In denying that in normal speech there is any difference between *-ions, -iez* and *-ons, -ez,* after stems which end in a palatal consonant, Mr. H. follows the authority of Clédat (*Grammaire raisonnée,* §§ 93, 373). Martinon, however, who is surely a no less competent observer of phonetic phenomena, insists (pp. 189-190, 268) that there is a difference.—For *obus* (§ 331, IV, 9, and p. 429), the usual military pronunciation [oby][9] is preferable to the one indicated: [by:z].—§ 403, *c:* "Note that *coûte-t-il* = [kutətil], and that *vendent-ils* = [vɑ̃:dətil]." Not ordinarily.[10] In such cases there is a slight pause between the implosion and the explosion, but normally no [ə] is heard (except of course in poetical diction). The same remark applies to *chante-t-on* (§ 403, *g*), *battent-ils* (§ 444), which are similarly transcribed.—§§ 452-453: *boire, je bois* [bwa:R bwa], *croire, crois* [kRwa:R kRwa]. In spite of Nyrop[11] and others, neither Rousselot-Laclotte nor Martinon distinguish between the vowels of *boire* and *croire, bois* and *crois.* Rousselot and Laclotte give both *boire* and *croire* with "*à*" (=[a], p. 130), both *bois* and *crois* with "*a* moyen" (p. 136). According to Martinon (p. 46), "*oi* final n'est ni long ni fermé, sans être tout à fait bref, ni tout à fait ouvert, et cela avec ou sans consonne indifféremment, et après un *r,* aussi bien qu'après une consonne quelconque" (for the infinitives, cf. Martinon, p. 48, top). Mr. H. himself elsewhere (§ 41, l. 6) transcribes [kRwa:R]. For *croître, croîs* ([kRwa:tR, or rather kRwa:tR kRwa] according to Mr. H., § 460, *d*), cf. Rousselot-Laclotte, p. 138, and Martinon, p. 48. The passage just quoted from Martinon applies also to *trois* ([tRwa] according to Mr. H., § 20 and elsewhere), in which Rousselot and Laclotte hear "*á*" (= [a], p. 136).—§ 478: "*faisant* [fɛzɑ̃ *or* fəzɑ̃]," etc. The former pronunciation is not to be recommended.[12] The following are evidently either misprints or slips: § 132, *d:* "*il*

[6] Michaelis-Passy, Rousselot-Laclotte (*Précis,* pp. 109, 148), Martinon (p. 33) all give the first vowel as [*a*].

[7] None of the authorities referred to in the preceding note allow the diphthongal pronunciation (cf. Rousselot-Laclotte, p. 153; Martinon, p. 190).

[8] Cf. Martinon, pp. 163, 193.

[9] Cf. Rousselot-Laclotte, pp. 150, 168; Martinon, pp. 110, 305-306.

[10] Cf. Martinon, p. 165.

[11] *Manuel phonétique du français parlé,* § 238.

[12] Cf. Martinon, p. 86.

hait [e *or* hɛ] " (the correct pronunciation [ɛ *or* hɛ] is indicated in § 432); § 161, l. 16: " [da:ʒe] " for [dā:ʒe]; § 479: " [Rije] " for [Rijɛ].—§ 102, 1, 9: *" Chut!"* The pronunciation ([ʃ:t]), should be indicated. Likewise the liaison in *les yeux* (§ 143, *b*).

The author's scientific attitude in dealing with the facts of grammar has already been noted. He does not hesitate, when it is necessary, to abandon the traditions of the older grammarians and base his statements upon actual usage. Particularly illuminating is the frequent emphasis laid on archaisms of form and syntax—relics of an older usage contrasted with examples illustrating a modern tendency. Mr. H. consistently endeavors to distinguish between forms and their functions. This principle finds its application notably in the case of the verb. Here the old tense-names are abandoned and replaced by symbols which serve merely to identify forms, regardless of their functions. Thus (*il*) *dit* is 3 *A* or 3 *C* of *dire, auraient* is 6 *E* of *avoir, eût mis* is 3 *O. S. p. p.* of *mettre,* etc. Grotesque as this system may at first appear, it undoubtedly makes for exactness and one soon becomes accustomed to it. Distinctly original, too, is Mr. H.'s systematic treatment of the verb from the formal point of view. He rejects the traditional categories of regular and irregular verbs. For him a verb is " regular " when it is " complete (not defective), when there is no marked variation in the spelling or the sound of the stem, and when its inflectional endings agree throughout with those of the type to which we have agreed to assign it." Thus *parler* is regular but *aimer* is not. The " types " are grouped " with respect to their general resemblances," and these tables are supplemented by a " Special Index of Verb-Types and of Odd Forms." Particularly commendable is the exposition of the following difficult matters: the functions of the imperfect and past definite tenses, the conditional as tense and mood, verb-forms in *-ant*, personal pronouns, the position of descriptive adjectives.

Both the vocabularies contain abundant references to examples and explanations. Noteworthy is the systematic arrangement under the various words in the French-English vocabulary (cf. for example the column and a half of well-classified examples and meanings under *de*). Though I have not verified all the references, the vocabularies seem reasonably complete and accurate; unfortunately the same cannot be said of the General Index, which is

incomplete and quite unsystematic in its arrangement.[13] The following details likewise deserve mention:

§ 6: "nu(*i*)t," "tu(*é*)," "*ou*(*i*)." Why ()?—§ 40. Is it exact to say that *est-ce que* is "a shortened form of *Est-ce vrai que*"? (Cf. Tobler, *VB*, II², p. 7). Again, in examples 3, 4, under § 78, how can we "derive" *c'est que* from *c'est vrai que*?—§ 42. Read "[nu sɔm(z)]."—§ 43, 1. In several of these sentences, the student will hardly know whether to use the generic article or the partitive. —§ 43, IV, V. For "43, *c*" read "43, *b*," and for "43, *b*" read "43, *a*."—§ 46, Exercise, 4. The proper form for "your" has not been given.—§ 52, l. 6. Read "*Some.*"—§ 55, *a*. The distinction between *aussi . . . que* and *comme* should be indicated. Otherwise the student might render *e. g.* § 58, 1, 10: "*Les livres sont-ils utiles comme la nourriture?*," or § 102, Oral, 3: ". . . *elle est aussi sourde qu'un pot.*"—§ 56. "but only with *le*" is not clear.—§ 64. Read "[paRlɛ:R(t)]."—§ 73, *a*, N. 3: "*chic*(*s*)" (?).—P. 69 (last line). For "about" read "before."—§ 75, 1: "*sur les six* = 'about six'." This dubious locution occurs again in §§ 327, *f* (also "*sur les une*"), and 354, *h*.—§ 75, V, 4, 6. The student, having had no examples of the name of a language as subject or predicate nominative, will not know that the definite article must be used in these cases.—§ 76. It seems to me doubtful whether in *e. g.* "*C'est votre frère*" the substantive should be regarded as "the true subject." On the other hand, in "*C'est ici le lieu de préciser*" (§ 80), Mr. H. terms *le lieu de préciser* a "predicate substantive." Neither in this Lesson nor elsewhere does the author adequately explain certain cases in which the student will be perplexed in choosing betwen *ce* and *il* (*elle* etc.) as subject of *être*.[14]—§ 80. "*c'est là son moindre défaut*" means: "If she has faults, that is

[13] "*où*" appears, but not "*dont*"; "*par*," "*sans*," but not "*pour*"; "will" and "would," but neither "shall" nor "should"; "Imperfect" but not "Pluperfect"; etc. Under "Pronouns," we find "demonstrative," "indefinite," "interrogative," "personal," "relative" (with references after each); most of these appear separately (under "Demonstrative," etc.), but in many cases with different references. Still other references are given under "*ce*," "*celui*," "*qui*," etc. Under "Relative pronouns" there is a reference to "Pronouns"; not so under "Demonstrative," etc. In the case of articles which include numerous references, there should be suitable sub-headings. As it is, if the student wishes enlightenment on some point regarding the use of the preposition *de*, he may have to plow through some two dozen references (under "*de*, meanings and syntax"), before he finds what he wants. Almost the only article under which suitable sub-headings occur is "Archaisms."

[14] This matter is fairly well presented in Alexander's *Practical Introduction to French*, §§ 66, 111-112; cf. also Spiers in *MLN*, XXVIII, 116.

surely not one of them." Mr. H.'s rendering ("*that* is the least of her faults") has a quite different connotation (implying: "she has other worse faults").—§§ 81, 82. Refer to § 75.—§ 83, 9. Referring to sentence 6, the student will again say "*se combine.*" —§ 83, 16. Refer to § 86, *b*, N.—§ 89. This use of the future is limited (cf. Armstrong,[15] § 29, 2).—§ 101, l. 10. Read "ruisselle-rait." Why "would" in l. 4, but "should" in l. 11? The fact is that such a passage would never occur in normal English.—§ 110. For "§§ 108-109" read "§ 108."—§ 111, ex. 1. For "*a eu été sorti*" read "*a été sorti.*" Or is this a form of *A* 3 *p. p.* (a group not otherwise mentioned)?—§ 112, 1. Referring to "§ 85 *and Note b,*" the student will be led to say "*parle de Chine.*" The reference should have been rather to § 333, *b*.—§ 114 (p. 100, l. 3). Read "*Qu'est-ce.*"—§ 118: "*Dont,* meaning 'whose,' may precede *le* (*la, les*) + noun, but only thus." Meaning? What the student needs to be told is the proper form to use when the thing possessed is object of a preposition.—§ 123, *a*, R. Such attraction is also frequent after clauses which are not negatived.—§ 134: "*Qui ne dit mot consent.*" The student should be warned that this is an archaism, otherwise he may attempt to form new sentences on the same model. Likewise in § 133: "*qui plus est.*"—§ 135: "*Qui riait, qui pleurait.*" Living French?—§ 136, *a*, N. Cf. Godefroy for OFr. examples of *bal* (including the old plural *baus*). Is it not an exaggeration to say that *bal* is "very seldom plural" (cf. *les bals de l'Opéra*)?—§ 140, ex. 3: "*Il n'y a pas de quoi.*" The ellipsis would be clearer if "(*me remercier*)" were added.—§ 142: "*Now, où* can have as its antecedent only common nouns expressing situation." Misleading (cf. *Paris, où . . .*).—§ 144: "All forms of the relative pronouns, . . ." etc. But the six examples in this paragraph illustrate only *qui*.—§ 146: "It [*que*] cannot be used as a subject, . . ." etc. This statement is immediately contradicted at the top of p. 116 and in § 147, *a*, N.—§ 151. In "*Je ne sais quoi imiter,*" *quoi* is used not, as Mr. H. says, "because *imiter* begins with a vowel," but rather because *imiter* may also be used absolutely.—§ 156. The exclamatory *comme* (cf. § 193, l. 29) should also be mentioned and distinguished from *comment*.—§ 176, II, 9. Is the student to say "*peuvent sembler ressembler*"?—§ 181. Mention several other common uses of *tel* (*telle et telle chose, tel quel, Monsieur un tel*).—§ 181, *a*, ex. 2: "*Tel homme, tel maître.*" The usual expression is "*Tel maître, tel valet.*" Ex. 3 should not appear under the heading "*Tel . . . tel . . .*"—§ 182, *a*: "*Tout, tous,* etc. show approximately the same constructions as 'all' and 'every'; *not* as 'whole'." Rather puzzling for the student.—§ 182, *c*, 4. In "*pas du tout,*" does *tout* "stand alone"?—§ 187 (top p. 152). For "*D p. p.*" read "*E p. p.*"—§ 187, *a*. For an-

[15] *Syntax of the French Verb.*

other meaning of *devoir* + *de* + infinitive, cf. Armstrong, § 66, 4 (4) a.—§ 188, III: "noting carefully that the auxiliary must be *être* in all reflexive constructions, and that the past participle must agree in gender and number with the subject." (Cf. *Elles se sont dit que. . . .*) A similarly misleading statement occurs in § 265, *e*. It is true that § 269, exs. 7, 8 (also § 283, *c*, ex. 2, and § 427, *a*, exs. 6, 7) illustrate the form of the past participle when the reflexive pronoun is indirect object, but this type of sentence is nowhere clearly explained.—§ 188, Exercise II, 7. Refer to § 332.—P. 155, f.-n.: "the so-called 'Second Conjugation,' exemplified by *devoir*," etc. Confusion worse confounded!—§ 198. Include here the enclitic datives.—§ 202: "In *avoir, être, pouvoir, savoir,* and *vouloir* only subjunctive forms are used to express a command, request, or wish." Entirely misleading as applied to such forms as *sachons, veuillez,* which are not subjunctive forms in present-day French. The forms given under *b* (*puisses-tu,* etc.) are real subjunctives, and 1, 3, 4 are not analogous to the corresponding forms in *a, c, d, e*. Confusion would be avoided if all 3d person "imperatives" were regarded as subjunctives. Why in fact classify as "imperatives" *Qu'elle parle* (§ 194), *Dieu m'en garde* (§ 194, *e*), and as "subjunctives" *Qu'elle se taise* (§ 213), *Dieu vous bénisse* (§ 213, *b*)? —§ 202, *e*, 1. Read "*Veuille me dire.*"—§ 209. Perhaps too strong a statement in regard to the imperfect subjunctive. A few monosyllabic 3d person singular forms are still used in spoken French.—§ 215. Mention the possibility in some of these cases, of using *de ce que* with the indicative.—§ 215, I, 2. Read "*ne* + *vb.* + *qu'une.*" —§ 215, I, 3. "*L. S.* + *forcé à*" is not clear (*L. S.* of what verb?). Better say "*forcer à, L. S. p. p.*"—§ 222, IV, 1. Read "§ 188, III." —§ 225, IV. State that *ne* alone (no *pas*) is to be used in the dependent clause.—§ 226, I, 1. "Where is the book that contains no ideas that we haven't met already, somewhere?" (is this what Mr. H. really means to say?) should be followed by a reference to § 368, *j*.—§ 227, *a*, R.: "*C'en est le meilleur, que je sache.*" Very doubtful (cf. Armstrong, § 55, 1, d, and E. Rigal in *RLR,* XIX, p. 299).—§ 228, R. *h*. "*Tout* (variable)" needs to be qualified (cf. § 363).—§ 228, I, 4. *Si peu que* would be used here rather than *pour peu que,* as the latter implies a condition ("if . . . a little") rather than a pure concession (cf. § 249, l. 3 and N. 3), and might, in fact, better be classed under § 230.—§ 229, *b*, Q.: "*Quoi qu'il leur arrivât, ils ne canaient jamais.*" An unlikely combination (with "*O. S.*" in the first clause, and in the second a trivial verb like *caner*).—§ 230. Mention *à condition que* (often with the indicative).—§ 236. The colloquial equivalent would be rather: "*Si vous intentiez . . .*" (condition, not concession).—§ 244, ex. 7. Explain this use of the reflexive, or refer to § 301, R.—§ 254, N. 16. An improbable etymology (cf. *NED,* s. v. "rut").—§ 255, *b*. The use of the term "impersonal verb" in these cases is questionable (cf. Armstrong, §§ 20-21).—§ 258, *c*, N. Read

"§§ 260 ff."—P. 226 (end of 1). Read "I hope.'"—§ 264, 2: "*les savants* (no feminine)." Inexact (cf. Littré).—§ 266, l. 8. Read "[§ 98]."—§ 267, *b*. Since there is no verb *âger*, why consider *âgé* a past participle (any more than *e. g. barbelé*)?—§ 268, *b*, N. A past participle preceded by *combien* + *en* may vary for the eye (cf. Clédat, *Gram. rais.*, § 432).—§ 271, R.: "*Il y avait six hommes tués*, rather than . . . *de tués*." Not necessarily. There may be a difference of meaning: *de* + the participle implies other individuals to which the state indicated by the participle does not apply (cf. Clédat in *RPhF*, XV, pp. 120-127, and Tobler, *VB*, III², No. 5, *ad fin.*).—§ 276, *b*: "*Vous l'avez manquée belle.*" Whether logically or illogically (cf. Clédat, *G. r.*, § 425), the past participle is commonly neutral (*manqué*).—§ 277, 11. Refer to § 244, ex. 7.—§ 278, *a*. Add that what is true of *les* is true also of *la*.—§ 302, *b* (4): "*Il faisait nuit*" means rather "It was dark"; "It was getting dark" = *Il se faisait nuit*. Also "*Il fait soleil*" is less common than *Il fait du soleil*.—§ 314, *b*, R. Refer to § 312, *b*.—§ 315, 1, ll. 13-14. The phrase from *Colomba* is inexactly quoted (cf. Mr. Schinz's edition, p. 114).—§ 327, *c*, R.: "*le Quatorze Juillet.*" In regard to capitalization in this case, usage hesitates. *E. g.*, in the *Nouvelles de France* for July 19, 1917, the name of the national holiday is not capitalized, while in several following issues, it is.—§ 328, *a*. Add that in giving "speed per hour," *à l'heure* is used (*une vitesse de 150 km. à l'heure*).—§ 333, N. 3: "but we *must* say . . . *l'empereur de la Chine*." An overstatement (cf. *Dict. gén.*, s. v. *empereur*, and Clédat, *G. r.*, § 201, *b*).—§ 337, II, III. On these cases, cf. Clédat, *G. r.*, §§ 198, 201, *a*. In many of them, usage is quite uncertain, but Mr. H. errs rather in allowing an excessive freedom of choice. It would be better to indicate certain constructions as normal (*e. g., aller au Canada, en Danemark*), and mention the less usual forms as possibilities.—§ 338, *f*. The masc. sing. *vieux* is not infrequent before a noun beginning with a vowel or mute *h*.—§ 340, *a*, N. *J'ai un jour de libre* is not necessarily "bad French" (cf. my comment on § 271, R.).—§ 353, *a*, R.: "*cent* (*et*) *un-e*." *Cent et un* is so rare as to be negligible. More to the point would have been some mention of *soixante et dix*, which is quite common. Finally *soixante et onze* is more usual than *soixante-onze* (cf. p. 315).—§ 353, *b*. The statement as to the variability of *cent* is inadequate (but cf. § 355, 1, 4, and § 359).—P. 315, f.-n. Though less common than "*dix-neuf cent dix-huit*," etc., *mil neuf cent* . . . should by no means be ruled out entirely.—§ 356, *a*, 2: "en 1900 [*read* dix-neuf cents]." Better "*dix-neuf cent.*"—§ 356, *b*. The official division of the day into 24 hours (1-24) should at least be mentioned. Under this system, "12 o'clock" may be *douze heures* (cf. Exercise III, 1).—§ 357. Mention the use of the definite article in such cases as *les trois quarts du temps*.—§ 363. "*toute étonnée*" is unusual.—§ 364, *a*. It is inexact to say that "*nouveau venu*" has no feminine (cf. *Dict. gén.*,

s. v. *nouveau,* and Clédat, *G. r.,* § 250).—§ 370, *g,* N. Colloquially, *ce n'est pas rien* is not uncommon (= *c'est quelque chose*). For analogous *ne . . . pas que,* cf. § 378, *a,* N. 4.—§ 374, *d:* "*Rien* may be followed by *qui, quoi, de quoi* (*à quoi* etc.), and by *dont.*" Under what circumstances by *quoi?* The list should include *que.*—§ 387, *c.* For "§§ 218-219" read "§§ 216, 219." Make the same correction in § 400 (under "*peindre*"), and in § 403, *a.*—P. 349, f.-n. 2. Quotation should end after "s'imposer."—§ 397, *a* (4), ex. 6: "he fell stricken by a bomb." Not living English.—§ 399, *c,* N. For "202" read "204"(?).—§ 404, *a, b.* Cf. my comment on § 202.—§408, *b* (p. 363, l. 5). For "5 *D p. p.*" read "5 *E p. p.*"—§ 422: "*Épousseter* (commonly [?] written *épouster*)."—§ 424, *a.* French grammarians do not generally restrict the term "*verbes pronominaux*" to the "essential reflexives."—P. 369, f.-n. 4. Not always (cf. *Dict. gén.,* s. v. *partir* II, 1°).—§ 428. For "*allé-s*" read "*allé-e*" (cf. § 405, N.).—§ 443 (p. 375, l. 6). Read "399, *b.*"—§ 461. For "399, *c*" read "339, *b.*"—§ 470, *C.*—Read "398, *c.*"—§ 470, *b.* Add examples such as *il le faut, il me les faut.*—§ 487, *a.* Though rare, *peintresse* and *poétesse* exist.—§ 490: "*enseigne.*" After "standard-bearer," add the modern meaning "ensign."—§ 492. For "*poign*" read "*poing.*"—§ 492, *k,* N. "*souillon*" may be masculine.—§ 497, *b,* N. The generally authorized plural is *des reines-Claude.*—§ 497, *d,* N.: "*Plate-forme* has only *plate-formes.*" What authority? Likewise, under *f,* what authority for "*des croc-en-jambe*"?—P. 406: "*amount* vb." Add "370, ex. 15."—P. 408: "*be.*" Under (*g*), read "275."—"*between.*" For "302" read "304"(?).—P. 409: "*born, be.*" Read "ex. 4."—"*by.*" Strike out "§ 243, ex. 3,".—P. 412: "*eager to, be* (*very*) avoir (grande, *or* grand') envie de." What authority for "*grand'*"?—P. 413: "*fact.*" The reference "§ 98, R," here inapplicable, should follow "*face*" (just above).—P. 416: "*glad . . . see happy.*" The latter word does not appear.—P. 433: "*the* (1)." The reference to "§ 311" is inapplicable.—P. 441, N. 4. For "33" read "35."—P. 443. Add "*argot*" (cf. § 87, Additional Exercise).—P. 444: "*c'.*" Read "*ç'aurait.*"—P. 445: "*Champagne.*" For "497" read "493" (?).—P. 450: "*endroit.*" For "320" read "330." Make the same correction under "*envers*" (p. 451), "*être*" (p. 451), "*fut*" (p. 453).—P. 452: "*extrêmement.*" Read "extreme-ly."—Add "*fait, en fait de*" (cf. § 315, I, l. 4).—P. 458: "*mil* occurs in *l'an mil* (A. D. 1000) etc." Inexact or misleading.—P. 464: "*punir.*" For "305" read "303."—P. 465: "*regarder.*" Add the meaning "concern" (cf. § 54, VI).—P. 473: "Article, Definite." Add "§§ 37, 58."—P. 474: "*C p. p.*" For "§ 106, *a*" read "§§ 103-106, 110." Why not under "Tenses"?—"*ce,*" etc. Add "§§ 68, 314, *b,*" and for "83" read "76-83," or refer to "Demonstrative," etc.—"*celui.*" Add § 75."—"*ci.*" Add "§§ 80-82."—"Conditions." For "R" read "N."—"Conjugations." Add "§ 189."—P. 476: "Indirect questions."

For "233" read "223."—"Linking." For "143, *b*" read "143, *c*," and add "§ 497, *b, c, f, g*."—"Logical" etc. Before "265," add "§ 76,".—P. 478: "Partitives." Add "§ 38, *a*."—"Past definite." Refer to "Tenses."—"*Petite phonétique comparée.*" Add "p. 26 (footnote)."—"*plus.*" Strike out "§ 267, *c*," and add "§§ 55-56, 90, 375."—P. 479: "*sembler.*" For "233" read "223."—"Stress." Add "§ 43, *c*."—"Tenses." Under "present tense" add "§ 192." Under "group *B*" add "§§ 67, 192." Under "groups *D* and *E*," for "84-112" read "84-102, 107-110," and strike out (as inapplicable to groups *D, E*) "192, 242, 251, *a*, ex. 3, 267, *a*." References to the compound tenses are quite inadequate: in addition to §§ 72-73, refer also to §§ 103-106, 110-112, 427.—This list of corrections in the Index is by no means complete.

I have tried to make clear the fact that, in spite of minor defects (which, for the most part, can easily be remedied), *Living French* is a book that will stand out among French grammars as a work of prime importance. As it differs so radically from most books of similar scope, I prefer to reserve a judgment concerning its adaptability for the classroom until I shall have had an opportunity to test it in actual use. It is however my impression that with college students, certainly with those of more than average ability, its success will be assured. By no means negligible will be its undoubted value as a book of reference for teachers, especially for those who have been denied an adequate opportunity for first-hand acquaintance with living French. Let us hope that, in a second edition, the value of the book from this point of view will be enhanced by the addition of a *satisfactory* index.

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A Study of English and American Writers, Volume III, A Laboratory Method, by J. SCOTT CLARK, with additions by JOHN PRICE ODELL. Chicago: Row, Peterson & Co., 1916.

This volume supplements Professor Clark's *Study of English Prose Writers*, 1898, and his *Study of English and American Poets*, 1900. It differs from these two, as stated in its preface, "not in quality, but in quantity; . . . more authors have been given place . . .; biographical outlines, bibliographies, critical comments,

and illustrative excerpts, have been condensed; but in no case, it is believed, has the essential fact, reference, quotation, or excerpt been omitted."

With perhaps too modest a disregard of his own influence upon the book, the editor says: "This volume had been all but completed by the author before his death, which occurred December 28, 1911. Little remained for the present editor to do except to shape up, for the printer, the material already prepared and sifted by classroom presentation, and to add . . . sixty-five biographical outlines and three studies—those of Meredith, Hardy, and Lanier"—surely, with the supervision of the printing, no small contribution to the excellence of the work.

Within its 645 pages are presented sixty-five English authors, from Sir Thomas More to Kipling, and eleven American writers of the nineteenth century, from Daniel Webster to Sidney Lanier. Under each appears, first, a biographical note of about 250 words; second, his "distinctive characteristics"; and then a reading list of a half dozen or so "critical references." The biographies are admirably condensed, with clearness and balance, and accuracy save for a few obvious misprints, chiefly in titles and dates. The reading lists are well selected and thoroughly usable, in spite of slight inconsistencies here and there in the manner of their printing.

The "distinctive characteristics," occupying about nine pages out of every ten, are the unique element in the book. Here are grouped under each author his outstanding features of style, personality, temperament, and the like, as substantiated by ample quotation from current criticism. The chapter on Jane Austen, being brief, will serve for illustration: her "realism—minute delineation" is supported by a sentence or so excerpted from W. D. Howells, Taine, Curtis, and Walter Scott, respectively; her "tame but faithful portraiture" is in like manner vouched for by Macaulay and Charlotte Brontë; quotations from Saintsbury and Minto bear witness to her "subtle irony"; while her "naturalness" rests upon the consenting testimony of Andrew Lang, Henry Morley, Fitzgerald, and Gosse. Finally, each "characteristic" is further elucidated by a paragraph or so judiciously culled from the works of Jane Austen herself.

The method and aim of the book, as stated in its preface, "consists in determining the particular and distinctive features

of a writer's style, in sustaining this analysis by a consensus of critical opinion, in illustrating the particular characteristics of each writer by carefully selected extracts from his works, and in then requiring the pupil to find, in the works of the writer, parallel illustrations." It is thus a laboratory manual of stylistics, for students somewhat advanced, designed to lead them quickly to "positive and appreciable results," among which are mentioned growth of the pupil's own vocabulary, the development of his own style, and "the creation of a real hunger for the best literature."

From this it appears that the student is not to assimilate *memoriter* the dicta of critics, nor, on the other extreme, is he to make his own discoveries; but, as a median course, he is to observe, and then to correlate his observations with this volume as a touchstone for their more accurate identification. This middle course, of just enough help, seems to be pedagogically sound, in spite of a method of later vogue—such, for instance, as that adopted by the editors of the Yale *Shakespeare*, now appearing,—which permits to the student no critical aid, on the ground that this aid encourages him "to accept unassimilated opinions of others instead of developing his power of independent judgment." Herein is a real danger; but does not the justice on the supreme bench rise to the eminence of independent judgment through long and patient pondering of manifold decisions handed down, traditionally, if you please, for years before his time?

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CORRESPONDENCE

Miscellaneous Notes

(1) *Christ* 910-920

When I edited the *Christ*, in 1900, I was ignorant of the source of these lines. I now discover it to be Pseudo-Rufinus, commentary on *Ps.* 33, 17 (34, 16), in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 21, 766: "Bonis quidem blandus est [vultus Domini] et propitius, malis vero terribilis et districtus." The commentary is certainly not by Rufinus: it may perhaps be by Vincentius, a Gallic presbyter, and date from the second half of the fifth century (*Realencyclopädie der Prot. Theol.*, 3d ed., xvii, 201). The passage continues: "Et sicut in memoria æterna erunt justi [*Ps.* 111 (112), 7] ita de memoria

æterna tollentur mali," a comment on the last half of the verse: " ut perdat de terra memoriam eorum " (cf. *Ps.* 9, 6). With this compare *Chr.* 1536[b]-1537[a]; *El.* 1302[b]-1304[a].

(2) Chaucer's *mormal*

The *New English Dictionary* gives no extended description of the sore before that furnished by the quotation under the year 1543. A contemporary of Chaucer's, writing in 1396, furnishes the following hints (*Manière de Langage,* p. 401):

Vrayement, sire, mon chival me ferist l'autre jour si malement que je ne puis mye aler. Ore regardez comment ma jambe en est tout enfleez. J'en ai grant cremeur qu'il devendra un *mormal,* car il puit vilaynement que un fumers pourriz tout plain de fiens, caroinge et merde et de tous autres ordures et choses puans; et j'en ai si grant paine que c'est mervailles; par quoy je pense bien que je ne viverai guaires, se non que j'en ai le plus tost remedie, car si Dieux m'ait, il ne me chaudroit que je dounasse pour en estre guery.

(3) Petrarch, *Var.* 22

A passage of this letter (*Opera,* 1581, p. 1005; cf. Fracassetti v. 283) is as follows:

O bona Carmentis, quæ hoc inter absentes remedium meditata es! Fecerat idem apud Chaldæos Abraam, apud Hebræos Moyses, apud Græcos Cadmus; Aegyptiis et Latinis mulieres argutissime providistis—Isis Aegyptiis, tu nobis.

Petrarch must here be indebted to Isidore of Seville, *Etym.* 1. 3, 4:

Hebræorum litteras a Lege cœpisse per Moysen; Syrorum et Chaldæorum per Abraham. . . Aegyptiorum litteras Isis regina, Inachis filia, de Græcia veniens in Aegyptum, repperit, et Aegyptiis tradidit. . . Cadmus, Agenoris filius, Græcas litteras a Phœnice in Græciam decem et septem primus attulit. . . . Latinas litteras Carmentis nympha prima Italis tradidit.

The beautiful manuscript of Isidore which Petrarch's father bought for him in Paris is still in existence as No. 7595 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme,* 2d ed., I, 35, 113; II, 209). It is the first volume that we know him to have possessed.

(4) *Lycidas*

Referring to Miss King's note on *Lycidas* in the May number of *Mod. Lang. Notes,* may I call attention to my article on the same subject in the *Mod. Lang. Review* for January, 1907 (republished in Spanish in the *Boletin de la Real Academia Gallega* for June 20, 1907, pp. 6-9)?

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A Schiller-Letter from Chicago

The Public Administrator of Cook County, Illinois, recently took charge of the estate of Julius Doerner, an antiquarian collector, whose library of about 100,000 volumes is now on exhibition in the Northwestern University Building, Chicago.

Included in this collection is the last sheet of a manuscript letter of Schiller, much faded by exposure, but manifestly authentic. It reads as follows:

wenn Sie zu des HE. Geh. Raths Büreau kommen können, so haben Sie doch die Güte, das Theater Exemplar der *Natürl. Tochter* zu suchen, und mir zu schicken. Es ist ein expresser Bote aus Berlin von Iffland hier, der es dringend verlangt, und weil ein hundert Thaler dabei zu verdienen sind, so wird es unserm HE. Geh. Rath gewiss lieb seyn. Es hat durchaus keinen Verzug, denn wenn es nur 2 Posttage später kommt, so ist das Werk gedruckt, und Iffland braucht es alsdann, dem HE. Geh. Rath nicht mehr zu bezahlen.

Ihr ganz ergebener

Schiller.

Letter 1868 of Jonas's edition of Schiller's correspondence shows that the latter actually sent Iffland the manuscript of *Die natürliche Tochter* by messenger on May 3, 1803. Goethe was absent in Lauchstädt, but Schiller was "fortunately able to get at his papers," and assumed the responsibility for taking possession of the author's copy.

Our Chicago letter was probably written on or about the same day, inasmuch as the "express messenger" was in waiting. I am of the opinion that it was addressed to Christiane Vulpius, who remained at home during this journey of Goethe's (*Goethes Briefe*, No. 4653); the basis for the request seems specially reckoned for her appreciation. Professor Kurrelmeyer suggests that the letter may have been meant for Goethe's secretary, who doubtless had access to his papers. The reason for haste given in the last sentence is exaggerated, since Cotta's *Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1804*, in which the play was first printed, did not appear until October, 1803.

If Christiane was the recipient, the letter is the only one we know as having been addressed her by Schiller, who had anything but a cordial feeling for Goethe's domestic relations.

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A Study in English Metrics. By ADELAIDE CRAPSEY. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1918). This monograph of eighty pages is a part "of an investigation of certain problems in verse structure the full carrying out of which was prevented by Miss Crapsey's death in the autumn of 1914." These words are from "An Introductory Note" by Esther Lowenthal, who would put the reader in the proper attitude of mind for the evaluation of her friend's incomplete treatise by declaring that Miss Crapsey "considered a full awareness of technique the necessary equipment of one who would understand fully the subtle and delicate beauty of verse." This statement is directed at the critic rather than at the merely appreciative reader of poetry, as is made clear by the analogy: "no one would attempt to be a critic of musical composition who was unaware of the technical problems of musical construction." That the critics of poetry have not considered "necessary a corresponding equipment" is the error to be corrected by inducing "a scientific knowledge of the technique of verse," which may also prove to be "a potent tool in the hand of the poet." All this is taking high ground, but it is done in a way that cannot fail to produce the effect of an unscientific exaggeration of the importance of some secondary feature of "verse."

That which is here put under a specially strong emphasis, the "main thesis" of the treatise, is announced by the author to be "an important application of phonetics to metrical problems" which "lies in the study of phonetic word-structure." What is meant by this might be variously interpreted. The statement is defective in being too comprehensive, in having no points of definiteness; but it is framed in general terms to give a more basic significance to the selected problem. The assurance of an attitude of scientific accuracy is to be conveyed by it,—the attitude that enables one to perceive that the technique of versification has been faultily expounded thru the neglect of phonetic characteristics of the language. What is this deplorable neglect? It is the failure to weigh "verse" with respect to the relative use of monosyllables and polysyllables. That there is something in this that is far from being new is here acknowledged, but hardly with due consideration. The historic method is unfavorable to the announcement of novelties; but the publisher's appeal must not be too ruthlessly set aside: This book "establishes for the first time that English poetical vocabularies fall into groups according to the percentage of polysyllables employed."

In the first division of the treatise the "vocabularies" of "Nursery Rhymes," of poems of Milton, Pope, Tennyson, Swinburne, Francis Thompson, and Maurice Hewlett are arithmetically tabulated in demonstration of the sub-thesis that the occurrence of

polysyllables (words with more than two syllables) establishes three pivotal types of the poetic vocabulary standing at the two extremes and the middle point of the graduated scale of occurrence. At the lower end of the scale is the type (that may be designated by A) in which the occurrence of polysyllables runs characteristically "from zero to about 2%." Here belong the tested nursery rimes. The middle type B is "of medium structural complexity," the occurrence of polysyllables "running from about 4% to about 5½%, with, probably, a tendency to drop towards 3% and to rise toward 6%." Type C represents "extreme structural complexity," the occurrence of polysyllables "running from about 7% to about 8½%, with a tendency to drop towards 6% and to rise to 9%." Milton conforms in most of his poems to this extreme type, polysyllables being "from about 7% to about 8½%" of his 'vocabulary,' "with a tendency to drop to 6% and to rise to 9%." Pope in a representative group of poems exemplifies type B, 'occurrence' "running from about 4% to 5½%." The types have thus on-glides and off-glides. These linking slopes provide places for characteristic variations. Tennyson's vocabulary is of the medium type (B), but it differs from that of Pope by a downward tendency "from 4% to 3%." Here, too, belongs Swinburne with *Hymn to Proserpine* and *Hesperia* dropping "still further, from 3% towards 2%," and *Chastelard* and *The Forsaken Garden* descending under 2% and, therefore, of type A. Francis Thompson is to be classed with Milton; and Maurice Hewlett with Tennyson, 3-4%, rather than with Pope. The result of these analyses is to fix the lower limit of type B at 2% and the higher limit of type C at 9½% or even 10%.

Do these exact arithmetical expressions advance the inquiry into the technique of versification beyond what may be learned by the use of the "vague terms of few, more, and many" in describing the occurrence of polysyllables? Haste in answering this question may be checked by the promise of giving greater precision to elementary analysis of the types. Accordingly tables have been prepared for the poems already analyzed, in which the monosyllables are separated from the dissyllables; and in a few additional tables the dissyllables accented on the second syllable are distinguished from the prevailing form. These tables are placed in an appendix as "preliminary data for the closer study of the monodissyllabic group"; and it is declared that a similar analysis of the polysyllabic group will be required.

The conviction underlying this study is that "the relation of the word to the foot" must reveal a characteristic feature of the verse, which "in its own field" will parallel metrical scansion. What is offered in the way of a preliminary discussion of this hypothesis keeps within the limits of a gradual recognition of the various features of the language that must be carefully considered. Thus compounds and polysyllables enforce the study of secondary

accents, and the metrical use "of certain grammatical classes of words, conjunctions, prepositions, etc.," must also be formulated. Then there will be required an evaluation of "the non-coincidence of foot- and word-division" (p. 39). The "weighting" of verse is another neglected subject. An excessive use of monosyllables results in "heavy weighting"; and the "kinds of rhythms" have their peculiar relation to the 'vocabulary,' that is, to the phonetic structure of the verse.

Miss Crapsey has left a booklet of poems, published after her death (*Verse,* Rochester, The Manas Press, 1915), by which the reader of her treatise is doubly assured of her delicate perceptions and refined taste. These qualities guiding a studious and alert mind would surely have wrought a worthy result of her enthusiastic interest in the problem of her treatise. As is clearly fore-shadowed, that result would have reannounced the doctrine of the availability for verse-stress of the historic secondary word-accents and the category of relational words usually unaccented in prose.

J. W. B.

The Story of the Scots Stage. By Robb Lawson (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co.). Mr. Lawson in his Foreword disarms criticism in a measure by saying that if he strung his "notes together in some historical order, the volume might not be unwelcome to brother Scots at home and abroad." It may, however, be permitted a rank outsider to enquire whether this book should seek justification in an appeal to local pride or patriotism and whether the brother Scots are likely to welcome it. The introductory chapter of 29 short pages is a light and airy sketch of bards, minstrels, jugglers, dancers, of Mystery plays and the Feast of Asses, of the Morality and Sir David Lyndsay's *Satire of the thrie Estatis,* of Robin Hood plays and the opposition of the clergy, and of theatrical displays and pageants, running up to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The body of the book is taken up with so-called stage exhibitions in a half-dozen towns, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Arbroath, Dundee, Glasgow, and Perth, and it recounts what appeared in these places from about the middle of the fifteenth century to well on in the nineteenth. It is when we find what is recorded that we question the welcome his book will receive at the hands even of a patriotic Scotchman. Wherever the author finds a reference to any kind of performance he makes a note of it and puts it in his book without regard to any other connection than the chronological. When, too, we have gaps of fifty or a hundred years, we sometimes find the work uninspiring. It is hard to see by what system of classification there can be grouped under the heading of the chapter, "Edinburgh's Early Drama," such productions as the doings of Banks's educated horse, a rope-walking performance, the exhibition

of the Siamese twins of 1642, a dromedary, and "ane little baboon, faced like unto an ape," a quack doctor's side show by means of a "fool" and a rope-dancer, and a broad-sword contest in which an Irishman named Bryan was very properly felled with seven wounds by an old Killicrankie soldier named Donald Bane. In justice to the author it should be said that several performances of actual plays are also recorded in this chapter. Samples of the Scotch humour to which the author would apparently lay claim ("And yet they say the absence of a sense of humour is a Scots trait!" p. 266) are only surpassed by the specimens of his elegant English. Thus on page 125, with reference to a gentleman's having been turned out of a box at Canongate playhouse, the author throws in this parenthesis, "(Needless to say, the gent referred to had been 'twining the vine-leaves too freely in his hair')." Or this on p. 57: "the proprietor introduced boxes, and started the 'starring' system in Aberdeen, but he was too previous, and his speculation only led to his ruin." *Ex pede Herculem.*

J. W. T.

A Handbook of French Phonetics, by William A. Nitze and Ernest H. Wilkins, with Exercises by Clarence E. Parmenter (New York, Holt & Co., 1918, viii + 106 pp.). In general scope, this little book seems to lie midway between a very brief summary such as Professor Cerf's *Essentials of French Pronunciation,* on the one hand, and, on the other, a more comprehensive treatise such as Professor Geddes's *French Pronunciation* (which, by the way, might well have been included in the Bibliography). Though intended for "advanced students," it will commend itself particularly for use in amplification of, or as a substitute for, the introductory chapter on pronunciation generally to be found in elementary grammars. The authors treat first the several sounds, then the letters of ordinary spelling, and finally the phenomena of connected speech (stress, linking, etc.). The correlation between the sounds and their conventional symbols is well indicated, and this part of the booklet will doubtless prove more valuable than the sections devoted to an analysis of the various sounds and their formation. In a few cases, the pronunciation indicated hardly represents normal usage (*e. g.,* § 97, "Poë [poe]"), there are occasional slips (*e. g.,* §§ 78, 110, "le héro") and occasional inexact or misleading statements (*e. g.,* the last paragraph of § 109), but in the main, the subject is clearly and adequately presented. The "Exercises" appear to have been carefully prepared and should serve their purpose well. Only five misprints have been noted: § 72 (p. 31), "de bric et de brac"; p. 81, next to last line, "ecœurer"; p. 82, l. 27, "le hâvre"; p. 103, l. 10, "strategème"; p. 104, l. 2, "mèle."

P. B. F.

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ROBERT MANNYNG'S USE OF *DO* AS AUXILIARY

In a valuable and interesting article published in 1915, Professor Royster showed that Lydgate "has left the first recorded frequent use of the unambiguous *do* auxiliary in English."[1] It is the purpose of the present article to supplement Professor Royster's contribution to the history of this construction by calling attention to Robert Mannyng's use of the *do* auxiliary. In doing so I have no intention of disputing in Mannyng's favor the claim that has been made for Lydgate, for I greatly doubt whether Lydgate's freedom in this use of *do* can be paralleled in any documents that are demonstrably of earlier date. Mannyng uses it much less freely than Lydgate; the important fact is that, living about a century earlier, he uses it with any freedom at all.

In the 12630 lines of *Handlyng Synne* I have observed ten certain cases of the auxiliary. They are as follows:

Pers stode and dyd beholde
How þe man þe kyrtyl solde (5709 f.)

Þe þornes prykked, þe netles dyd byte (7521)

Þat so ferfurþ was þy wyl
Þat þy naturë dydë spyl (8923 f.)

Goddes mercy dyd hyt fro hem were (9154)

But none so moche þat y dyde beholde (9302)

He seyd 'hym self wulde with hym speke,
To wytë why hys bondes dyd breke' (10609 f.)

[1] *Modern Philology*, XII, 449. This article was supplemented by a note in *Studies in Philology* (University of North Carolina), Vol. XIII, No. 1.

> Þey asked hym, at þe laste,
> Þat day þat he dyd[ë] faste (10781 f.)
>
> —as moche as þe tyme doþ amounte (11381)
>
> As ofte as þou yn synne doust falle (12257)
>
> A man yn flessh as he dyd se (12506)[2]

Besides these unquestionable cases I have observed fourteen cases in which it is probable that *do* is auxiliary and not causative, namely lines 510, 511, 1152, 2975, 3581 (cf. 3577), 6010 (cf. 6027), 6284, 6811, 7009, 8255, 9256, 9357, 11079, 11714. As examples I may give the following:

> He dyde but lete an hounde hym to (6811)
>
> And Troyle dyde þe skryt weyl sele (7009)
>
> þe syluer þat he[3] þarfore tolde,
> þerof a party he ded withholde (11713 f.)

Mannyng began *Handlyng Synne* in 1303;[4] his *Chronicle* was completed in 1338.[5] We find, as *a priori* we might expect to find, that Mannyng uses this auxiliary more freely in his later than in his earlier work. In portions of the *Chronicle* about equal in bulk

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[2] The text is quoted from Furnivall's edition, E. E. T. S. Here, as elsewhere thruout the present article, I have disregarded all cases in which the *do*-form is an imperative or in which the construction in question is not attested by all the MSS. collated by the editor of the edition used. I have also disregarded all cases in which I have been unable to decide whether the verb dependent on *do* is transitive or intransitive (see note 22 below).

[3] Ananias.

[4] *Handlyng Synne*, 73 ff.

[5] Mannyng concludes his *Chronicle* with the words:

> What tyme I left þis lore, þe day is for to witen,
> Idus þat is of May left I to write þis ryme,
>
> B letter & Friday bi ix. þat ȝere ȝede prime (Hearne, p. 341).

Following these words in the Inner Temple MS., in the same hand, is the memorandum: "Expliciunt gesta Britonum & Anglorum in lingua materna per Robertum Mannyng transumpta anno Christi millesimo. CCCmo. tricesimo VIII. Idus Majj, littera dominicali D. Prima IX. tempore Regis Edwardi tercii à conquestu. XIo" (Hearne, p. xxxiii). Neither of these statements is consistent with itself. May 15 could not fall on Friday if the Dominical Letter was B; it must, as Hearne remarks, have been D. And May 15, 1338, was in 12 Edward III, not 11 Edward III. It is clear that B was miswri'ten for D in the English text, and xi for xii in the

to *Handlyng Synne*,[6] I have, it is true, noted only nine instances that are absolutely beyond question:

> Geffrey Arthure of Minumue,
> fro Breton speche he did remue,
> & made it alle *in* Latyn (Furnivall 163 ff.)
>
> Ladies were cald, & in þe eyr dide fare (Furnivall 504)
>
> Wyþ man lyknesse þe fend dide take (Furnivall 1339)
>
> He[7] mariede þe oþere doughtres boþe;
> Þe kyng of Scotland þat on dide wedde;
> Hennieis of Cornewaille, Ragaw hom ledde (Furnivall 2338 ff.)
>
> At Teukesbiri in toumbe his body did lie (Hearne 13, 4)
>
> At Gloucestre is he laid, þe pantelere did him slo[8] (Hearne 33, 18)
>
> He did Harald body do drawe vp also tite (Hearne 54, 4)
>
> Eft Suane, þe Danes kyng, þis lond did vnderfonge (Hearne 57, 16)
>
> þe tounes, þe countes, þe foreyns alle aboute,
> To þe kyng felle on knes, his powere did þam loute,
> Un to his pes þam ȝald, feaute did him suere (Hearne 322, 1 ff.).[9]

Latin. The date could not have been 1337, for about 2500 lines short of the end of his work he mentions June 7, 1337, as the date of the death of the daughter of Leulyn (Hearne, p. 243). The first year after 1337 in which May 15 fell on Friday was 1338, and the next was 1349; in both of these years the Dominical Letter was D (E. A. Fry, *Almanacks for Students of English History*, London, 1915).

[6] The portions of the *Chronicle* that I have used are lines 1-5000 and 15231-16730 of Furnivall's edition of Part I and pages 1-60 and 235-341 of Hearne's edition of Part II. Since Hearne's edition contains about 25 lines to the page, I have used 6500 lines from Part I and about 4175 lines from Part II. Allowing for the fact that Part I and *Handlyng Synne* are in short couplets and that Part II is in alexandrines, the 10675 lines I have used from the *Chronicle* are about equal in amount of material to the 12630 lines of *Handlyng Synne*.

[7] King Lear.

[8] Cf. the preceding lines:

> þe kyng tok þis pantelere, & strangled him right þore,
> & he wonded þe kyng dedely fulle sore.
> Seuen ȝere was he kyng, and seuen monethis mo.

[9] The text is quoted from Furnivall's *Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne*, in the Rolls Series, and Thomas Hearne's *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (as illustrated and improv'd by Robert of Brunne)*, Oxford, 1725. The references to Furnivall are by line numbers; the reference to Hearne are by page and line.

But there are fifty-two probable cases of the auxiliary use of *do*, namely: Furnivall 939, 977, 986, 1340, 1445, 1612, 1827, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1868, 2104, 2243, 2245, 2253, 2564, 2917, 3593, 4096, 4255, 4611, 4612, 4822, 4850, 15184, 15277, 15472, 15521, 15833, 15931, 16070, 16192, 16399, 16414; Hearne, 7, 18; 30, 6; 31, 23; 52, 22; 54, 11; 236, 22; 245, 18; 248, 16; 254, 3; 265, 9; 265, 12; 294, 7; 295, 16; 300, 20; 304, 16; 321, 17; 323, 7; 335, 17. The following are representative examples of the probable instances:

Brut*us* dide write a bref (Furnivall 939)

He dide swythe make somons
ffor alle his erles and barons (Furnivall 977 f.)

Byforn y þe kynges weye
Brut*us* did hym enbusche & leye (Furnivall 985 f.)

In þ*at* liknesse þe folk dide make
An ymage, & worschiped þ*at* same (Furnivall 1340 f.)

A piler of bras þ*er* þey fonde,
þ*at* he[10] dide sette for hono*ur*,
þ*at* he was þider conquerro*ur* (Furnivall 1444 ff.)

Brut*us* & hys men of Troye,
. . . . . .
A castel þey dide make of pris
. . . . . .
A castel þey maden to haue rescet (Furnivall 1609 ff.)

þei mad þe lond fulle pouere, þe folk ded þei slo (Hearne 7, 18)

& a suerd of gold, in þe hilte did men hide
Tuo of þo nayles, þat war þorh Ihesu fete (Hearne 30, 6 f.)

Athelstan tok a day, a parlement did make (Hearne 31, 23)

Alfred he was led to þe abbay of Elyng,
Bifor Godwyn himseluen þei did his ȝene out þring (Hearne 52, 21 f.)

From these facts it seems clear that the use of *do* as auxiliary was establishing itself during Mannyng's life-time in the dialect of Lincolnshire, and that a considerable progress had been made towards the free use of the periphrastic forms that was attained at a later period. Now the romance of *Havelok* appears to have been composed in Lincolnshire before the end of the thirteenth

[10] Hercules.

century, and may with great probability be taken as representing substantially (at least so far as the transmitted text preserves the forms of the original) the dialect of Lincolnshire in the generation previous to Mannyng.[11] It is of interest therefore to observe how

[11] That the romance was composed in Lincolnshire is extremely probable from its frequent local allusions (to Lincoln, 773, 847, 862, 980, 1105, 2558, 2572, 2824; to Lindsey, 734; to Grimsby, 745, 1202, 2540, 2579, 2617, 2619, 2866) and from the local traditions of the story that existed at Grimsby (see Skeat's edition, Oxford, 1902, pp. lii ff.) and Lincoln (see passage from Mannyng quoted below). Moreover, the original dialect, tho imperfectly preserved in the transmitted text, was certainly North-East Midland (see the rimes cited by Skeat, p. xxvii). With regard to the date of the romance, we have two facts that serve to indicate a *terminus ad quem*. The first fact is that the Laud MS., which is dated by Skeat about 1310 (p. vii), is not the original copy but contains forms which are more southerly than those of the original. The second fact is that *Handlyng Synne* has two couplets (5611 f. and 5809 f.) which agree almost word for word with *Havelok* 679 f. and 819 f. (Skeat, p. xliii). The agreements are too close to be explained as coincidence, but must be the result of imitation. That Mannyng should have imitated *Havelok* is extremely probable from the fact that he knew an English romance of Havelok; he writes in his *Chronicle* as follows:

> Bot I haf grete ferly, þat I fynd no man,
> þat has writen in story, how Hanelok [*sic* Hearne] þis lond wan.
> Noiþer Gildas, no Bede, no Henry of Huntynton,
> No William of Malmesbiri, ne Pers of Bridlynton,
> Writes not in þer bokes of no kyng Athelwold,
> Ne Goldeburgh his douhtere, ne Hanelok not of told,
> Whilk tyme þe were kynges, long or now late
> þei mak no menyng whan, no in what date.
> Bot þat þise lowed men vpon Inglish tellis,
> Right story can me not ken, þe certeynte what spellis.
> Men sais in Lyncoln castelle ligges ȝit a stone,
> þat Hanelok kast wele forbi euer ilkone.
> & ȝit þe chapelle standes, þer he weddid his wife,
> Goldeburgh þe kynge's douhter, þat saw is ȝit rife.
> & of Gryme a fisshere, men redes ȝit in ryme,
> þat he bigged Grymesby Gryme þat ilk tyme.
> Of alle stories of honoure, þat I haf þorgh souht,
> I fynd, þat no compiloure of him tellis ouht.
> Sen I fynd non redy, þat tellis of Hanelok kynde,
> Turne we to þat story, þat we writen fynde
>
> (Hearne, pp. 25 f.; quoted by Skeat, p. xliv).

The names Athelwold and Goldeburgh, it will be observed, are the names which we find in the existing *Havelok*, not those that occur in the French

the *do*-forms are used in *Havelok*. I have found no certain occurrence of the auxiliary use of *do*, and only four probable cases:

Mete he[12a] deden plenté make (1242)

Lai or Gaimar (see Skeat, pp. xxxix ff.). From these facts we must infer that *Havelok* was written not later than 1303. For the *terminus a quo* of its composition we have the historical allusions (or supposed allusions) set forth by Hales (*Folia Litteraria*, 30 ff.). Most of Hales' historical parallels are highly inconclusive, but there are two that demand consideration. In lines 136 ff. the writer says that Athelwold sends for his earls and barons "Fro Rokesburw al into Douere," and in lines 263 ff. he says that Godrich made justices go thru all England "Fro Douere into Rokesborw." In lines 1001 ff. he says that Godrich

. . . . gart komen into þe tun
Mani erl, and mani barun;
And alle [men] þat lives were
In Englelond, þanne were þere,
þat þey haueden after sent
To ben þer at þe parlement.

From the "Dover to Roxburgh" lines Hales inferred that the romance could not have been written before 1291, when the possession of Roxburgh and other castles passed, for a time at least, into the hands of Edward I. (Hales, indeed, considered the better *terminus a quo* to be 1296, when Roxburgh passed into the permanent possession of Edward; this, however, is inadmissible, for Roxburgh was in Edward's possession for considerably more than a year in 1291 and 1292; see *Rotuli Scotiae*, I, 1a, 11b, 12a.) From the fact that the author seems to have meant in 1001 ff. that Godrich's parliament included not only barons and earls but also representatives of the commons, Hales inferred that the romance could not have been written before 1295, the year of the Model Parliament. But the summoning to Parliament of representatives of the commons was no new thing in 1295; it had been done in 1254, 1261, 1264, 1273, 1275, 1283, 1290, and 1294 (Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, ed. 3, II, 232 ff.), and lines 1001 ff. might have been written any time after 1265. The evidence, therefore, is that *Havelok* was written some time between 1291 and 1303. Skeat, it is true, observing that final *e* is sounded much more frequently in *Havelok* than in *Handlyng Synne*, concluded (pp. xxvi f.) that the romance was originally written before 1291 and that the "Dover to Roxburgh" couplets (which can be omitted without spoiling the sense) were later interpolations. A simpler and equally satisfactory explanation of the greater frequency of final *e* in Havelok, however, is that its author was an older man than Mannyng and that his speech was that of the older generation.

[12a] Grim's sons.

Wyn and ale deden he[12a] fete (1244)

Was non þat hauede þe hern-panne
So hard þat he ne dede alto-crusshe,
And alto-shiuere, and alto-frusshe (1991 ff.)

And smot him on þe sholdre so
þat he dide þare undo
Of his brinie ringes mo
þan þat ich kan tellen fro (2738 ff.)[12b]

We find, however, that causative *do* and ambiguous *do* are very frequent. Causative *do* with the subject of the dependent infinitive definitely expressed, as in

þe king dede þe mayden arise (205),

occurs about twenty times.[13] Causative *do* with the subject of the dependent infinitive unexpressed, as in

I shal do casten him in þe se (519),

occurs about nine times.[14] Ambiguous *do*, as in

Grim dede maken a ful fayr bed (658),

occurs about twenty-two times.[15]

Now causative *do* and ambiguous *do* are very common also in Mannyng; ambiguous *do* occurs about seven times in *Handlyng Synne*,[16] and about forty-seven times in 10675 lines of the *Chronicle*.[17] We may therefore sum up as follows the facts that have been determined with regard to the use of *do*-constructions in the North-East Midland between (say) 1290 and 1440. In Lincoln-

[12b] The text is quoted from Skeat's edition, *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, Oxford, 1902, with one or two changes of punctuation.

[13] Lines 205, 243, 254, 366, 970, 1077, 1350, 1417, 1904, 2192, 2230, 2268, 2311, 2372, 2464, 2600, 2709, 2751, 2852, 2926.

[14] Lines 244, 316, 320, 322, 519, 1105, 1684 (cf. 1686 ff.), 2543, 2544, Some of these might be considered ambiguous rather than causative; the distinction is sometimes hard to draw.

[15] Lines 29, 212, 214, 250, 324, 409, 412, 421, 523, 658, 707, 760, 1715, 1754, 1762, 1840, 1945, 2086, 2370, 2548, 2858, 2899. Some of these might be considered causative or auxiliary rather than ambiguous.

[16] Lines 2586, 6779, 7744, 8256, 8959, 10071, 10593.

[17] Furnivall 299, 811, 839, 927, 1057, 1190, 1303, 1805, 1858, 2006, 2017, 2067, 2105, 2107, 2271, 2768, 2943, 3251, 3265, 3565, 3615, 3645, 3930, 4077, 4084, 4133, 4909, 15026, 15513, 15671, 15911, 16020, 16182, 16183, 16184, 16637; Hearne 36, 26; 46, 7; 54, 6; 236, 24; 240, 16; 244, 5; 245, 12; 294, 13; 317, 19; 328, 20; 328, 21.

shire, in the generation whose speech is reflected in the language of *Havelok*, *do* was very seldom used as an auxiliary; the causative use of *do*, however, was very common, and the *do*-forms were very frequently used ambiguously, that is, in such a way that it was impossible to know with certainty whether the speaker employed them as causatives, to express indirect action, or as auxiliaries, to express direct action. In the Lincolnshire speech of the next generation, which is reflected in the language of Robert Mannyng, the auxiliary use of *do* had become fairly common, and the ambiguous use of *do* was still frequent. We observe, moreover, that both the auxiliary *do* and the ambiguous *do* are more frequently used by Mannyng in his later than in his earlier work.[18] In the neighboring district of East Anglia, in the generation whose speech is reflected in the language of Lydgate (b. *c.* 1370), causative *do* was still used, [19a] and auxiliary *do* (if the literary language reflects accurately the usage of the spoken language) was much more frequent than it had been in Lincolnshire a hundred years earlier.

Is it possible to make any inference from these facts? The material is meager enough. We have no Lincolnshire documents for the period between Mannyng and Lydgate, and no documents whose composition we can localise in East Anglia before 1400.[19b]

[18] It might be thought that the greater frequency of the auxiliary *do* in the *Chronicle* is the result of a difference of subject matter rather than of later date. It is true that *Handlyng Synne* is partly narrative and partly exposition, whereas the *Chronicle* is all narrative. Other things being equal, therefore, we should expect to find more auxiliary *do*'s in the *Chronicle*. But other things are not equal. The people who do things in the stories told in *Handlyng Synne* are mostly ordinary people who do things for themselves; the personages who figure in the *Chronicle* are mostly kings and great lords whose actions are to a great extent actions that they might perform by deputy. This fact would tend to decrease the number of auxiliary *do*'s in the *Chronicle* and to increase the number of ambiguous *do*'s. The difference in subject matter between the two works may account for the greater number of ambiguous *do*'s that we find in the *Chronicle* as compared with *Handlyng Synne*, but it will not serve to account for the greater number of auxiliary *do*'s in the *Chronicle*.

[19a] For example, causative *do* (with the subject of the infinitive expressed) occurs in lines 587, 658, and 772 of the *Temple of Glass* (ed. Schick, E. E. T. S.) and in lines 250, 404, and 406 of the *Complaint of the Black Knight* (ed. Skeat, *Chaucerian and other Pieces*).

[19b] The fourteenth century ordinances of the Norfolk gilds, contained in the returns made in 1389 and printed by Toulmin Smith (*English Gilds*, E.E.T.S.,

As to the origin of the auxiliary use of *do* in Middle English generally, the facts with which we have been dealing furnish a quite inadequate basis for inference. Indeed the problem of the origin of the use of *do* as an auxiliary is not exclusively a Middle English problem, for the construction occurs in Old English and also in Middle Low German and Middle High German.[20] But whatever may have been the ultimate origin of the auxiliary use of *do* in English,[21] I believe the facts set forth in the preceding paragraph point strongly to the conclusion that the predominating cause in establishing the construction in the North-East Midland was the ambiguous use of *do* which developed out of the causative use. Other causes may very well have contributed to the result,[22] but if they were lacking the ambiguous use of *do* would be sufficient to account for it.

pp. 14-123), contain no narrative material and therefore furnish no evidence as to the use of auxiliary *do* in Norfolk at the date at which the returns were made. These documents, however, contain a considerable number of examples of causative *do*. The cases in which the subject of the dependent infinitive is not expressed are 18, 9; 20, 29; 38, 15; 43, 35; 44, 3; 63, 5; 67, 24; 75, 4; 91, 13; 92, 18; 101, 28; 104, 12; 109, 10 (the references are to page and line). Ambiguous *do* occurs in 83, 13 ("ye Den schal do somoun") and 83, 20 ("ye den schal do bringe").

[20] See Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, Gütersloh, 1898, IV, 103 ff.; Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik*, ed. 3, II, 62 f.; H. Dietze, *Das umschreibende* do *in der neuenglischen Prosa*, Jena, 1895, pp. 7-13; for discussion of a rather doubtful example in Old Saxon see Steig, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, XVI, 332 f.

[21] With regard to the use of auxiliary *do* in other dialects, the following memoranda may be of some value. In Robert of Gloucester (ed. Wright, Rolls Series) I have found four certain cases of auxiliary *do* (lines 662, 3055, 6532, 8809) and one case of ambiguous *do* (line 7539). Causative *do* with the simple infinitive, so far as I observed, does not occur at all; the causative verb is usually *let*. All of the cases of auxiliary and ambiguous *do* occur in what is agreed to be the original part of the chronicle, the part which was *not* written by Robert. In the B-text of *Piers the Plowman* there is a certain case of auxiliary *do* in XII, 169; in XIII, 169 there is a probable case, but the line is in MS. R only. In the A-text there is a certain case of the auxiliary in X, 123, but the MSS. do not all agree.

[22] Kenyon (*Syntax of the Infinitive in Chaucer*, Chaucer Society, pp. 157 f.) points out two causes which must certainly have assisted in the establishment of the *do* auxiliary. One is the use of causative *do* with

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NOTES ON THE WANDERING JEW

Dunbar in the famous *Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy* gives a list of villains whom he considers fit relatives for "Deulbeir":

> Nero thy nevow, Golyas thy grantsire,
> Pharao thy fader, Egipya thy dame . . .
> Termygantis temp[t]ise the, et Waspasius thine eme;
> Belzebub thy full brother will clame
> To be thyne air, and Cayphas thy sectour;
> Pluto thy hede of kyn. . . .
>
> Herod thyne othir eme, and grete Egeas,
> Marciane, Machomete, and Maxencius,
> Thy trew kynnismen, Antenor et Eneas,
> Throp thy nere nece, and austern Olibrius,
> Puttidew, Baal and Eyobalus.[1]

Practically all of these worthies except Throp, who is still a mystery, and Puttidew, have been satisfactorily identified, and many of course are obvious. Gregor, who compiled the notes of the Scottish Text Society's edition of Dunbar, says (III, 68): "Puttidew I cannot identify. Puttidew or pettedew [a variant reading] seems to be *petit* and *dieu*." And Schipper and Baildon, the later editors of Dunbar, reprint Gregor's suggestion, acknowledging that it does not clear up the allusion.[2] I would suggest that Puttidew is really Buttadæus, a name for the Wandering Jew which is found in French and Italian documents from the thirteenth century on.[3]

intransitive verbs that were also capable of being used transitively (e. g., "doth me spille"); if the verb was taken as intransitive, the *do* would be understood as causative; if it were taken as transitive, the *do* would be understood as auxiliary. The other cause he points out is the use of *do* with object nouns which might be understood as infinitives, e. g., "did synne."

[1] *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. J. Small, Scottish Text Soc., Edinburgh, 1893, II, 29.

[2] J. Schipper, *Poems of William Dunbar*, published by the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1894, Pt. II, p. 163 (note to v. 189 [591]); H. B. Baildon, *The Poems of William Dunbar*, Cambridge, 1907, p. 257: "Pettedew is derived by Dr. Gregor, S. T. S., from *petit* and *dieu*, but this does not throw much light on the personage indicated."

[3] References are conveniently collected in F. A. Foster, *The Northern Passion*, II (E. E. T. S., No. 147), London, 1915 (for 1913), pp. 72-73.

"John Puttedieu," a French form of this name, occurs in two manuscripts of the *Northern Passion,* one "written in the South of England, perhaps at Wells, about the middle of the fourteenth century," [4] and another "written about the middle of the fifteenth century by Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire." [5] It is quite clear then that Dunbar when writing the *Flyting* "not far from 1504-5" [6] might well have been familiar with the name Puttedew (Buttadæus) from having heard it in England or on his visit to France, alluded to in the poem. Of the two passages in the manuscripts of the *Northern Passion* Miss Foster says (p. 73): "The insertions [are] interesting as the only references which have been found to the Wandering Jew in England between the thirteenth-century chroniclers and the seventeenth century." To these the allusion in the poem of the Scotchman Dunbar should now be added.

A curious allusion to the Wandering Jew appears in the "Door of Unrest," [7] by O. Henry (W. S. Porter) where it is combined with the English legend of the Seven Whistlers. The Jew has settled down, unrecognized, in a little Western town, plying, as at the time of the Crucifixion, the trade of a cobbler. In what is almost a trance, without knowing or remembering what he is saying, he gives his history to the editor of the Montopolis *Weekly Bugle.* The Jew, Mike O'Bader, says of the seven birds which are seen during the telling of the story: "They follow me everywhere. 'Twas so commanded. What ye hear is the souls of the seven Jews that helped with the Crucifixion. Sometimes they're plovers and sometimes geese, but ye'll find them always flying where I go." And when on the morrow the editor visits the shop of Mike O'Bader, Boot and Shoe Maker, "some wild geese passed above, honking clearly." In no other description of Michob Ader, the

[4] Foster, p. 11. The manuscript is Rawlinson C. 655, and the passage concerning Puttedieu is reprinted on p. 142.

[5] Foster, p. 12. The manuscript is Brit. Mus. Add., 31042, and Miss Foster gives the lines which refer to Puttedieu on p. 72.

[6] H. M. Ayres, "*Theodulus* in Scots," *Modern Philology,* xv (1918), 539-548. This interesting article on an obscure allusion in the *Flyting* gives much conveniently arranged information about the type and the circumstances under which the *Flyting* was composed.

[7] *Sixes and Sevens,* New York, 1915, No. xii, pp. 117-132.

Wandering Jew, so far as I know, is he accompanied by these seven birds, which are the Seven Whistlers of English folk-lore.[8] O. Henry is giving, as will be evident, not English folk-lore but his own combination of two otherwise quite distinct legends. In one place and only one are the Whistlers called "Wandering Jews"; this pasage, which is reprinted by Moncure D. Conway in his *Wandering Jew*,[9] is as follows:

"One evening, a few years ago, when crossing one of our Lancashire moors, in company with an intelligent old man, we were suddenly startled by the whistling overhead of a covey of plovers. My companion remarked that when a boy the old people considered such a circumstance a bad omen, 'as the person who heard the Wandering Jews'—as he called the plovers—'was sure to be overtaken with some ill luck.' On questioning my friend on the name given to the birds, he said, 'There is a tradition that they contain the souls of those Jews who assisted at the Crucifixion, and in consequence were doomed to float in the air forever.' When we arrived at the foot of the moor, a coach, by which I had hoped to complete my journey, had already left its station thereby causing me to finish the distance on foot. The old man reminded me of the omen."

In his discussion Conway emphasizes sufficiently the resemblance between the legend of the Whistlers ("Wandering Jews") and that of Ahasuerus; it consists in the curse condemning them to wander eternally which was laid upon them both as participants in the Passion. Probably it was Conway's juxtaposition of these two legends that suggested a closer combination of them, an interweaving, to O. Henry,—an interweaving, it should be emphasized,

[8] The references to the Seven Whistlers are collected in my "Three Birds of Ill Omen in British Folk-lore," *Washington University Studies*, IV, ii (April, 1917), pp. 167-173, but in that paper one old allusion to the belief has been overlooked. In John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, IV, ii, 185 (ed. Sampson, p. 334) "the screech-owl and the whistler shrill" are mentioned as particularly terrible omens. C. H. Poole, *Customs, Superstitions, and Legends of Stafford*, p. 78, n. 1 on the appearance of the Whistlers at Bedworth Colliery might be added to the references on p. 170, n. 80.

[9] Conway, p. 159 (from Pearson, *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser., viii, 268 [Sept. 30th, 1871]). It is also to be found in Swainson, *Folklore and Provincial Names of British Birds*, p. 180 and T. F. T. Dyer, *English Folklore*, pp. 95-96. Its substance is given by Conway in his article on the Wandering Jew in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, but the passage from the *Turkish Spy*, with which O. Henry was also familiar, appears only in Conway's book.

which has no basis in legend. The name "Wandering Jews" might have been the starting-point for the amalgamation of the two tales. That O. Henry knew Conway's book is rendered probable by other considerations. On the page opposite the quotation concerning the Whistlers (p. 158) a cobbler cursed by the Lord—and just such a snivelling cobbler as Mike O'Bader was—is mentioned. Mike O'Bader is, as O. Henry says, a reforming of Michob Ader, a name for the Wandering Jew which is first found in a passage in the *Turkish Spy* (1644); and this name as well as the passage from the *Turkish Spy,* which O. Henry gives in condensed form, are found in Conway's book (pp. 15 ff.). O. Henry has made two important changes in his source:—he has cleverly seized the opportunity to pun on the name Michob Ader, and he has united the legends of the Wandering Jew and of the Seven Whistlers. The humor of his story depends on the first of these. The second is almost wholly incidental to his narrative, but since it concerns these popular legends it is worth noting once for all that the combination belongs to literature and not to the folk.

I may make here a few additions to the bibliographical collections of Neubauer on the legend of the Wandering Jew; his latest articles are "Zur Bibliographie der Sage vom ewigen Juden," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen,* XXVIII (1911), 495-509, and "Zur Geschichte und Bibliographie des Volksbuchs von Ahasverus," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, Neue Folge,* V (1914), 211-223.

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Dorothy Scarborough, *The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction,* New York, 1917, p. 175; *Jahresbericht für neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte,* XXIV (1915 for 1913), p. 42, Nos. 594-598; Zieger, "Deutsche Einflüsse auf die englische Literatur," *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte,* I, 307; Jellinek (*ib.,* II, 510) cites three studies which touch on the Wandering Jew; Koch, *ib.,* VI, 389.

English

F. A. Foster, *The Northern Passion* (E. E. T. S., No. 147), London, 1915, II, p. 72; Gutch and Peacock, *County Folklore,* V, *Lincolnshire,* London, 1908, p. 333; C. Hardwick, *Traditions, Superstitions, and Folklore,* Manchester, 1872, pp. 157, 159; M. Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales,* London, 1909, pp. 337-339.

French

Sébillot, *Folklore de la France,* Paris, 1904, I, 20, 217, 218, 253, 313; II, 55, 60; III, 219; Sébillot, *Revue des traditions populaires,* II (1887), 478, "Superstitions du 17e siècle, relevées par Cyrano de Bergerac"; and *ibid.,* IX (1894), 502, "Les métiers et les professions"; Harou, *ibid.,* X (1895), 408, "Les montagnes"; Lambert, *Wallonia,* VII (1899), 152-54, "La complainte du Juif-Errant." Cf. *Revue des traditions populaires,* I (1886), 186 (H. Carnoy, *Les légendes de la France,* Paris, 1886); *ibid.,* VII, 576 (Sébillot, *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute Bretagne,* Paris, 1882, I, 365); Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *ibid.,* XIX (1904), "Recits Valaisans," 115 (Stebler, *Ob den Heidenreben,* Zurich, 1901, p. 19) and 117 (Stebler, *Goms und die Gomser,* Zurich, 1903, p. 8). Cf. Tausserat, *ibid.,* IV (1889), 546, "Le folklore au salon." On the folkbook see Sébillot, *ibid.,* III (1888), 415, "L'imagerie populaire"; Ristelhuber, *ibid.,* IX (1894), 374, "L'imagerie de Wissembourg."

German

Hippe, *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde,* VI, No. 12 (December, 1904), pp. 81-82, "Volkstümliches aus einem alten Breslauer Tagebuche"; R. Kühnau, *Schlesische Sagen,* Leipzig, 1912, III, 292; K. Simrock, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde,* I (1853), 432.

Slavic

A. N. Wesselofsky, *Archiv für slavische Philologie,* VIII, 331; Polívka, *ibid.,* XXII, 303 (*Etnograf. Zbirnyk,* I-VI); *Zytie i Slovo,* II (Lemberg, 1894), 179-182 (cf. *Zs. f. österreichische Volkskunde,* I [1895], 367). Cf. Zmigrodski, *Revue des trad. pop.,* VI (1891), 232, "Bibliographie du folklore en Pologne" (Morawski, *Le Juif-Errant dans les Montagnes de Tatras,* Czas, 1860).

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A. Wolfram, *Zs. f. österreichische Vk.,* X (1904), 113, "Eine Ahasversage in Munichkirchen (Northern Austria)"; A. J. Edmunds, "The Wandering Jew, A Buddhist Parallel," *Open Court,* 1903, 755-756; Ilg, *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.,* XIX (1909), 308, "Maltesische Legenden und Schwänke, No. 1, Der ewige Jude"; *Walliser Sagen,* 1907, I, 238, 243 (Switzerland, cf. *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.,* XIX, 123); Feijóo, "El Judio Errante," *Biblioteca de los Autores Españoles,* LVI, 546-549.

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THE DRAWBRIDGE OF THE GRAAL CASTLE

With regard to the much-mooted question of Celtic origins, no one has thus far noticed, I think, the similarity between a bridge in Chrétien's *Contes del Graal* and one in the Irish story of the *Wooing of Emer.*

The passage in the *Contes del Graal* reads as follows: [1]

Por le pont qu'il vit avalé
Cordes e pieges regarder
N'a cure de plus atarder
Einz dit que apres ax iroit
Savoir se nus d'ax li diroit
De la lance que ensi sainne
Se il puet estre an nule painne
E del graal ou l'an le porte
Puis s'an ist fors parmi la porte.
Encois que il fust hors del pont
Les piez de son cheval amont
Santi qu'il levoient an haut
E li chevax a fet un saut
Que s'il n'eust si bien sailli
Amedui fussent malbailli
Li chevax e cil qui sus iere
E li vaslez torna arriere
Por veoir que ce ot esté
E vit qu'an ot le pont levé
S'apele e nus ne li respont.
Di va fet il tu qui le pont
As levé car parole a moi
Ou es tu quant ge ne te voi
Trai toi avant si te verrai
E d'une rien t'i anquerrai
Noveles que savoir voldroie.
Ensi de parler se foloie
Que nus respondre ne li vialt. vv. 3356-3383

The passage in the *Wooing of Emer* is as follows: [2] "This was the road which Cuchulaind took to the camp where the scholars of Scathach were. He asked where she was. 'In yonder island,' said

[1] *Contes del Graal,* Crestien's von Troyes, Abdruck der Handschrift Paris, français 794, G. Ragoczy's Univ. Buchhandl. (Karl Nick), Freiburg i. B.
[2] Kuno Meyer, *Archaeological Review,* I, 299.

they. 'Which way must I go to her?' said he. 'By the Bridge of the Cliff,' said they, 'and no man can cross it before he has achieved valour.' For on this wise was that bridge. It had two low heads and the mid space, and whenever anybody would leap on its one head, the other head would lift itself up and throw him on his back.—Cuchulaind then tried three times to cross the bridge, and could not do it. Then men jeered at him. Then he grew mad, and jumped on the head of the bridge, and made the hero's salmon-leap so that he got on its midst. And the other head of the bridge had not yet fully raised itself when he reached it and threw himself from it, and was on the ground of the island."

It is true that the version of the *Wooing of Emer*[3] which contains the episode of the Cliff Bridge dates from 1300, whereas the *Contes del Graal* dates from about the end of the twelfth century. But this seeming obstacle in the way of relating the *Graal* episode to the *Emer* episode is not insurmountable. There is a manuscript of *Emer,* dated about 1050,[4] which presents the same version of the story as the manuscript of 1300, but which breaks off before the place where the Cliff Bridge comes in. This does not prevent dating the "bridge" episode as early as 1050, however; for it is evident that a manuscript of 1050, comparing word for word with a manuscript of 1300, but breaking off arbitrarily before the end, would have contained, if preserved in complete form, the identical ending which has come down in the manuscript of 1300. A like problem in manuscripts is similarly solved by A. C. L. Brown. In his studies on the "Knight of the Lion,"[5] he relates the "lion" episode in *Ivain* to an episode in the *Wooing of Emer.* But the passage in *Emer* which he considers to be the source of the *Ivain* episode does not occur in the abbreviated manuscript of 1050 but only in the manuscript of 1300, which is, of course, much later than *Ivain.* Yet Brown has no hesitation in assuming that the *Emer* passage was as early as 1050. "It happens," he says, "that LU (1050 text) breaks off shortly before the lion is mentioned

[3] Meyer, *Revue Celtique,* XI, 435, lists eight MSS. of the *Wooing of Emer.* Seven of these MSS. "agree so closely that they must have sprung from one archetypus." It is with the version represented in these MSS. that I am concerned. The earliest text of this version is Stowe 992, dated 1300.

[4] A. C. L. Browne, *P. M. L. A.,* XX, 688 and note 2.

[5] *Ibid.*

but this cannot alter our opinion of the age of the incident, since LU agrees with the later manuscript (of 1300) word for word so far as it goes." I shall, therefore, consider that the incident of the Cliff Bridge in the *Wooing of Emer* existed in literary form as early as 1050, or about a hundred and thirty years before Chrétien's *Contes del Graal.*

A detailed study of the two passages under consideration shows several points in common. In the first place, the land of Scathach in *Emer,* to which the hero is journeying when he encounters the Cliff Bridge, is clearly a kind of Otherworld. It is an island presided over by a mysterious wisewoman and approached by a bridge [6] which keeps out all but valorous travellers, thereby acting as a "perilous passage." [7] The Grail Castle in the *Contes del Graal,* approached by the drawbridge over which Perceval makes his perilous escape, represents, almost beyond a doubt, a form of the Otherworld.[8] The Cliff Bridge in *Emer* and the Grail drawbridge in the *Contes* thus have in common the function of leading to the Otherworld. In the second place, both the Cliff Bridge and the drawbridge in the *Contes* are difficult ways of approach, and employ similar devices for making the approach difficult. The Cliff Bridge has two low heads and a mid space and is so constructed that when anyone leaps on one head, the other head lifts and throws him on his back. Cuchulaind leapt to the mid space and before the other end had fully raised itself he had reached it and bounded from it to the ground of the island. When one turns to the drawbridge in the *Contes* one finds that there is no such specific explanation of its structure. Yet the author makes this statement:

[6] For a bridge leading to the Otherworld in Irish literature, see E. Hull, *Cuchullin Saga,* 1898, 291; for other types of approach to the Irish Otherworld, see A. C. L. Brown, *H. S. and N.,* 1903, 75; see also, for bridge in Norse legend, A. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran,* 1895, I, 299; for bridge leading to Otherworld in Oriental lore, see E. J. Becker, *Mediæval Visions of Heaven and Hell,* 1899, 17; for bridge to Otherworld as common to the belief of many peoples, see C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante,* 1908, 131, and Gaston Paris, *Romania,* XII, 508.

[7] For "perilous passage" as stock incident of journey to the Otherworld, see A. C. L. Brown, *H. S. and N.,* 1903, 75.

[8] For Grail Castle as form of Otherworld, see A. Nutt, *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail,* 1888, 191.

Por le pont qu'il vit avalé
Cordes e pieges regarder
N'a cure de plus atarder vv. 3356-3358

I think it is not forcing the point to believe that the author in making this comment felt that the drawbridge had a trap connected with it. Before Perceval had crossed the bridge he felt the horse losing his footing. The horse leapt and made the other bank. If he had not done so, both horse and rider would have been endangered, that is, would have fallen backward down the raised bridge's surface. Perceval, turning to look back from the other bank, saw that the bridge had been raised. When he called out to the person he thought must have raised it, nobody answered him.[9]

As has frequently been indicated, a "perilous passage" of some kind must have been a stock incident of Otherworld journeys and a modified form of the "perilous passage" came over into the version of the Otherworld found in the French Arthurian romances. One recalls, for instance, the sword bridge[10] leading to Meleaguant's castle in the *Chevalier de la Charrete* and the portcullis at the entrance to the fee's castle in *Ivain*.[11] These forms of the "perilous passage" in romance often show such modification of the archetype as is necessary to fit the episode into the setting of the romance. Take, for instance, the falling portcullis at the entrance to the fee's castle in *Ivain:*[12]

La porte fu mout haute et lee,
Si avoit si estroite antree
Que dui home ne dui cheval
Sanz anconbrier et sanz grant mal
N'i poïssent ansanble antrer
N'anmi la porte antrecontrer;
Qu'ele estoit tot autresi felte

[9] A point of difference between the two bridges lies in the fact that the encounter with the bridge in *Emer* comes as the hero approaches the Otherworld, whereas in the *Contes*, Perceval crosses the bridge on his exit from the Grail Castle. This difference in the position of the episode may very likely be brought about by the difference in the plotting of the two stories. The essential point remains the same in both cases; the two bridges stand at the barriers of the Otherworld.

[10] Hibbard, "The Sword Bridge of Chrétien de Troyes and its Celtic Original," *Romanic Review*, 1913, IV, 166.

[11] Brown, *loc. cit.*, 80.

[12] *Der Löwenritter* von Christian von Troyes, ed. W. Foerster, Halle, 1887, 36-38.

Con l'arbaleste qui agueite
Le rat quant il vient au forfet,
Et l'espee est an son aguet
Desus, qui tret et fiert et prant,
Qu'ele eschape lués et destant
Que riens nule adoise a la clef,
Ja n'i tochera si soef.
Einsi desoz la porte estoient
Dui trabuchet qui sostenoient
A mont une porte colant
De fer esmolue et tranchant.
Se riens sor cez engins montoit,
La porte d'amont desçandoit,
S'estoit pris et esquachiez toz
Cui la porte ateignoit desoz.
Et tot anmi a droit conpas
Estoit si estroiz li trespas
Con se fust uns santiers batuz.
El droit chemin s'est anbatuz
Li chevaliers mout sagemant,
Et mes sire Yvains folement
Hurte grant aleüre aprés,
Si le vint ateignant si pres
Qu'a l'arçon derriere le tint.
Et de ce mout bien li avint
Qu'il se fu avant estanduz.
Toz eüst esté porfanduz
Se ceste avanture ne fust;
Que li chevaus marcha le fust
Qui tenoit la porte de fer.
Aussi con deables d'anfer
Desçant la porte contre val,
S'ataint la sele et le cheval
Derriere et tranche tot par mi;
Mes ne tocha, la Deu merci,
Mon seignor Yvain mes que tant,
Qu'au res del dos li vint reant
Si qu'anbedeus les esperons
Li trancha au res des talons
Et il cheï toz esmaiiez,
Et cil qui iert a mort plaiiez
Li eschapa an tel meniere. vv. 907-955

In referring to the above passage, Brown raises the following query:[13] "What would Chrétien do with the 'perilous passage,'

[13] Brown, *loc. cit.*

supposing he decided to keep it at all? Would he not naturally rationalize it into the familiar portcullis to be seen at every castle gate?" His theory is good, but would be even more convincing if he could point to a "perilous passage" in which the details would lend themselves more definitely to rationalization in the form of a portcullis.

It is my belief that we have a "perilous passage" in Celtic story, the Cliff Bridge in *Emer* in fact, which would rationalize very well into a castle drawbridge similar to the one we are discussing in the *Contes del Graal*. A Mediæval drawbridge, hinged at one end, and lifting up vertically in action, duplicates practically all the rational features of the Cliff Bridge. Some one may say that the drawbridge was an expedient of castle life which needed no ulterior explanation. It might well be merely a part of the paraphernalia which came in with the use of the castle to represent the Otherworld in romances. Why see here a form of the magic bridge? This point of view would be entirely justified if there were some explanation for the raising of the bridge. The author hints that Perceval did not stop to look for a trap. Then he called back after his perilous crossing and found that there was no porter to answer and consequently no explanation of how the bridge had been raised. The mere fact that the author indicates that there was no explanation for the raising of the bridge and hints at a trap, suggests that the Grail drawbridge may be something more than a mechanical contrivance, may be, in fact, a rationalization of a "perilous passage."

The mysterious element in the action of the drawbridge in the *Contes del Graal* is more clearly seen if we compare Chrétien's version with the later version of Wolfram von Eschenbach. Wolfram's account is as follows:[14]

al schrînde lief der junge man
wider ze sîme orse sân.
mit pâgenden worten
saz er drûf. die porten
vander wît offen stên,
derdurch ûz grôze slâ gên:
niht langer er dô habete,
vast ûf die brükke er drabete.
ein verborgen knappe'z seil

[14] Wolframs von Eschenbach, *Parzival und Titurel*, ed. Ernst Martin, Halle, 1900, 1, 87.

zôch, daz der slagebrüken teil
hetz ors vil nâch gevellet nidr.
Parzivâl der sach sich widr:
dô wolter hân gevrâget baz.
'ir sult varen der sunnen haz'
sprach der knappe. 'ir sît ein gans.
möht ir gerüeret hân den flans,
und het den wirt gevrâget!
vil prîss iuch hât betrâget.'
Nâch den mæren schrei der gast:
gegenrede im gar gebrast.
swie vil er nâch geriefe,
reht als er gênde sliefe
warp der knappe und sluoc die porten zuo.
St. 247, l. 13—St. 248, l. 5.

There is no hint, as in Chrétien, that the drawbridge had a trap; there is no mystery about raising the bridge, for Wolfram provides a squire to attend to it. Wolfram's version is entirely rational and emphasizes by contrast the mysterious atmosphere in Chrétien's version.

So far as I can discover, the drawbridge in the Grail Castle has not been connected with the "perilous passage" theme; nor has it been related to the type of "perilous passage" found in the Cliff Bridge of *Emer*. Considering the fact that the dates of the manuscripts permit such an interpretation and that the situations are reasonably parallel, I believe that one is warranted in maintaining with fair probability that the drawbridge in the Grail Castle in Chrétien's *Contes del Graal* presents a development of the type of "perilous passage" conveniently represented in the Cliff Bridge of the *Wooing of Emer*.

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MICHAEL DRAYTON'S *TO THE VIRGINIA VOYAGE*

To the Virginia Voyage not only is one of the finest of Drayton's shorter poems, but possesses for Americans a special interest. So far as I am aware no one has pointed out that it is for the most part a metrical version of certain prose passages in Hakluyt's First Voyage to Virginia as printed in his *Principal Navigations,*

Voyages, Traffiques, & Discoveries of the English Nation.[1] To show the nature and extent of Drayton's indebtedness to Hakluyt I quote the chief passages concerned.

"We smelt so sweet and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured that the land could not be farre distant." (Page 298.)[2]

When as the Lushious smell
Of that delicious Land,
Above the Seas that flowes
The cleere Wind throwes.

"And after thankes given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats and went to view the land." (Page 298.)

In kenning of the Shore
(Thanks to God first giuen).

"And having discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together." (Page 299.)

Let Cannons roare,
Frighting the wide Heauen.

"We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter." (Page 305.)

To whome the golden Age
Still Natures lawes doth giue,
No other Cares that tend,
But Them to defend
From Winters rage,
That long there doth not liue.

"So full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them; of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile, on the hils as in the plaines, as well on every little shrubbe as also climing towardes the tops of high Cedars. . . . The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hercynia, barren and fruit-

[1] Printed by The Hakluyt Society, extra series, 1903 ff. The First Voyage to Virginia appears in volume VIII, page 297 ff.

[2] The page references are to The Hakluyt Society edition described in the preceding note.

les, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or of Lybanus; Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras." (Pages 298-299.)

> And the ambitious Vine
> Crownes with his purple Masse
> The cedar reaching hie
> To kisse the Sky,
> The Cypresse, Pine,
> And vse-full Sassafras.

"Goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, even in the middest of Summer, in incredible abundance." (Page 299.) "The goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance." (Page 309.) "Assoone as hee was two bow shoot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in less then halfe an houre he had laden his boate as deepe as it could swimme." (Page 300.)

> Where Nature hath in store
> Fowle, Venison, and Fish.

"The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull, and wholsome of all the worlde. . . . In May they sow, in July they reape; in June they sow, in August they reape; in July they sowe, in September they reape. Onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a wooden mattock, or pickaxe. Our selves prooved the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high." (Page 304).

> And the Fruitfull'st Soyle,
> Without your Toyle,
> Three Haruests more,
> All greater then your Wish.

"In her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle. . . . He himselfe had upon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being unpolished we knew not what mettal it should be; neither would he by any meanes suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. . . . The King's brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had; and offered to lay a great boxe of pearle in gage for them; but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe that we esteemed thereof, untill we had understoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew." (Pages 302-303.)

> Successe you still intice,
> To get the Pearle and Gold.

"Immediatly after the departing of our English Colony out of this paradise of the world. . . . Yet unwilling to loose the posses-

sion of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held, after good deliberation hee determined to leave some men behinde to reteine possession of the Countrey." (Page 347.)

> And ours to hold,
> VIRGINIA,
> Earth's onely Paradise.

Drayton perhaps intended to acknowledge his indebtedness to Hakluyt in the concluding stanza:

> Thy Voyages attend,
> Industrious Hacklvit,
> Whose Reading shall inflame
> Men to seeke Fame,
> And much commend
> To after-Times thy Wit.

It might be worth while to search for other instances of Drayton's indebtedness to the *Principal Navigations*.[3] Indeed the influence of the literature of the sea upon the Elizabethan poets might well constitute the work of a doctoral dissertation.

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RABELAISIANISM IN CARLYLE

Professor Bliss Perry's recent study of Carlyle,[1] though written primarily for the general reader, should commend itself to the more careful student on account of the directness with which it proceeds to its task and the vitality it imparts to its subject. The conception it presents of the working of Carlyle's mind and of the doctrines there evolved is in most respects complete enough; but one side of his mental activity, and one in which he stands unique in his generation, has received very slight consideration. No ac-

[3] The list of borrowings in the poem just considered might be increased. For the adjective "vse-full" as applied to sassafras, see page 355; and for the lines:

> And as there Plenty growes
> Of Lawrell euery where

see page 304. The apostrophe "You braue Heroique minds" was possibly addressed to those persons whose names are given on page 317.

[1] Bliss Perry, *Thomas Carlyle: How to Know Him*. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1915.

quaintance with Carlyle is complete without due consideration of his humor. Perhaps it would be neither presumptuous nor inappropriate to suggest a possible interpretation of this element in his work, employing in part Professor Perry's method of making the subject speak for himself.

Analyzing, or even describing humor "is difficult at all times," declares Carlyle in the second Richter essay. "It is like a fine essence, like a soul," he explains; "we discover it only in whole works and delineations, as the soul is only to be seen in the living body, not in detached limbs and fragments." His various definitions of humor, in the Richter essays and elsewhere, are in extremely general and conventional terms. Humor is "sensibility," or rather the "sport of sensibility"; "the playful teasing fondness of a mother for her child." It is "gentle and genial," "full yet ethereal." In fact, it appears to be summed up in the simple formula: sensibility, sportfulness, and love.

To go farther into detail than this, one needs to have some concrete basis for comparison, some suggestion at least of source or inspiration by which to clarify the problem. The humorous turn of mind was native with Carlyle. At the age of eighteen he wrote to his friend Robert Mitchell (1814):

"*Nap the Mighty,* who, but a few months ago, made the sovereigns of Europe tremble at his nod; who has trampled on thrones and sceptres, kings and priests, and principalities and powers, and carried ruin and havoc and blood and fire, from Gibraltar to Archangel—*Nap the Mighty* is—gone to pot!!!"

Another letter, six months later, contained this promise:

"After this long preamble, you are not to expect that I, all jaded as I am, can even attempt to *amuse* you this bout, but, my dear Boy, send me a letter informing me that you are reconciled, and I'll warrant you receive a letter full of *quirk* and *oddity,* covered *thick* and threefold with mirth—humor, *wit,* and the several other appendages requisite for forming an unexceptionable morceau d'éloquence et d'esprit."

By the time Carlyle wrote of his Germans, fifteen years after this correspondence, he was able not only to repeat learned commonplaces about humor in the abstract, but to illustrate these with abundant references, in a familiar, well-acquainted tone, to a considerable body of humorists. These, it should be noted, are English, French, and Spanish, rather than German. Humor meant to him, after all, not merely the sportfulness of wholesome sensibility, but

more concretely the moods and utterances of Rabelais and Cervantes, of Samuel Butler, Dean Swift, Arbuthnot, and Sterne, and finally of Richter.

That he had been reading these authors and had learned to love them is well established. He has mentioned *Hudibras* and *Tristram Shandy* as his earliest favorites. His university correspondence has frequent references to Swift, Sterne, and Cervantes, one friend addressing him variously as "Dean," "Jonathan," and "Doctor." He insisted in his letters that John Carlyle, his brother, should read the *Tale of a Tub* and *Don Quixote*. It is hardly chance that during his courtship Jane Welsh owned a dog named "Shandy," or that on his first visit to France the party in which he traveled used the *Sentimental Journey* as a Baedeker. The same group of authors is richly represented in the references and allusions strewn so plentifully among his essays, with Sterne in the lead, and Cervantes a close second.

Taken as a basis for the consideration of Carlyle's own humor, this group is more unified than at first it may appear. However distinct in time and place and dominating purpose, these men suggested to the general reader of England or Scotland a comparatively short period in English thought, the era of satire and burlesque that followed close upon the Stuart Restoration. Literary England at that time was largely under foreign influence, particularly in the cultivation of the satiric forms, such as burlesque, mock-heroic, *roman à clef*, and the device of the naive and detached observer. Every English author in Carlyle's humor group shared largely in the influence of a great French master of satire, and they apparently derived from him much that made them strongest and most sympathetic—much, indeed, of what Carlyle himself can be shown to possess, whether native in his genius or derived at first or second hand. The only difficulty is that this author is the one mentioned least of the whole group by Carlyle himself—François Rabelais.

In actual practice the influence of Rabelais and that of Cervantes permeated England together. But while the popularity of *Don Quixote* gave decided impulse to prose mock-heroic as a form and operated to restrain various imitations within the limits of good taste, Rabelais's Lucianic marvels provided a storehouse of strange and adaptable things. Giants by generations, characters of almost obtrusive personalities, astounding adventures on uncharted seas,

keen satire of such familiar subjects as law courts and religious ceremony and scholarship: add to these the element of a new style, and the result is a literary temptation entirely too strong to be resisted by Urquhart, the Scottish translator; by Butler, Swift, Arbuthnot, and Sterne; and probably by their lineal descendant Carlyle.

It cannot be far amiss, then, to consider in Carlyle's writings the obvious traits of Rabelaisian style thus transmitted to modern times. More direct analogies between Rabelais and Carlyle need not be surprising. As noted above, we find Carlyle, early in life, cultivating a rhapsodical or dithyrambic sort of extravagance in passages of satire, which later he was to extend to longer organized discourses, at least approaching the scope of the *Gargantua* or *Pantagruel*. The outburst regarding "Nap the mighty" may be paralleled in countless paragraphs, particularly in the *French Revolution,* while the entire essays on Count Cagliostro and The Diamond Necklace are admirable specimens of mock-romance entirely in this same vein. Fundamentally, of course, Rabelais's great work is only a mock-romance, and was projected like *Don Quixote* as a burlesque of the popular type. Hence it is interesting to note in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* the further appearance of romantic conventions. Herr Teufelsdröckh, for all his bachelor seclusion and clouds of tobacco smoke, suggests a hero of romance in the mystery that enshrouds his parentage, his birth, and his supposed "passing." The experiences of his youth, carefully outlined, serve as travesty to the *enfances* of many such heroes. He is experienced in love, far-traveled, magnanimous, and in his observation and judgment almost superhuman. His aery above the city, from which he overlooks the teeming life of street and tenement, suggests at once Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux*. Teufelsdröckh likewise has his *fidus Achates* in the person of the Hofrath Heuschrecke, corresponding to the Sancho Panza of Quixote, the Ralpho of Sir Hudibras, and—at a very considerable distance—the Panurge of Pantagruel. One may wonder too how far the wanderings of Teufelsdröckh toward the "Everlasting Yea" correspond to the search of these last two for the Oracle of the Bottle. But the analogy weakens at this point. Goethe and his *Wanderjahre* were too close at hand.

Carlyle has a peculiar appreciation for the gigantic or Titanic figures in history and literature. His spiritual giants loom quite

as large as the material ones in Rabelais. All his selections of "Heroes" are Titans in their way, and when they are treated elsewhere in his writings this gigantic quality is sure to be emphasized, as in the case of Mirabeau and Burns. Richter, who is Carlyle's most "humorous" of Germans, he constantly presents as a spiritual giant:—"A Titan in his sport as in his earnestness, he oversteps all bound and riots without law or measure. He heaps Pelion upon Ossa, and hurls the universe together and asunder like a case of playthings." Even Teufelsdröckh's unique laugh, as described in the first book of *Sartor,* has something of the colossal about it. Dean Swift had caught from Rabelais a trick of presenting giants, and in the process he provided Carlyle with a good mouth-filling word to characterize the immensities that appealed to him. The Norse myths, for example, show "huge untutored Brobdignag genius"; there is "a great broad Brobdignag grin of true humor" in the god Skrymir; and the whole Scandinavian conception of the creation of cosmos is a "Hyper-Brobdignagian business."

One of the closest synonyms for the "sportfulness" in Carlyle's humor-program is "whimsicality," and whimsicality is clearly a feature of which he was very fond. In this regard Sterne approached nearest to Rabelais, but Carlyle finds numerous instances in all his favorite authors, again including Richter. In Rabelais this whimsicality was chiefly in matters of detail, though it appeared as distinctly in certain of the large conceptions of his work, such as the old convention of depending on a mysterious manuscript curiously concealed in a tomb, the whole notion of the essential herb "pantagruelion," and the fantastic journey to the equally fantastic Oracle of the Bottle. Swift and Sterne particularly reveled in tricks like these. Carlyle's best known approximation of them is in *Sartor,* where he poses as merely the English editor of a German scholar, whose biography comes to him in "six considerable *Paper Bags,* carefully sealed, and marked successively in gilt china-ink, with the symbols of the Six Southern Zodiacal signs, beginning at Libra."

Carlyle is always trifling with his reader's credulity in this way. Teufelsdröckh is not the author of *Die Kleider* merely; but also of a chapter on *The Greatness of Great Men,* from which Carlyle quotes in his essay on Goethe's Works. Herr Professor Sauerteig is a favorite author of his, whose mysterious works appear again and again in his pages. Twice at least he reworks his own critical

dicta, acknowledging obligation to "a writer on this subject" and to "one of Richter's English critics." In *The Diamond Necklace* he introduces a long burlesque address by Count Cagliostro to his faithful followers. The fantastic titles of various of Richter's books please Carlyle immensely, and he notes of that author with great satisfaction that he "has a whole imaginary geography of Europe in his novels."

With visualizing such geography Carlyle was much less concerned than Rabelais or Swift, but at times when he set his mind upon it he produced bits of fantastic description quite on a par with either of these. Witness the rather extensive pictures of South American life in Dr. Francia, or the vivid, naively-drawn portrayal of English dandies and Irish Poor Slaves at the end of *Sartor*. Carlyle's real interest lay in depicting not peoples but *people* that were unusual to the point of fantasy, from Richard Arkwright, the "bag-cheeked, pot-bellied, much-enduring, much-inventing barber" of Chartism, to sea-green Robespierre and the rest of the Procession of Deputies. Moreover, Carlyle appears to have had faith in the power of names equalled only by that of Pantagruel and Walter Shandy. Every German proper name in *Sartor Resartus* repays close scrutiny, but the author's possibilities in his own language are equally large. Sansculottist and Sanspotato, gigman and Soap-bubble guild, Mr. and Mrs. Rigmarole and Don Fatpauncho Usandwonto take second place to nothing met by Pantagruel on his wanderings.

Carlyle, like Rabelais and others of the humor-group, depends for much of his pictorial effect on a realism of detail that is grotesque and often a trifle rough. Frequently this is arrived at in the manner of genuine burlesque—by a vocabulary of colloquialism. The Cagliostro essay, appropriately enough, is packed with expressions of this kind. Elesewhere the reader may happen at any turn upon descriptions like that in Dr. Francia of the wearied soldiers who "sank soon enough into steady nose-melody, into the foolishest rough colt-dance of unimaginable dreams."

One of the most conspicuous features of Rabelaisian style was the fondness for accumulating expressions in long and utterly useless processions. Sometimes there was a common ending for all these, but more often their effect depended upon the hopelessly miscellaneous character of the series. Urquhart enjoyed this device thoroughly and managed to lengthen most of these processions still farther in translation. Sterne found it easy to imitate and worked

it habitually. Carlyle adopted it early and made it very much his own, producing effects—to use his own words of poor Teufelsdröckh's book—"like some mad banquet, wherein all courses had been confounded, and fish and flesh, soup and solid, oyster-sauce, lettuces, Rhine wine and French mustard, were hurled into one huge tureen or trough, and the hungry public invited to help itself." As early as 1822 he was writing to his brother: "I have written in a strange humour tonight, Jack: melancholickish, ill-naturedish, affectionatish—all in *ish*—for I am very weak and weary." Even the "Nap the mighty" passage, indeed, shows tendencies this way. Of all his work the essays on Diderot and Count Cagliostro are perhaps the richest in these effects. *Sartor Resartus* has one famous passage, in which "kings and beggars, and angels and demons, and stars and street-sweepings" are "chaotically whirled." Part at least of the life and movement in the *French Revolution* is secured by a skillful manipulation of this same device.

It may be objected that the qualities enumerated here are concerned with only one phase of Carlyle's humor—its sportfulness—and thus fairly beg the question in favor of Rabelais. They are, and they do. But sportfulness is the tangible thing about humor; sensibility and love are "the fine essence like a soul" that Carlyle himself advises us not to seek in "detached limbs and fragments." Hence sportfulness is the only imitable thing about humor; sensibility and love—or a genuinely responsive sympathy, which embraces them both—must be sought in the core of a man's own nature. It remains only to point out that these elements in Carlyle are analogous in degree and kind to those in the hearts of the English Rabelaisians and their French master. Cervantes, Carlyle confesses, is in a class by himself.

Carlyle had a consistently higher moral purpose and tone than Rabelais, or several of his English imitators. He was not so readily moved to emotion as Sterne and not nearly so fond of the experience. Like Swift he was inconsistent and many times unfair in his sympathy and severity. But as a man and a scholar, with a man's reactions on life and an appreciation of passions because he had felt them and wrestled with them time out of mind, he shows striking kinship with the secular Benedictine of France, who loved mankind while he shook his sides in laughter at it.

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DIALOGUE BETWEEN A CLERK AND A HUSBANDMAN

Among the manuscripts recently purchased by the British Museum is one formerly at Bramshill House,[1] now designated as B. M. Addit. 38666, in which one finds a hitherto unprinted dialogue between a Clerk and a Husbandman. In the body of the MS. a scribe of the middle of the fifteenth century has copied a long expository poem in four-line stanzas on the Life of Christ, arranged according to the several Feasts of the Church. The dialogue with which we are here concerned stands on a spare leaf at the end of the book, and has been added by another hand, of the end of the fifteenth century.

The stanzas spoken by the Clerk in his defence of love are very obviously modelled upon the well-known *Quia amore langueo* lyrics[2] in which the Blessed Virgin or Christ pleads for the love of man. That the refrain of the Clerk's song in praise of women should have been borrowed from these fervent mystical lyrics is interesting, though it will hardly surprise any one who is familiar with the interrelations of secular and religious verse. Distinctly bolder and more ingenious is the balancing of the Clerk's '*Quia amore langueo*' by the line, 'Turn up hyr haltur and let hyr goe,' with which the stanzas of the Husbandman conclude. The Husbandman's cynical attitude toward love is, of course, frequent enough; and in one poem at least, such cynical counsels, embodied in the same eight-line stanza which is here employed, are provided with the identical refrain: 'Turne up hur halter and let her go.'[3] But apparently the author of the verses in Addit. 38666 was the first to perceive that this refrain, in both rime and meter, precisely balanced the '*Quia amore langueo*' so that it could be introduced antiphonally in the debate between Clerk and Husbandman. I say apparently, because it is just possible that the earlier 'Turne up hur halter' poem was set to the tune of '*Quia amore langueo*' and was more or less consciously intended as a parody. In any case the humorous effect has been heightened by bringing the two contrasting lines together as alternate refrains.

[1] See *Hist. MSS. Com.* Report III, App., p. 243.
[2] *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems*, pp. 177-189.
[3] *Rel. Antiq.*, I, 75-77.

[fol. 174] As I cowthe walke be-cause of recreacioun
Be a grene wode syde as I kane
I herde a meruolse comynycacioun
Be-twene a clerke and a husbandeman
To talke of loue þis clerke be-gane
And sade wethur þu wylte or none
I most nede blame me noo mane
Quia amore languio.

The husbande-mane to hym can say
Wenyng to corekt hys insolens
ffalse-hode in felychype wole the be-tray
3efe þu to wome[n] gyf credens
Ther-fore res[t]rane þe fro þair presens
And yf þu wylte couer þi selfe fro woe
Truly I know no bettur despense
Bot turn vp hyr haltur and let hyr goe

How schulde I do so thene sayd þe clerke
Thay wolde me lofe wt alle þar mayne
Syth I fynde no faute yne worde nor worke
Wtowte a cause I may not complayne[4]
I moste nede loue þt louythe agayne
I wer not kynde bot I dyde soo
To turn my herte þu labste in vane
Quia amore languio.

3et auyse þe bettur & do be cownselle
And do no lengur in women tryste
Thow wenis þt þai be in þe gospelle
Hyt ys nat all tru þt perythe in glasse
Women cane schaw a dowbull face
And qwer thay say lyttyll þai thynke moe.[5]
As sone as þu maste reseue þi place
Turn vpe hyr haltur & let hyr goo

Parauentur sayd þe clerke amys fenyng fabulle
A womanse godenes soo to defame
Thou fondyst neuer womone wariabull
Tham to depreue þu arte to blame
Thynke one þi modur & avoyd schame
By-cause of hyr loue & othur moe
ffor qwyll I lyf I wyll do þe same
Quia amore languio

That husbande-mane sayd womone ys wariat
[fol. 174b] By daly e[x]periens hit may be preuyt
ffor be a womanse false delysyne
Mony a gode mane hase byne myscheuyt

[4] MS. *complante.* [5] MS. *more.*

3yf I say trowth be not dysgreuyt
And take thys for conclisiun þer-to
Thy louely lenyng schalle neuer be releuyt
Bot þu turn vpe hyr haltur & let hyr goe

The clerke vnsward & sayd in bokys I fynde
That gode made woman for mannys relefe
Then schoe ys turnid alle agaynys kynde
3ef schoe be cause of mannys myschefe
Ther-fore reherse no sych myspreue
ffor wethur þu tell me treuth or noe
Thou sc[h]alte nott make me myse-beleue
Quia amore languio.

In printing these verses I have followed the MS. in omitting punctuation, except that I have added hyphens to join words which the scribe has separated. The only real alterations which I have introduced into the text are at v. 2 and vv. 6-7. The MS. reading of v. 2 is: 'As I kane be a grene wode syde.' By changing the order the rime is restored. Similarly in the case of vv. 6-7 the scribe has destroyed the rime-scheme of the stanza by transposing these lines. Another case of defective rime occurs in the last stanza spoken by the Husbandman: *wariat* (v. 41) and *delysyne* (v. 43) stand in riming position. Here I have not ventured to correct the scribe's mistake. Very likely both words are corrupt readings. In v. 47 *releuyt* is used in the sense of recompensed or requited (see *Cant. Tales* A. 4182).

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REVIEWS

1. *The Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite.* By J. Rendel Harris, M. A., Litt. D., D. Theol., etc. Reprinted from "The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," Oct.-Dec. 1916, New York, Longmans, Green and Co., Demy 8vo, pp. 30, 9 Illustrations.

2. *Jacob and the Mandrakes.* By J. G. Frazer, Fellow of the British Academy. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. VIII. Read Jan. 31, 1917. London, Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 8vo, pp. 23.

3. *Der Alraun. Ein Beitrag zur Pflanzensagenkunde* von Adolf Taylor Starck, Ph. D. (New York University. Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs, No. 14). Baltimore, J. H. Furst Company, 1917, 8vo, pp. viii, 85.

It is a singular coincidence that three scholars, two of them English and one American, should have directed their attention about the same time to the same general topic, namely, the folklore of the Mandrake. A certain amount of matter must necessarily be common to all three papers, but they differ so considerably in purpose and method that they are quite independent of each other. Frazer had the opportunity of consulting Harris's work, while both were unknown to Starck. Frazer and Harris are practiced hands in this field which Starck enters for the first time with his very creditable monograph. The difference in aim and method is characteristic of the two schools of English and Germanic scholarship, the latter of which has predominated in this country for many years. Of the three productions the first is an article contributed to the Bulletin of the great library at Manchester, the second, a paper read before the British Academy, and the third a more extensive monograph contributed to a memorial series in honor of the late Oswald Ottendorfer. Frazer, and particularly Starck, are interested in the entire field of research, although the compression of his material into the brief compass of a public lecture obliges the former to omit many interesting references, especially those of a literary character. Harris, on the other hand, is concerned with the application of the folklore of the Mandrake to the solution of a mythological question. The three works supplement each other, and the nine illustrations in Harris's article are valuable to the readers of Frazer and Starck. Finally, to end this brief general comparison, it is especially interesting to see how such experts in this field as Frazer and Harris marshal their material, discovered in the most recondite sources. In speaking of the three works in question I shall not treat them in the order of publication, but so far as possible in logical sequence of contents.

In previous lectures given at the John Rylands Library Dr. Harris has investigated the cults of three gods of the Greek pantheon, Dionysus, Apollo and Artemis, and has connected them with the ivy, mistletoe and herbs in general. Thus the divinities of the sky, formerly connected with astronomical and meteorological phe-

nomena have been brought down to the vegetable kingdom. Aphrodite has hitherto baffled all attempts at a botanical explanation and Dr. Harris renews the investigation by starting with an inquiry into those plants which are supposed to have sexual virtues. The Mandragora or Mandrake is the first to present itself and Dr. Harris passes in review the various superstitions connected with the plant in different countries and epochs. Considerable space is given (as in Starck's monograph) to the representation of the Mandrake in the herbalists and illustrations of the male and female Mandrake are given from the German *Herbarius,* 1485, and the Latin *Hortus Sanitatis,* 1491. Further illustrations showing the human form of the Mandrake are given from Sibthorp's *Flora Graeca,* the Vienna Dioscorides and its reproduction in Lambecius' *Commentariorum.* All this matter is a valuable supplement to Starck's work.

Harris is unable to add to the attempts to explain the meaning of Mandragora. His conclusion as to the main subject of his investigation is "that Aphrodite is a personification of the mandrake or love-apple. She holds this in her hand in the form of a fruit, and wears it round her waist, or perhaps as an armlet, in the form of a girdle in which the root of the plant is entwined. . . . The plant appears to have come down the Levant, in the first instance, probably from Cyprus. As Cyprus is in ancient times a Phoenician island, it is possible that the name of the goddess may be a transfer of a Phoenician name for love-apple. The apple which the goddess holds in her hand in certain great works of art is a substitute for the primitive apple-of-love."

Equally characteristic is Frazer's treatment of the subject. He starts with the story of Rachel and Leah in Genesis xxx, incomplete in its present form, and following more fully than Harris the folklore of the Mandrake, arrives at the general conclusion that the mandrake is "apparently personified as a being who feels anger at being uprooted, and whose wrath must be diverted from the human culprit to an innocent animal. . . . Such beliefs and practices illustrate the primitive tendency to personify nature, to view it as an assemblage of living, sensitive, and passionate beings rather than as a system of impersonal forces. That tendency has played a great part in the evolution of religion, and even when it has been checked or suppressed in the general mass of educated society, it lingers

still among the representatives of an earlier mode of thought, the peasant on the one hand and the poet on the other."

Frazer's paper is an admirable example of popular exposition in the best sense and of wise proportion. It contains practically all that is in Starck, except the rôle of the Mandrake in literature, and even there Frazer mentions Machiavelli's comedy and Shakespeare's references in various plays. It is strange that Frazer who cites Hertz's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (apparently unknown to Harris and Starck) does not mention the connection between a certain feature of Machiavelli's comedy and the legend of *Das Giftmädchen.*

We come now to the third of the investigations on the Mandrake, the subtitle of which, "Ein Beitrag zur Pflanzensagenkunde," indicates clearly enough the scope of Starck's monograph. In his *Vorwort* he defines more closely his purpose. He says that, in his opinion, too little attention has been paid to the influence of the natural properties of plants and the recipes for their medicinal use. It is the task of the present work to show how in one of these traditions various medicinal prescriptions of great antiquity have been handed down by popular tradition and how certain features of the Mandrake superstition are possibly not of mythological origin, but have taken their rise in the writings of the ancient physicians.

With this purpose in view it would have been better to examine one after another of the various superstitions connected with the Mandrake and, if possible, trace them to their origin through the writings in question. Instead of this Dr. Starck starts with one of the Mandrake superstitions, the *Galgenmännlein,* which is not the oldest, but which, apparently, is of comparatively recent and Germanic origin. After the first chapter, however, Starck traces the history of the Mandrake through the various botanical and medicinal treatises. In the fifth chapter he discusses the references to the superstitions connected with the Mandrake and then passes to the rôle of the Mandrake in literature. This part of the work shows much industry and wide reading and is of unusual interest. One of the superstitions, that of the "Spiritus familiaris," is treated separately in chapter VII, and affords further literary references, such as Fouqué's *Das Galgenmännlein,* and Stevenson's *The Bottle Imp.*

The concluding chapter is devoted to an attempt to explain the Mandrake superstition. Starck cannot offer any satisfactory explanation of the name mandragora or alraun, and he doubts the identity

of the Mandrake with the "dudain" of Genesis. Both Harris and Frazer accept this identity without question. The latter derives the German name "from a word identical with our word 'rune,' meaning 'the all-wise one,' with the connotation of 'witch' or 'wizard.'" Starck goes into the matter more fully and accepts Kluge's derivation of the second part of the name from the Gothic *rûna,* secret. Starck examines the various attempts at a mythological explanation of the Mandrake superstition and correctly, we think, deprecates the use of modern popular beliefs to establish a primitive mythological origin. His conclusion is: that the Mandrake superstition is not of Germanic origin; that it arose in the Orient and at first was not connected with a particular plant; that it became attached to the Mandrake probably on account of its forked shape; and that it made its way to Europe via Egypt and North Africa, as well as by a second route through Greece and Rome. In Europe the legend experiences the fate of so many other stories and from "Die Lust zum Fabulieren" received many accretions which were borrowed elsewhere or simply invented for the purpose. It is difficult to recognize the origin of the legend through the disguise of successive changes, and European literature here again owes a frequently used theme to the story-loving Orient.

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The King's Mirror (*Speculum Regale — Konungs Skuggsjá*). Translated from the Old Norwegian by L. M. Larson. (Scandinavian Monographs, vol. 3) New York, The American-Scandinavian Foundation, Oxford University Press, 1917. $3.00.

"The importance of the *Kings Mirror* lies in the insight that it gives into the state of culture and civilization of the North in the later Middle Ages. The interest follows seven different lines; physical science, especially such matters as are of importance to navigators; geography, particularly the geography of the Arctic lands and waters; the organization of the king's household and the privileges and duties of the king's henchmen; military engines, weapons and armor used in offensive and defensive warfare; ethical ideas, especially rules of conduct for courtiers and merchants; the

royal office, the duties of the king and the divine origin of kingship; and the place of the church in the Norwegian state."

A distinct service has been rendered the student of the Middle Ages by the publication of Professor Larson's translation of this ancient philosophic-didactic dialogue whose scope is sufficiently indicated in the above lines; for it has been practically inaccessible to those not conversant with Old Norse. The Sorö edition of 1768, containing the Danish and Latin translation—an excellent piece of work considering its time—is now a rare and costly tome; and the translation into Norwegian landsmaal (by Audne, 1909-13) will hardly benefit many.

With Brenner's edition, based on all available MSS. and Flom's phototypic reproductions of the main MS. (Urbana, 1915) the study of the Konungs Skuggsjá, which is the only considerable extant Old Norwegian text, is now placed on an entirely safe basis. (For reasons not indicated Larson has based his translation on the Kristiania edition). Notwithstanding, there was many a hard nut to crack before there could be prepared a rendering so eminently satisfactory and readable as the one here offered. For one thing, it must have been difficult to fix on the proper 'speech-level.' There is an occasional Johnsonian pomposity in this ancient dialogue which contrasts oddly with the inherent terseness and dryness of its Old Norse medium. In the matter of vocabulary more often than not the cumbersome Latin compounds chosen seem to reflect the flavor of the original quite well.

Only in a few instances can one quarrel with the resulting style. The reviewer would e. g., prefer the positive terms 'folly,' 'trouble,' 'lawlessness,' 'war,' etc., to the negatives 'unwisdom,' 'unrest,' 'unlaw,' 'unpeace' [1] for rendering Old Norse *úráð, úró, úlag, úfriðr*—words by no means characteristic of the style of this monument. The deliberately anonymous author—no doubt an old courtier who stood on decorum and punctilio—would, I fancy, have taken exception to the rendition of *tunguvarp* by 'palaver' (p. 229), for which I suggest 'twaddle'; and of *meira um at hafa* by 'to make a fuss about' (p. 187), instead of simply 'say no more.' The word 'foisterer' (p. 79) for O. N. *falsari* 'impostor' is not, to my knowledge, found in the thesaurus of the English language. —*Valslonga* (p. 220) would be more conveniently translated 'cata-

[1] P. 203 *et passim.*

pult' instead of 'trebucket,' which itself necessitates a footnote.—Only two mistakes were noted. In the passage *Meþ sterku beizli þarf hestr búinn at vera, þat sem örugt sé til halds, bæði upp at halda með, ef þarf, ok svá um at kasta, ef þess þarf hann við*[2] the words spaced do not mean 'to throw the horse,' but 'to wheel' him. *At koma niðr*[3] does not mean 'to come down' but 'to come to the point, to have the gist.'

The footnotes are exceedingly instructive and might well have been even more copious. *E. g.*, one on the author's explanation that O. N. *hirðmaðr* "means the same as keeper and guardian" (p. 176) might have pointed out that the term is, rather, loaned from the Anglo-Saxon *hîrêd* < *hîwrêd* meaning 'household of the prince,' and has nothing to do with O. N. *hirðir* 'shepherd.' Or, the editor might possibly have thrown light on the origin of the curious legend that Peter was commanded by Christ to open the mouth of the first fish caught, in order to find in it Cæsar's penny; on the belief concerning the Serpent that 'the spittle which comes forth from the mouth of a fasting man shall prove a dangerous venom to thy life etc.' (p. 268); on the meaning of the expression '*á hverfanda hvel* ('inconstancy, treachery') in the passage "for God shows his wrath in this way, that where the four boundaries of the territories of these (rival) chiefs touch, he places a moving wheel which turns on a restless axle"[4]—by reference to Hávamál stanza 82; on whether, in the expression *góðar hosar ok linar, görvar af blautu lérepti ok vel svörtuðu,*[5] *svartaðr* does not, perhaps, mean 'dyed' rather than 'blackened'; etc., etc.

Mention ought to have been made that also in the matter of division into chapters the Kristiania edition of Keyser, Munch, and Unger was followed—the original has no such arrangement. Nor does it always appear a happy one, especially in the earlier chapters. In particular, the headings of chapters VIII and XI are ill-chosen. Succinct epitomes on the margin would have better agreed with the somewhat rambling discussions of what is after all a Mediæval treatise and not a modern text-book!

Too much praise cannot be given to the scholarly and well-pro-

[2] Kristiania edition, p. 87; translation, p. 218.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 121 and 277.
[4] Kristiania edition, p. 76; translation, p. 199.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 87 and 219.

portioned introduction which admirably sets forth the results of many investigations scattered through numerous books and articles. Sources, outstanding features, authorship, date and place of composition are given brief but incisive consideration. As to the last mentioned items, the cautious arguments of the editor to prove "that the closing chapters of the King's Mirror were written after 1240, the year when Duke Skule was slain . . . but some time before 1247, the year of Hakon's coronation and final reconciliation with the church" seem entirely convincing. The allusions to Joab and Adonijah are too pointedly plain to allow of any other reference than to Skule. And again, the writer betrays too keen an insight into the politics of his day to embarrass king Hakon by a *post festum* attack on the church after his reconciliation with it!

The volume is superbly printed and altogether a splendid piece of book-making.

L. M. Hollander.

University of Wisconsin.

An Italian Grammar. By Ruth Shepard Phelps. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1917. viii + 328 pp.

Professor Phelps expresses in the Preface of her *Italian Grammar* the hope that the arrangement of topics in the book will make it equally serviceable for the classroom and for private study, and will give it certain of the advantages of a "first book" and a reference grammar. She has attempted to reach her object by breaking up the more difficult subjects, presenting them at first piecemeal and giving more thoroughgoing treatment in later chapters. This system, however, has not been followed consistently, but in all the cases where it has seemed desirable to present a complete treatment at first, the paragraphs dealing with the more subtle points are marked with a star and they may be assigned only to be read over, or even altogether omitted.

The problem of combining an elementary grammar with a reference book is a difficult one, and the best solution would seem to be a more distinct separation of the elementary and advanced parts. It is to be regretted that Professor Phelps did not follow the model of some of the French and Spanish grammars in which this plan has been adopted. As the book stands now, some of the lessons will be found too long even if the starred paragraphs are omitted—

a serious disadvantage from a pedagogical point of view. On the other hand, the *Italian Grammar* deserves the serious attention of teachers of Italian, because it is probably the most nearly complete grammar of this language adapted to American students.

The terminology used is that recommended by the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, and this will meet with the approval of teachers. Unfortunately, however, no help is provided for the students who are unfamiliar with the new system; those who have studied French or other modern languages in grammars which still use the old nomenclature will certainly be puzzled by such terms as the "past absolute," "past descriptive," "past future," and the failure to translate the paradigms of some of these forms will not make things any easier. It is difficult to see what system Professor Phelps followed on the latter point: on page 34 the present indicative of the model regular verbs is not translated, while on page 36 is given the translation of the same mood and tense of *avere* and *essere;* no meanings are given for the past absolute, page 43, and for the future of model verbs, page 40, while the contrary is the case, page 49, for the present indicative, future indicative, past future, and past absolute of *essere.*

The examples illustrating the grammatical rules are, with few exceptions, appropriate. Some of the examples taken from old literary texts are, however, out of place in a book dealing with the language of today. It is misleading to the student to read examples, like the one from Dante under 144*b,* in which rare obsolete forms are found. On page 212 there is another example from Dante; the English translation is followed by Rossetti's name in parentheses, although if any name had to be given Dante's should certainly have been preferred.

The exercises, which accompany the lessons they illustrate, are satisfactory. They serve not only to apply the grammatical knowledge acquired in the lesson, but also to re-present recently acquired facts. Most of the Italian passages on which these sentences are based are borrowed or adapted from Italian school readers used in the lower grades (Renato Fucini's *Il mondo nuovo,* two *Libri di lettura* by Neretti and Gironi, published by Bemporad, and *La terza Italia,* published by the Società Laziale Editrice of Rome), and they help in the acquisition of a good practical vocabulary and of some information about every-day life, as well as about the history of modern Italy.

The lesson vocabularies are in certain cases too long; this fact will not cause students undue difficulty, however, as the meaning of many of the words can be easily guessed, and as they are to be found more in the Italian reading-matter that precedes the English sentences than in the latter. The arrangement of words in these vocabularies is not very practical: instead of using one alphabet, the author separates the words into classes (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs); one does not see the advantage of this order even if it were consistently followed, which, however, is not the case.

One of the attractive features of the book are the eight dialogues in the latter part, which give a little practice in familiar idiom, and present excellent specimens of colloquial Tuscan. Another feature to be commended is the early introduction of the third person as the person of address, before the habit of the true second person is acquired.

The Introduction (thirty-two pages) treats of pronunciation, accent, orthography, elision, truncation, versification, etc., the chief authority followed for most of these subjects being Malagòli's *Ortoepia e ortografia italiana moderna*. The pages given to pronunciation are particularly satisfactory: the material has not been taken bodily from the Italian source, but was simplified and arranged so that it is quite usable with foreign students. The lists of rules for pronunciation are perhaps too long, but with a proper division into assignments the material may be covered gradually in connection with the regular lessons. As a further help to the student, the pronunciation is marked on the first appearance of a word in the text, and in all the cases in the vocabulary where it is necessary.

The grammatical rules are well stated, although at times too concisely, as is shown by some of the examples mentioned below. P. 124: Among the cases of inversion of verb and subject is mentioned the following: "In general, in narrative style, and in conversation, to avoid pedantry." It is hard to see how pedantry is avoided in a case like *È morto il papa*. A better explanation for such examples and for those of historical style is the desire to emphasize the verb by placing it in an unusual position. P. 130: One of the cases of omission of the definite article is "in enumerations." It might be advisable to add that the omission occurs only when the things or persons enumerated are considered collectively, which fact is made evident by the common accompaniment of a

summing-up word, like *tutti* in the example given by the author under this section: *Nobili, popolani, contadini, uomini, donne,* tutti *s'affollavano allo scalo.* When the things or persons are not looked upon as a group, the article is used. P. 165: The subjunctive is used "after conjunctions of time (before which)," etc. This statement ought to be made more explicit. Cf. Fornaciari, *Sint.,* 401: "Nelle proposizioni temporali . . . si usa il congiuntivo, quando contengono un'intenzione o un'aspettazione di cosa futura." P. 171: The elliptical use of the infinitive is not treated fully enough. Several classes of phenomena are grouped together, but without any indication of the distinguishing features of each. P. 180: *vezzo* means more commonly 'bad habit.' P. 192: The author does not mention the fact that sing. *questi, quegli,* are restricted to literary language (the example is from Dante). P. 205: *cognato, cognata* mean only 'brother-in-law,' 'sister-in-law'; the Italian words for 'step-brother' and 'step-sister' are *fratellastro* and *sorellastra.* P. 206: The abbreviation *burl.* in parentheses after *capitanessa, dottoressa, filosofa* will hardly be understood by the beginner, even after studying the foregoing lessons.

The vocabulary has been prepared with care; some of the few errors found are due to the failure to note the exact sense of the Italian words in the context in which they are used.

Copertone: "blanket"; on page 220, "copertoni delle rote" mean 'tires,' cf. a few lines below, "un altro pneumatico." Deputato: "deputy, representative"; rather: 'member of the Chamber of Deputies.' Eligere: correct to 'eleggere.' Mantice: 'bellows'; on page 220 it means 'top of an automobile.' Ministro: "minister"; rather: 'member of the Cabinet.' Panna: "whipped cream"; on page 219 it appears in the expression "rimasto in panna," where it means 'breakdown'; cf. the French "en panne." Rivedere. Why translate "a rivederla" by "au revoir"? Scarico: "run down," when applied to a watch. Baggage: "deposito" means 'parcel-room' rather than "baggage-room." Rid: "rid oneself: sbarrarsi"; correct to 'sbarazzarsi.'

The following words and expressions are not in the vocabulary: square (p. 57); aff.^{mo}, letterina (116); contadinello (147); muovere paglia (148); a festa (162); vabbene, arrivedella (202); a dovere (250).

Gustav Gruenbaum.

Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates; and the Problems of the Transmission of His Text. By ALFRED W. POLLARD. London, Alex. Moring, 1917. vii + 115 pp.

Readers who are familiar with Mr. Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* and his critical editions of texts will greet with interest the publication in book-form of his four lectures delivered as Sanders Reader in Bibliography at the University of Cambridge, November, 1915 (later printed under four separate titles in successive numbers of *The Library* for 1916, vol. VII). The book, *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates,* is substantially the same as the lectures, but contains additional material on the manuscripts, and an index and brief preface.

In the first chapter, on "The Regulation of the Book Trade in the Sixteenth Century," Mr. Pollard introduces the reader to a period when there seems to have been "no legal recognition of literary rights by appeal to which piracy could be defeated." The royal privilege for printing *ad imprimendum solum* he interprets as conferring not a sole, or exclusive printing right (as it has usually been construed), but a right "only for printing, *i. e.,* not for protection." The royal privileges in general he believes to have had an unsalutary effect in lending color to an assumption that an unprivileged work might fairly be considered as having no protection against piracy. Mr. Pollard traces concisely the governmental control of the press, interpreting significant passages of proclamations concerning printing from the year 1529. He sketches the rise of the Stationers' Company of London, its practises as a licensing body, and its function as bestower of a 'perpetual copyright' (not, however, a *legal* right, in Mr. Pollard's opinion) upon the stationer who properly licensed and entered his book upon the Stationers' Registers. Though the author had, according to Mr. Pollard, no *legal* rights, he was nevertheless, if he secured an honest stationer, benefited financially and otherwise by the protection of this "informal" copyright secured through the private ordinances of the Stationers' Company.

In the second chapter, "Authors, Players, and Pirates in Shakespeare's Day," Mr. Pollard imaginatively reconstructs the probable course of publication of Shakespeare's plays. He discusses the status of actors, their attitude toward the publication of their plays, the possible sources of copy for pirated editions, the probable steps

by which the company of actors anticipated intended piracies or even perhaps regained control of pirated texts. This chapter gives the title to the book. The "fight with the pirates" is, of course, the theatrical company's fight, imaginatively reconstructed in a plausible and interesting manner. The players are pictured as selling plays when it was to their advantage; as being occasionally attacked by pirates; as taking measures to protect their plays against piracy, and as reprinting pirated plays through authorized publishers. This portrayal is, as it must be, largely theoretical.

Underlying the imaginative superstructure of this chapter is the bibliographer's thorough knowledge of the state of the texts. Roughly grouped, there are four plays commonly recognized as having "bad" texts in the early quartos and "good" texts in the First Folio: *Romeo and Juliet, Henry V., The Merry Wives of Windsor,* and *Hamlet.* The bad quarto versions are not the foundations of the good Folio texts. Of the fourteen other plays in question, twelve show the use of early quartos as bases of Folio texts. These twelve were duly and correctly entered on the Stationers' Registers. The two exceptions (late entries) Mr. Pollard tries to account for. As none of the five bad quartos was rightly entered and all the twelve good ones were, the entry may be taken as *prima facie* evidence of authorized publication. Mr. Pollard concludes that the players probably handed to the printers the texts of fourteen plays for publication in quartos, three being better texts to set right plays previously pirated. The reader will find it worth while to relate with the brief comments on individual texts in this chapter the more elaborate discussions in Mr. Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos.*

Chapter III, "The Manuscripts of Shakespeare's Plays," reconstructs the normal, or usual, history of a play manuscript in Shakespeare's day, thus furnishing a point of departure for students of special text problems. Elizabethan authors are shown to have furnished, at times, rough drafts in autograph as copies for licensing and also as prompt copies for use in theatres. A few tests (simple in theory if not in application) are here supplied for judging autograph copies. Evidence is then given to show that prompt copies were used as sources of texts of some of the "good" (unpirated) plays. Mr. Pollard concludes with the proposition (p. 83):

"It is bibliographically probable that some of the First Quarto editions of Shakespeare's plays were printed from the author's own autograph manuscript, which had previously been used as a prompt-copy; that the actors replaced their manuscript prompt-copy by a copy of the printed Quarto, which in its turn received additional stage-directions and also readings representing some of the variants which were adopted by individual actors; that in 1622 a copy of the last Quarto on the market was sent to the playhouse to be roughly collated with the printed prompt-copy; and that the copy so corrected was the source of the Folio text of a normal play originally printed in a duly registered Quarto."

After considering the possible changes in the text, for better or worse, by prompter, actor, compositor, printer, Mr. Pollard assures us that there are very few plays first printed in quarto for which we need to assume any new manuscript authority to account for the Folio text. Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Pollard does a great service to the student of texts by his emphasis upon the principle of economy in the assumption of intermediate manuscript sources to account for such progressive changes in texts as can be rationally accounted for in other ways by one familiar with contemporary printing and publishing conditions and with theatrical customs.

The fourth chapter, "The Improvers of Shakespeare," draws three important deductions:

1. That no edition subsequent to the first duly registered Quarto can have any authority as a text unless it can be shown to be probable that a new manuscript or its equivalent was used as a source; and in constructing such a theory, the variants in the text must be considered *as a whole* (pp. 84-7).

2. That the first authorized edition of any play may safely be assumed to be nearer than any other to what the author wrote, in matters such as spelling, punctuation, emphasis, capitals, etc.

3. That the First Folio must be regarded as an *edited* text, the actors having tolerated small changes to bring their texts into accordance with the best versions of their day.

After a sad survey of the aims and methods of various editors of Shakespeare, who in one way and another have "improved" Shakespeare's work, Mr. Pollard summarizes the real advances made in the study of the texts since the time of Malone. He then restates the aim of his book as being, to show "that the Quartos regularly entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company were neither stolen nor surreptitious," and "that some at least of these

editions may have been set up from Shakespeare's autograph manuscript."

On a few minor points in Chapter I, on the book trade, I am inclined to disagree with Mr. Pollard. I do not see that his correction of the wording, *obteined a ch(art)re,* instead of *procured* a charter, in Christopher Barker's letter on the incorporation of the Stationers' Company, invalidates an argument that the Stationers on their own initiative sought a royal charter. Historical usage certainly permits *obtained* in the same sense as *procured;* and the context of Barker's letter just as certainly shows that Barker believed that the Stationers acted on their own initiative in the matter. Nor does Mr. Pollard's ingenious interpretation of the significance of the royal privilege *ad imprimendum solum* (pp. 6-7) convince me—for reasons which I cannot set forth fully in a book-review. Several of the conclusions in this chapter seem to me too general: that the grants of privilege argued a lack of any legal recognition of literary rights (p. 3, p. 24), and that they carried an implication that unprivileged books might be pirated with impunity (p. 4); and that the protection against piracy had no legal force but rested solely on the private ordinances of the Stationers' Company. In his use of the term *legal* throughout the chapter, Mr. Pollard seems to me to mean *statutory;* and it is my conviction that the terms should not be used synonymously in the discussion of Elizabethan copyright. But, as I have discussed all these points at some length in a dissertation written in 1914 (still unpublished), I will refrain from further comment here, and pass to what I consider the really vital aspect of Mr. Pollard's book, his reconstruction of the normal, the regular, the probable history of Shakespeare texts.

If Mr. Pollard's book should do no more than dissuade the prospective editor of Elizabethan texts from the random selection of single variants which please the taste of a modern man of letters or seem imaginatively more "likely" readings (regardless of insuperable obstacles, of a bibliographical nature, in the way of their ever having occurred together in any one presumably authentic version), it will have fulfilled a most important mission. If the reader hesitates to accept Mr. Pollard's position in its entirety (as for instance in the matter of the autograph manuscripts—on which, by the way, Mr. Pollard does not claim completed proof), he should at least remind himself of the much more shaky ground on which

stand that body of "imaginative pessimists" who justify all sorts of liberties with texts by assuming that they have come down to us corrupted by "multiplication by transcript after transcript" and by piracy after piracy, unresented and unatoned. It is refreshing to find, for once, opposed to this very popular black view of Elizabethan publishing conditions, an experienced bibliographer's theory of "imaginative optimism," based on a sound knowledge of the printing customs, and of the texts in question, as well as on an understanding of human nature and sound common-sense.

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THE SUMERIAN ORIGIN OF 'TUN' AND 'BARREL'

The origin of *tun,* from which the terms *tunnel* and *tonneau* are derived, is unknown. The derivation from the Celtic *tonn,* 'skin,' 'surface,' is unsatisfactory, although in the southern parts of Europe and throughout Western Asia skin-bottles are still used for the conveyance and storage of wine, water, etc.[1] Chaucer uses *tun* for *jar,* but, as a rule, it denotes a large *cask* for wine, beer, and other liquids. As a measure of capacity it was equal to about 250 wine-gallons. *Ton* is merely a more archaic spelling of *tun.*

Casks or barrels made of wooden staves bound together with hoops are said to have been invented by the Gauls. Pliny (14, 132) says: *circa Alpes vinum ligneis vasis condunt tectis circulisque cingunt.* For the storage of wine or oil, honey, grain, etc., the Greeks and Romans as well as the Orientals used large jars made of hard-baked clay, which had a pointed base, so that they could be inserted into the ground or into a stand; see Benzinger, *Hebr. Arch.* (1907), pp. 70, 223; Koldewey, *Babylon* (1913), p. 245. The Latin name of these vessels, *amphora* (Greek ἀμφορεύς = ἀμφιφρεύς, 'two-handled') appears in English as *amber.* The corresponding German word *Eimer* is supposed to denote a *one-handled bucket* or pail, while *Zuber,* our *tub,* is said to be a *two-handled tub;* but OHG *einbar* and *zwibar* represent merely popular etymologies. An *Eimer* generally has a hooped handle or bail. *Eimer* = amber is *amphora,* and *Zuber* = tub must be connected with *tube.* Similarly a half-tun (or butt) was called a *pipe.* In the eighteenth century *tub* denoted also a *small cask* for holding liquor. *Tub* is also a contemptuous term for a *slow boat.* A water-tight lining for a shaft in very watery ground is called *tubbing.* In England *tube* is used for a subway in the form of a tunnel.

[1] Cf. O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* (1890), p. 378 n.

In Syriac a wine-jar pointed at the bottom so as to rest in the earth (Lat. *cadus* = Heb. *kad*) is called *dánnâ*. This word has passed also into Arabic (*dann*, plur. *dinân*). A basket-pot, *i. e.*, a vessel of basket-work made water-tight with bitumen is called *kâfártâ* in Syriac. This word is derived from *kúfrâ*, 'bitumen' (*BL* 128). In Assyrian we find it in the transposed form *karpatu*, 'crock' (*AJSL* 32, 64) and *dánnâ*, 'amphora,' appears in the cuneiform texts as *dannu* (HW 225ª; *AkF* 33) which seems to be a Sumerian loanword: Sumer. *dun* or (with the loss of the final consonant; cf. *SFG* 44; *SG* § 23, a) *du* means 'to dig,' 'excavate'; as a noun it signifies 'depth, shaft, hole.' Instead of *dun* (*SGl* 152) we find also *dul, tul* (*SGl* 150) with final *l* instead of *n* (*SG* § 22) just as we have *šudun* and *šudul*, 'yoke' (*SGl* 270). There is also a byform *tun* instead of *dun;* at the beginning of a syllable ending with a consonant surds and sonants often interchange in Sumerian (*SG* § 20, b). Sum. *tun*, 'excavation,' 'shaft' (*SGl* 164, below) may be the prototype of both our *tunnel* and *tun*. The wine-jars may have been called *dun, tun,* because they were dug in and partially buried in the ground. In the same way Assyr. *xabû* (or *xapû*) amphora = Ethiop. *xĕbái* (*ZDMG* 63, 519, 7; 64, 705; *OLZ* 17, 495; *AkF* 33; *ZA* 30, 99) is derived from *xába'a* 'to conceal, bury' (cf. Arab. *bá'ara* = *ḥáfara* and *xába'a;* for *xepû*, 'to smash,' see *OLZ* 16, 493). We have the root *dun, tun* also in Sumer. *udun*, 'oven,' Assyr. *utûnu, atûnu,* which has passed also into Aramaic, Arabic and Ethiopic; the ovens were large earthen crocks sunk in the ground (*DB* 1, 318ª; 2, 73ª; 3, 637ª). For the prefixed *u* in *udun* see *ASKT* 136, § 5, a; *CV* 10; *JAOS* 37, 322, n. 11. Our *oven* (German *Ofen*) is not a Sumerian loanword, although the *t* of Assyr. *utûnu*, which was pronounced *th* after a vowel, might become *f* (*ZDMG* 65, 562): *oven* is connected with ἰπνός, and Old Norse *ogn*, etc.

A synonym of Sumer. *dun, tun* is *bur, pur, pu* (*SGl* 70, 277) which means 'depth, hole, well, vessel, basin, bed of a river.' The Sumerian name of the Euphrates is *Bura-nunu,* the Great Basin or River. Heb. *yam*, 'sea,' is used also of a large basin and a large river. Sumer. *bur* appears in Assyrian as *pûru*, 'urn' (κάδος, καδίσκος, κάλπις) which seems to have been combined with the name *Purim,* and Heb. *pûrâ* denotes ὑπολήνιον, 'wine-trough' (*EB* 5311; cf. *Nah,* 43; *Est.* 30; *ZDMG* 64, 714, 10; *GB*[16] 637ᵇ. 675, l. 2; *AkF* 33). This Sumerian *bur* may be also the prototype of our *barrel.* *AV* uses *barrel* for Heb. *kad,* jar (κάδος, Lat. cadus) in 1 *K* 17, 12; 18, 34. In modern Arabic, *barrel* (French *baril,* Ital. *barile,* Span. *barril, barrica*) appears as *barmîl.* We can hardly assume that Heb. *bôr*, 'cistern,' and *bêr* (not *bĕ'ér!*) 'well' (Syr. *bêrâ*, Arab. *bi'r*) are Sumerian loanwords; nor can Sum. *bur, pur, pu* be Semitic. Lagarde's etymology of *bi'r*, 'well' (*Nomina,* 58) is not satisfactory, but *bi'r* may be connected with

Arab. *bírkah,* 'pool'; *bard* 'cold'; *barr,* 'righteous'; *sábara,* 'to sound, probe' (cf. *AJSL* 23, 242. 247). Assyr. *bâru,* to catch, to hunt, means originally 'to pit,' 'catch in a pitfall' (*AJSL* 23, 249, l. 12). Heb. *pûrâ,* wine-trough, may be a Sumerian loanword, and Sum. *bur* may also be the prototype of our *barrel.*[2]

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ENGLISH 'COOP' = ASSYRIAN 'QUPPU'

Our *coop,* from which the term *cooper* is derived, is the Assyr. *quppu,* 'bird-cage.' Sennacherib says that he cooped up King Hezekiah of Judah in Jerusalem like a cageling (*šâšu kîma iççûr quppi qirib Ursalimmu êširšu, KB* 2, 94, 20). Arab. *qúffah* denotes not only 'cage,' but also a 'boat' used on the Tigris, which consists of a large round basket made water-tight with bitumen; see the full-page illustration No. 5 in Kaulen's *Assyrien und Babylonien* (1899) and cf. Suess, *Die Sintflut* (Prag, 1883), p. 13. Herodotus (I, 194) does not refer to these round basket-boats (contrast *EB*[11] 3, 481[b]) but to the rafts supported by inflated skins (Arab, *'âmah,* plur. *'âm,* lit. 'swimmer,' 'float,' from *'âma, ya'ûmu,* 'to swim'). See the illustrations on p. 125 of the translation of *Ezekiel* in the Polychrome Bible. In German, *Kiepe* denotes a large 'basket,' while *Kufe* (Lat. *cupa, cuppa*) means 'tub' or 'vat.' Our *coop* signifies not only 'basket,' or 'box,' in which poultry is confined, but also 'cask, barrel, keg, tub, pail,' etc. *Basket* is identical with *bascauda,* 'washing-tub or brazen vessel' (Martial 14, 99). The original form of Assyr. *quppu* may be *qub'u,* and this may be connected with Arab. *qabw,* vault, cellar, hollow. For the change of *b* and *p* cf. *BAL* 102; *JBL* 35, 281. We have the same root in Arab. *naqb* and *waqb;* the Hebrew dry measure *qab;* Heb. *qebâ,* 'abdominal cavity'; *qôbá',* 'helmet,' *qubbá't,* 'cup'; also in *qäbr,* 'grave'; *naqáb,* 'to bore'; *yäqb,* ὑπολήνιον = German *Kufe;* Syr. *qûbbâ,* 'reservoir'; *qíbyâ,* 'cistern'; *qibbîta,* 'tank.' Also the original form of Heb. *miqwê,* 'reservoir,' was *miqbê.* In the Talmud we find also *kûbâ,* 'vat,' 'jar,' with *k* instead of *q* (*AJSL* 23, 246). Cf. also Syr. *kúbbâ,* 'cup, goblet, vessel' (κύμβη, κύμβος, κυμβίον).

Our *coop,* therefore, may be a Semitic loanword, while *tun* and *barrel* may be ultimately Sumerian (cf. *JHUC,* No. 296, p. 34).

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[2] For the abbreviations see *Journal of Biblical Literature,* vol. 36, p. 75.

A Note on the *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*

James Howell, in his famous *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*,[1] states that he had read in "an old *Spanish* Legend" a scurrilous story as to the reason for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella. His editor, Joseph Jacobs, who had devoted especial attention to the history of the Jews in Spain,[2] remarks:[3] "I have never come across this anywhere but in H." Future editors of Howell may perhaps be interested to know that the "old *Spanish* Legend" is reprinted by Yanguas y Miranda, *Diccionario de Antiguëdades del Reino de Navarra,* from a text of the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century in the Archives of Pamplona.[5] The same story, with minor variants in wording, was published by Rodrigo Amador de los Rios from a copy of a MS. in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville. This copy was executed for his father, José Amador de los Rios.[6] In this MS. the text forms one of a number of later additions to the *Libro Verde de Aragón* (1507) of Juan de Anchías.

Graetz is a little venturesome in his conjecture[7] that Yanguas' "Quelle war wohl der Anhang zum grünen Buche." It is true that the MS. used by Yanguas resembled the *Libro Verde* in appending to the expulsion story a well-known fictitious correspondence supposed to have been exchanged in 1492 between the Jews of Spain and those of Constantinople. It contains, moreover, the prologue to this correspondence which Graetz[8] erroneously supposes to have been printed only in the *Libro Verde.* Nevertheless the differences in the two texts lead one to suspect that Yanguas' source is derived from a text similar to that drawn upon by the compiler of the *Libro Verde* MS., rather than from the *Libro Verde* MS. itself.

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[1] Ed. Jacobs (London, 1892), Vol. I, p. 200.

[2] In 1888, *e. g.*, he had undertaken a scientific mission in Spain which resulted in the publication of his *Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain* (New York, 1894).

[3] Vol. II, p. 733.

[4] Vol. II (Pamplona, 1840), p. 117 ff.

[5] Yanguas cites this text (*ibid.*, p. 120), as "Archivo del reino, sección de negocios eclesiásticos, leg. 1, carp. 21." Jacobs (*Inquiry,* pp. xxxvi; 82-123) saw at Pamplona only documents from the *Archivos de Comptos.*

[6] *Revista de España,* Vol. CVI (1885), p. 567.

[7] *Geschichte der Juden,* VIII (Leipzig, 1890), 344, n. 1.

[8] *Revue des études juives,* XIX, p. 108.

Fastnacht- und Osterspiel

It is well known that the German Easter play, originating in a solemn liturgic office, came in time to have a good deal of the character of a *Fastnachtspiel,* chiefly through the overwhelming development of the scene of the quack vender of whom the three Maries buy their ointment. Nevertheless it is surprising to find *Fastnachtspiel* and *Osterspiel* joined in such a synonymous way as they are in the *Bayerische Chronik* of the humanist and historian Aventinus (written between 1526 and 1533). His use of the two terms is in several respects peculiar and of interest to students of the medieval drama.

In connection with ancient Roman history and the invasion of the Gallic chief Brennus, whom Aventinus calls a king of the Bavarians and Suabians, he says (I, 325):

"Und kamen die Teutschen wider für Rom. Es war auch ein grosser sterb. Curtius sprengt in ein grueb und wurden vastnacht- und osterspil und dergleichen kurzweil got zu êren von den Römern angenummen and gehalten ausz rat irer geistlichen."

In connection with the victories of Arminius (I, 607):

"Über das alles gelobet kaiser Augustus ochsen mit vergülten hörnern und grosse (wie damals der brauch war) vasnacht- und dergleichen osterspil oder wie mans nennen sol, die höchsten opfer dem höchsten got des himels und ertreichs (so in der römischen sprach Jupiter, das ist der gros vater und nothelfer, haist), wo er mit seiner götlichen macht und gnad das römisch reich in ain glücksäligen stand und wesen widerkeret."

A similar passage is found in I, 506: "Das unüberwintlich volk der Römer. . . . gelobten . . . dem Jupiter . . . neue êre und kurzweil, so wir vasnachtspil, osterspil und dergleichen haissen."

Aventinus, like most of the humanists of the Reformation period, stayed in the Catholic church but denounced its abuses freely and held the monks in special scorn. In the midst of early Hebrew history he indulges in a tirade against the monastic orders (I, 225-6):

"Sider die geistlichen örden oder (wie si sant Pauls nent) unörden aufgestanden sein, hat man die köstlichesten puecher der allergelertesten haiden und christen verlorn . . . So fressen si auch die sünd der menschen und trinken ir poshait, verkaufen auch darneben ir gute werk. . . . Wo man's bei dem liecht wil pesehen, so ist es ein geistliche mêr dan ein teufliche hochfart und gleichsnerei oder (wie es die schrift nent) vasnacht- und osterpil, gleich sam si allain got gefielen. . . ."

The parenthetical " wie es die schrift nent " of the above passage, which refers evidently to the Holy Scriptures, seems to find its explanation in the following passage (II, 44) :

" Alle gescheft, von got geben, die ganz natur, alles götlich verhaissen, zaichen, briefe und sacrament, auch alle gotsdienst seind auf die zehen gepot gewidembt, geordnet und gericht: wa man die zehen gepot nit helt, ist das ander lauter fasnachtspil (das ist ' hipocrisis,' wie es die hailig schrift im kriechischen nent), man predig, man sing, man schrei, man pfeif wie man wöll in der kirchen. Es prummen nur die münch in der kirchen in den grossen kappen, schreien wie die esel; die bestelten bachanten wissen nit, was es ist."

The above passages are the only ones I have found of the use of the combined ' Fastnacht- und Osterspiel.' Additional more or less interesting uses of Fastnachtspiel alone are found in I, 400, 789, 844, 869, and 1015.

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Deschamps as Eustace

I should like to point out what seems to me an error in Professor T. A. Jenkins' valuable commentary on Deschamps' *Ballade to Chaucer* in the May number of *Mod. Lang. Notes* (XXXIII, 268-278). Mr. Jenkins translates v. 27 "A Eustace am I, thou shalt have some of my plants," and later (p. 277) thus paraphrases: " Named as I am after the great St. Eustace, pattern of those who give liberally to those who ask of them . . . your request shall be granted."

This interpretation is undoubtedly right in so far as it recognizes that Deschamps was playing on his Christian name. It is as clearly wrong, I believe, in suggesting that the poet meant to infer generosity on his part in promising to send Chaucer some of his verses. The context of the phrase in the ballade and the common reputation of St. Eustace both point to a quite different interpretation. Reference to the poem, or to the translation that Mr. Jenkins has made, will make it clear that Deschamps was writing in a tone of profound humility to the " grant translateur " across the Channel. He begged for a draught from that spring of poesy, and represented himself—somewhat overstressing his condition, no doubt—as mentally paralyzed while waiting for the inspiring cup. He agreed to send his promised verses, but he asked that they might be looked upon indulgently as school-boy productions. This was the context in which he remarked, " Eustaces sui."

Now, Eustace was of all saints pre-eminent for the humility with

which he endured affliction. He was the medieval Job. It is true that he was a good and generous man even in his pagan state, as Placidas, but he was by no means so remarkable for his liberality as for several other Christian virtues. He was the type, above all, of patience in suffering, and in the low estate to which he fell through no fault of his own. I am writing without opportunity to consult books, but I am very sure that Mr. Jenkins has been misled by casual sentences that have no great significance in the legend. A namesake of St. Eustace in the fourteenth century, when playfully alluding to his patron as Deschamps was doing, would be certain to regard him in the essential aspect of his humility: the high-born Roman who was content to become a servant at a wayside inn. "I am the patient and humble Eustace," says Deschamps. "Take what Clifford may bring you from my pen, but judge its poor worth with indulgence."

I am inclined to believe that the spirit of the ballade, as revealed in the line discussed, may have some bearing on another verse (9), on which Mr. Jenkins comments at length. Deschamps was very far from boasting at the moment; he was not in the mood to call attention to the merits of his own tongue, as Mr. Jenkins would have us believe. He was certainly not being so tactless as to say to Chaucer "that the perfect French of de Lorris and de Meun had necessarily suffered in translation." He was merely being a little learned, and referring to French as "la langue Pandras." To my mind, at least, Toynbee's explanation carries conviction, while that adopted from Hoepffner by the latest commentator seems ingenious rather than correct.

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BOCCACCIO'S *FILOCOLO* AND THE ANNUNCIATION

In the *Filocolo,* as is well known, Boccaccio follows on the whole the narrative of the *Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore,*[1] which itself is probably derived from a French source. Nevertheless, not satisfied with what he calls the "fabulosi parlari degli ignoranti,"[2] he undertakes to lend to the simple tale of Floire and Blancheflor a grandiose significance. In the lofty tone of Milton, who invokes the Heavenly Muse, and announces that he will sing of

> Things unattempted yet in prose or rime,

Boccaccio calls upon the gods for help, and declares that he will be the first to treat his subject adequately. He then proceeds to try

[1] Vincenzo Crescini's edition, Bologna (1889-1899), I, 462. See H. Hauvette, *Boccace* (1914), pp. 64 ff.

[2] *Filocolo* (1829 ed.), p. 7.

to embellish his narrative by a process which may be considered as twofold: (1) he borrows heavily from the literature of Greek and Roman antiquity, and from the Scriptures; (2) he endeavors to impose an epic form upon his romance.

Boccaccio's borrowings from classical literature have already received considerable attention from critics, and the same thing is true of his rather grotesque attempt to turn his romance into an epic. On the other hand, his borrowings from the Scriptures have received less attention than they deserve, although the grandiloquent use of Scriptural language in his writings was in perfect accord with the Italian literary tradition of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In the *Filocolo* the most notable conglomeration of Scriptural references occurs in the account of the conversion of Florio and of Biancofiore by Ilario—an account, by the way, which is almost entirely invented by Boccaccio, the *Cantare* indicating with eight lines what Boccaccio expands into a whole book.[3]

It is not surprising, furthermore, to observe that Lelio is compared to the lamb of God which was slain for the salvation of the world: "e ricordandosi dell'annunzio fatto loro, che tal volta convenia che uno morisse per salvamento di tutto il popolo, etc. . ." [4] Moreover Florio, like Job, curses the day when he was born: "Ora fosse quel giorno ancora a venire, nè giammai venisse, etc. . . ." [5]

In every case, it should be remembered, the Scriptural allusion is dragged into the romance by Boccaccio without any artistic justification whatever.

In the light of these facts, let us turn to a divergence in the text of the *Filocolo* from that of the *Cantare* which Crescini does not attempt to explain.[6] According to Boccaccio's version, at the beginning of the story, Lelio, being childless, goes into the temple to pray to S. Giacomo for a child to be born to him. As a result, the saint appears to him that night, announcing that God has granted his prayer.[7]

The first chapter of Luke's Gospel bears a striking resemblance to the passage in the *Filocolo*. We are told there that Zacharias and Elisabeth, like Lelio and Giulia Topazia, have had no child. To Zacharias, who has been attending to his duties as a priest in the temple, an angel of the Lord appears, announcing to him: "Thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son. . . ." [8]

Boccaccio is not the only author to inject the story of the Annunciation into the romance of Floire and Blancheflor. In a Spanish

[3] Cf. Crescini, *op. cit.*, I, 446-447.

[4] *Filocolo*, I, 50. [5] *Ibid.*, I, 257.

[6] See V. Crescini, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 106.

[7] *Filocolo*, I, 16. [8] *Luke*, I, v. 13.

version an angel appears twice; furthermore, it is to Topazia,[9] not to Lelio, that he comes. We may recall that in Luke's Gospel there are also two angel visitors—one appearing to Zacharias, to foretell the birth of John the Baptist, the other to Mary, to prophesy the birth of Christ. The double apparition, which in the Spanish version has no point, becomes logical when traced to the Scriptures.

If we accept the hypothesis of a Scriptural origin for the story of the angelic apparition in the *Filocolo,* another difficulty noted by Crescini will be cleared up. Florio, describing to Ilario the pagan rites which he had been accustomed to observe before his conversion to Christianity, says that they consist of burning fires before the altars of the gods.[10] As Crescini remarks, the Christian Lelio also, praying to S. Giacomo, promises to *alluminare i suoi altari di devoti fuochi.*[11] This apparent contradiction is again explained by the first chapter of Luke's Gospel, which states that Zacharias, "according to the custom of the priest's office," had as his lot *to burn incense when he went into the temple with the Lord.*[12]

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Notes on Old English Lexicography

Toller, in his Supplement to the *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,* records from Cockayne's *Narratiunculae* the word *cannon,* which, he says, "seems to represent Lat. coenum," the reading in the parallel passage from MS. Cott. Nero D VIII being: *palus sicca et ceno habundans.* In Hilka's text,[1] however, and in Kübler's edition [2] we have: *Palus erat sicca et canna abundans* (MS. CCC. Oxon. 82: *canna habundans*); and in the Bamberg MS., E III, 14, edited by F. Pfister,[3] the reading is: *Invenimus paludem siccam, quae habebat cannas multas.* There can be little doubt, accordingly, that the word *cannon* represents the Latin *canna, -ae;* 'a reed, cane.'

Under *Faru,* Toller suggests: *IV. a means of transport (?), carriage or beast of burden:—þonne waes þridde healf þusend mula ðe þa seamas wægon, and* XXX. *þusenda eal* (a second *l* has been

[9] See Crescini, *op. cit.,* I, 116, n. 1. S. Luke relates the appearance of Gabriel to Mary in v. 26.

[10] *Filocolo,* II, 308. See Crescini, *op. cit.,* I, 454, note 1.

[11] *Filocolo,* I, 15.

[12] *Luke,* I, v. 8.

[1] *Zur Alexandersage,* Breslau, 1909; p. xi, l. 232.

[2] *Iuli Valeri Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis,* Leipzig, 1888; p. 205, l. 6.

[3] *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman,* in Sammlung Vulgärlateinischer Texte IV, Heidelberg, 1910; p. 29, l. 38.

erased) *farena and oxna þa þe hwæte bæron* (quite xxx thousand carriages and beasts of burden and oxen that carried wheat?). That the reading of this passage should be xxx *þusenda ealfarena,* seems probable from the Latin texts. Hilka's reading, which should be compared with Kübler's (p. 196) and with *Narratiunculae* (p. 71), is as follows: * * * *mulorum castrensium ad subvehenda arma et sarcinas militum circiter duo milia, asinorum* (MS. Montpellier, Fac. de Médecine, H. 31 only), *camelorum, dromedum, boum duo milia, qui frumenta vehebant, et armentorum ad usus carnis cotidianae ingens numerus sequebatur.* The Bamberg version (*Kleine Texte,* p. 25) reads: *caballicantes erant nobiscum viginti milia, pedones ducenti quinquaginta milia, et erant prope duo milia muli, qui portabant causam de ipso alipergo et causam de ipso populo, cameli, dromede et boves duo milia, qui portabant annonam; et boves et vaccae et pecora ad comedendum maxima multitudo.* Sweet, furthermore, in his *Student's Dictionary,* gives *ealfara,* 'a camel'; and Napier[4] accepts both the word and its etymology as given by R. Jordan in his *Säugetiernamen.* Jordan, says Napier, "suggested that it comes ultimately from the Arabic *al faras,* 'the horse,' which found its way into Spanish as *alfaras,* the term for a horse of the Moorish cavalry. It is also found in O. French *auferan,* and it is from this that Jordan derives O. E. *ealfara.* In the eleventh century the *l* had not yet become *u* in O. Fr."

Cockayne (*Nar.* p. 73) has: "rymg, *grunnitus,* ex Latinis; est autem cum grymetan 'grunnire' cognatum et pro †grymg capiendum." Toller, citing Cockayne, suggests *ryung* < ryan, and adds: Hriung (?) *suspirium,* Wrt. Voc. I, 19, 34. The word seems to be here a derivative of the verb *ryn,* 'to roar' (MSS.: *grunnitus;* Bamberg MS.: *stridorem*); so that the expected form, and the one perhaps to be read in this passage, would be *rying.*

Exlypsis, recorded by Toller from *Narratiunculae,* should read, as in MS. Cott. Vitel. A. XV, and in Baskervill's text (*Anglia* IV, 163, l. 655), *eclypsis.*

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GRAY'S *Elegy* IN SPANISH

The two Spanish versions of Gray's *Elegy written in a Country Churchyard* noted in Professor C. S. Northup's *A Bibliography of Thomas Gray* (New Haven, 1917) fail to give an adequate idea of the extraordinary popularity of the poem in Spanish-speaking countries. In Menéndez y Pelayo's *Historia de la Poesía Hispano-*

[4] "Contributions to O. E. Lexicography," *Philological Society's Transactions,* 1903-6, p. 342.

Americana (1913, II, 409-414), reference is made, with critical remarks—how one longs for them in bibliographies like Professor Northup's—to the following renderings: Juan Antonio Miralla's, 1825 (not "*about* 1823," as Professor Northup states); Manuel N. Pérez del Camino's, 1822; José V. Alonso's (published?); José Fernández Guerra's two versions, 1840, 1850; Enrique de Vedia's, published about 1845-1848, and frequently afterwards, so that Professor Northup's "*n. d. pref. 1860*" may be true of one edition; Ignacio Gómez's, 1888. To this list may be added the following translations, and doubtless others: one, apparently the first Spanish rendering, published in *La Minerva,* 1805, I, 15; José de Urcullu's, *La Colmena,* London, 1843, II, 73-77 (illustrated); Roberto MacDouall's, *La Revista del Ateneo Hispano-Americano,* Washington, 1914, I, 12-18 (with English text). MacDouall refers to a version by Hevia, but this is an error for Vedia, whose name was Enrique, not "H. L.," as given by Professor Northup. The latter refers to a possible anonymous Spanish translation published about 1839, but there is no justification whatsoever for this interpretation of a sentence in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* November, 1839, 470: "*Both* (*i. e.,* Spanish and Portuguese translations) *however exist, and I have now before me the latter. . . .*"

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THE ANCESTRY OF A "NEGRO SPIRITUAL"

Mr. H. E. Krehbiel includes among his *Afro-American Folk-Songs,*[1] a three-stanza song called *Weeping Mary,* which runs as follows:

> If there's anybody here like weeping Mary,
> Call upon Jesus and he'll draw nigh,
> He'll draw nigh.
> O glory, glory, hallelujah,
> Glory be to my God, who rules on high.
>
> If there's anybody here like praying Samuel,
> Call upon Jesus, etc.
>
> If there's anybody here like doubting Thomas,
> Call upon Jesus, etc.

In his sixth chapter Mr. Krehbiel prints *Weeping Mary* as arranged musically by Mr. Arthur Mees. He prints the melody again, as harmonized by Mr. H. H. Huss, in the Appendix, the text remaining the same.

This negro "spiritual" is unmistakably identical with a religious song *Weeping Mary,* known to my mother, who brought it to Nebraska from New York.

[1] New York and London, 1914.

Is there anybody here that's like weeping Mary?
I'll tell you what the Lord has done for me.
Why the Lord has passed by and has given me his blessing,
And that's what the Lord has done for me;
Glory, glory, glory, hallelujah,
For that's what the Lord has done for me.

Is there any here that's like sinking Peter?
I'll tell you what the Lord has done for me, etc.

Is there any here that's like doubting Thomas?
I'll tell you what the Lord has done for me, etc.

The melody known to my mother is not identical with that given by Mr. Krehbiel. It is somewhat less simple; but it is of the same general movement and type. There were many verses, she says. Indeed the whole might be continued indefinitely by similar stanzas based on matter from the Scriptures. Her account of the song is as follows:

I learned it from my mother, who caught it from the singing of a white woman, Nancy . . . . [last name forgotten], in the village of Hamilton, Madison County, New York. My mother used to repeat it, imitating the original singer. Nancy had just come from a Methodist "protracted meeting," and was singing "Weeping Mary" over and over again, on the occasion when my mother heard her, working herself up to a frenzy and beating incessantly with something in her hands as she sang. Finally she attracted so much attention from passers-by that she had to be stopped. My mother had a tenacious memory, and was a good mimic, and she often reproduced for our entertainment Nancy's hysterical singing of her religious song. Mother was born in 1808, and lived in Hamilton between 1826 and 1830, when she was married.

This takes Mr. Krehbiel's negro spiritual back to the singing of a white woman who learned it at a Methodist revival between 1826 and 1830, a period long antecedent to its recovery from the negroes.

It has seemed to me worth while to record this ancestry for *Weeping Mary,* since the main contention of Mr. Krehbiel's book is that Dr. Wallaschek [2] was wrong when he called the songs of the American negroes predominantly borrowings, and held that negro music is partly actually imitated from the music of the whites. Generalizing from a collection of slave songs made by Miss McKim and Mr. Allen in 1867 [3] Dr. Wallaschek formed the opinion that the negroes ignorantly borrowed from the national songs of all nations, from military signals, well-known marches, student songs, etc. He thinks that the greater part of negro music is civilized,

[2] *Primitive Music,* London, 1893.

[3] *Slave Songs of the United States,* 1867.

sometimes influenced by whites, sometimes directly imitated. Mr. Krehbiel limits his claim for the originality of negro songs to their religious songs; but he finds in the negro "shouts" and "spirituals" an inherited African or aboriginal element. Apparently he quotes "Weeping Mary" as a song of negro creation.

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BRIEF MENTION

Edward Young's 'Conjectures on Original Composition' in England and Germany. By Martin William Steinke (Americana Germanica, No. 28; New York, F. C. Stechert Co., 1917). Dr. Steinke has rightly assumed that Professor Brandl's edition has not rescued Young's treatise from the larger share of oversight and neglect on the part of students of critical theory in the eighteenth century. An edition of the work now issued in this more generally accessible monograph (pp. 41-73) may with reason, therefore, be expected to be widely welcomed. As with Professor Brandl, the text here given is that of the first edition (1759), the footnotes carrying the author's few and not important changes made in the second edition (also in 1759); but punctuation and spelling have been modernized,—a matter concerning which no quarrel will be seriously sustained. With the statement that this monograph consists of 127 pages a measure is given of the editor's critical and expository matter into which the text of the treatise has been inserted. Specifically, the text is preceded by a chapter entitled "Young's 'Conjectures' in England" (pp. 1-16), and by a chapter on the 'Conjectures' in Germany (pp. 17-40); and following the text is a liberal amount of material in support and expansion of the initial chapters; this is in the form of "Appendix I. The Ideas contained in the 'Conjectures' compared with their Parallels found in Earlier Writings" (pp. 74-109), and "Appendix II. The 'Conjectures' compared with their Parallels in subsequent German Literature" (pp. 110-124). Subjoined is a Bibliography of something more than two pages.

The expansion of the second chapter beyond the limits observed in the first is occasioned by the inequality of the shares of direct influence attributable to the treatise. That the greater share is found in Germany shows that the treatise possessed for the foreign country the larger measure of novelty; that for England, on the other hand, it did not, in theme or argument, represent a notable deviation from the accepted principles of literary theory and criticism,—all was in the main "common property, as topics of discussion in literary circles as well as subjects of other writers" (p. 14). From this difference in the vogue of the treatise Dr.

Steinke derives the plan of his investigation, previously made distinct by Professor Brandl. Indeed, Dr. Steinke has been engaged chiefly in rehandling and extending the work of the preceding editor, and has, therefore, had to meet the difficulties encountered by a less experienced writer in following a mature scholar. It cannot be said that Dr. Steinke, whose style has its marks of immaturity, has been successful at all points in keeping clear the seams between what he found done and what he has attempted to add. He has hardly met the severe requirement of transmitting the state of a problem as he found it, without some loss of what has become associated with it under the process of previous enquiry. He has not, therefore, reduced to lowest terms the necessity of turning to Professor Brandl's paragraphs. In verification of this judgment it will be seen, for example, in the discussion of what he describes as "the intricate [but not very important] problem as to what evoked the *Conjectures,*" that Dr. Steinke does not definitely inform the reader of how little is to be gleaned after Professor Brandl's reaping; nor is all that has been considered in this connection now duly summarized. It is also to be noticed that after added suggestions, this problem is dismissed in an unconvincing manner, for it is highly improbable that Young's reference to a friend "was made merely as a polite pretext for writing the *Conjectures.*" No light is thrown upon this problem by the fact that the aged author flung himself out of his æsthetic orbit and closed his treatise with an elaborated digression on the religious death of Addison, with an unfulfilled promise to treat of Addison's originality in a later work. Richardson could not persuade Young to cancel or at least to abridge this digression. Professor Brandl gives considerable attention to it, but it remains a puzzle to the critic's sense of fitness.

A question uppermost in the neo-classic mind concerned the relative merits of ancient and modern authors. In a partisan controversy prejudice and misrepresentation in time became so far exhausted as to put the question gradually into the normal light of liberal discussion—liberal, of course, within the limits of prevailing literary theory and practice. The 'correctness' of the period in thought and expression yielded enduring results in clearest analysis of the principles of authentic art in literature. Imitation, invention, imagination, genius, taste—these topics engaged the pen of the poet and of the essayist to a degree that constitutes a distinguishing mark of the century, at the middle point of which stands Young's thoroly representative treatise. As to essential content this treatise cannot, therefore, be expected to abound in elements of originality. The author had individuality in method and in figure of argument, and he may well have been a leader in minimizing the faults of Shakespeare and in enforcing the injunction to imitate his genius in accordance with a generalization of the view represented, for example, by Warburton's praise of originality in

Pope's manner of composition; but the treatise is chiefly a record of generally accepted judgments, "a very comprehensive and advanced literary program of the time" (p. 14), from one point of view; from another, it is in the line of conventional criticism that reaches back into the preceding centuries.

Putting the emphasis on originality directly, rather than indirectly by defining rightful imitation, was taking a step toward the freer romantic method, which forced into special prominence the distinction between imagination and fancy; but the two methods of discussion, aiming at the same result, had long been at least tacitly blended, and continued to be held in this manner longer than has been generally recognized by the historical critic. A contribution to a revision of the usual interpretation of the beginnings of the romantic method of composition has recently been made by Mr. Donald S. Crane (*Studies in Philology,* University of North Carolina, xv, 195 ff.). Here is brought to light *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics and Forming a Just Style,* by Henry Felton. The vogue of its leading reflections and its representative character are attested by the fact that it "was reprinted five times between 1713 and 1753," the period which, in the more direct manner, matured the thoughts for the *Conjectures.* That this *Dissertation* should be reprinted is a conviction well grounded in Mr. Crane's analysis of it. Had it been accessible to him, Dr. Steinke would have discovered the true imitation of models and the essential character of originality well set forth on the background of opinions reaching back still another century; this strengthens the evidence against the view that regards Young's treatise as representing a culmination of gradually developed doctrine.

Mr. Crane has, however, a specific purpose in calling attention to Felton's *Dissertation.* He opens the question of the significance of the so-called Spenser and Milton revivals, which have been interpreted, for the most part, as indicating the "beginnings of something revolutionary and new," whereas, the "representative quality" of Felton's discussion of imitation establishes a strong presumption in favor of placing the "revivals" in the category of "judicious imitation," which has been too exclusively held to relate to ancient models. Felton's last sixty pages are devoted "to an appreciation of the great English writers [with special emphasis on Spenser and Milton] of his own and the preceding century," and thus "plainly meant to couple the English writers with the Greek and Roman as proper models of true imitation." Add to this Young's insistance on the genius of Shakespeare, and the neoclassic doctrine of imitation and of originality takes on a wider margin which is characteristically national. An old question is reopened for a fresh discussion of all available evidence. So far as this is involved in the theory of creative genius, taste, and criticism, the student of today knows the old question to be perennially new.

To the technical treatises on this group of subjects, it may be helpful, especially to the cultivated general reader, to add, at this point, a reference to a recently published book by T. Sharper Knowlson, entitled *Originality: a Popular Study of the Creative Mind* (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1918). The thoughtful reader will here find admirable chapters "to show the importance of a study of creative thought," and a well-considered "regime" for attaining mental efficiency. The popular and direct purpose of the writer will not rob his book of the specialist's approval.

Turning to the consideration of the extraordinary influence of Young's treatise in Germany, another problem is encountered which is also distinctively national but, as already observed, in marked contrast to the problem in England. Here Dr. Steinke has with commendable industry and good intelligence carried forward Professor Brandl's sketch, and the citations from German critics presented in orderly fashion in his second Appendix contribute to the further articulation of the evidence to be considered.

The student of the history of literary theory will be obliged to admit the usefulness of Dr. Steinke's monograph. J. W. B.

William Wordsworth. How to Know Him. By C. T. Winchester (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1916) has already become somewhat out of date by reason of the new light thrown upon Wordsworth's earlier life by Professor Harper's biography. Mr. Winchester would have to revise his whole account of the poet's visits to France and would need to modify a good deal of his opinions on certain phases of his character in order to bring his book into harmony with the lately published facts. Apart from this (for which Mr. Winchester is of course not to blame) his work is a painstaking introduction to the elements of knowledge of Wordsworth. In the effort to be judicial he has perhaps laid undue stress upon the "Limitations and Defects" of Wordsworth, to which indeed he devotes a separate chapter. He skims lightly over the surface of Wordsworth's mysticism and is superficial also in his treatment of "Nature," a subject which Professor Raleigh has considered much more profoundly in equally brief space. In the chapter upon Wordsworth's "Philosophy of Life" more might have been said of the political aspect, a side of Wordsworth's thought that has specially appealed to his countrymen during the present period of stress and storm. Mr. Winchester is at his best when studying the poems of "Humble and Rustic Life," a portion of Wordsworth's work that evidently attracts him strongly. On the whole, one cannot quarrel with the author for writing in a

popular manner a volume in a popular series. One is annoyed, however, to find him calling, as by a queer coincidence did Professor Harper, the immortal lines "If thou indeed derive thy light from heaven," a "sonnet." And to call Wordsworth a "stamp-collector" is certainly ambiguous. S. C. C.

The sections on Literature and Language in the *American Year Book* (D. Appleton & Co.) are too little known even in professional circles; yet, taken in their entirety, they supply, in spite of condensation, a detailed, comprehensive survey of our annual production in these lines, such as can be found in no other publication. The compilers of the Greek and Semitic sections, indeed, make casual incursions into the fields of foreign production. For example, already in the volume for 1916 Professor Morris Jastrow gives an account of the remarkable solution of the Hittite problem by Professor Hrozny of Vienna, which even in the present year (1918) and in our largest universities seems known to only a few scholars. Owing, however, to the number of publications involved—and this is, of course, particularly true of the modern languages and literatures, with which alone we are here concerned—it is, generally speaking, advisable that the record should be limited to American production, and, with the exceptions mentioned, this is the actual plan of the work.

The method of compilation is not the same in all sections. For instance, in the section on Romance Languages the publications are merely listed, this list being preceded by a brief general discussion. In other sections, like those on the English and Germanic languages, the bibliographies are classified. The latter plan is, plainly, the more instructive. In this connection we recommend especially to the attention of English scholars the excellent classified bibliographies of American production in the field of the English Language and Literature, prepared by Dr. Albert C. Baugh of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Baugh includes publications of every kind—books, articles, and dissertations—and his work is done with such thoroughness and judgment that it gives us really the best available conspectus of American activities in this branch of scholarship.

Finally, it should be said that the *Year Book* appears annually in February, and these bibliographies embrace all publications of the twelvemonth that ends with the preceding October 31, so that for purposes of consultation they have the great advantage of being quite up to date. J. D. B.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF *MACFLECKNOE*

Mr. Percy L. Babington's paper, "Dryden not the Author of *MacFlecknoe,*" in the January (1918) number of the *Modern Language Review* is something of a shock to admirers of Dryden. Mr. Babington, who is preparing a long-needed edition of Oldham, has found in the Bodleian Library a manuscript volume, "entirely in Oldham's hand," containing, along with rough drafts, "a number of [Oldham's] poems copied out fair for the printer, or to hand to friends. These fair copies are almost all dated and, in the case of published poems, the dates agree with those printed; in some cases the place of composition is also given. Amongst these I found *MacFleckno, a Satyr,* the date, Aº 1678, being written in the top left-hand corner of the paper opposite the title, as was done in the case of the other poems."

This striking piece of manuscript evidence has set Mr. Babington to reconsidering the grounds on which the poem has hitherto been ascribed to Dryden. Convincing as these grounds have seemed to editors of Dryden in the absence of any other claimant for the authorship, Mr. Babington shows that they are not unassailable. It is not my purpose here to canvass his arguments in detail. The weightiest of them, apart from the Bodleian manuscript, appear to be (1) that *MacFlecknoe* was publisht not by Tonson, who was then Dryden's regular publisher and who had brought out *Absalom and Achitophel,* but by D. Green; and (2) that Dryden, if he had just written and publisht *MacFlecknoe* (October, 1682), would not have returned to the attack the next month in the Second Part of *Absalom and Achitophel* (November, 1682). To these might have been added, as minor points, that *MacFlecknoe* appeared without

a preface, contrary to Dryden's unfailing practise in his satires and controversial pieces; and that it contains not the slightest allusion, apart from the "True-Blew-Protestant Poet" of the titlepage, to Shadwell's politics. If Dryden wrote *MacFlecknoe* in 1682 in answer to Shadwell's *Medal of John Bayes, i. e.* as part of the political quarrel then raging in which they were rival spokesmen, it is strange that he has never a word to say in it about Shadwell as a "Protestant Poet," nothing comparable to the "Og from a treason tavern rolling home" of the Second Part of *Absalom and Achitophel.* Indeed, he would naturally seize the opportunity offered by Tate's continuation to make good the omission.

Another argument advanced by Mr. Babington is that Dryden would have been too magnanimous to satirize Flecknoe four years after his death, whereas Oldham might well enough have done so in the year of his death. But *MacFlecknoe* is a satire not upon Flecknoe, but upon Shadwell. Marvell's satire, and Oldham's own allusion in *Horace his Art of Poetry Imitated,* are sufficient evidence that Flecknoe was a recognized type of literary absurdity, as Coryat had been at the beginning of the century,—or as Martin Tupper was fifty years ago. And if Dryden was too "magnanimous" to have satirized Flecknoe four years after he was in his grave, what adjective would Mr. Babington apply to Dryden's treatment of Oldham? Oldham was a writer of marked ability in Dryden's own field who died young and poor, the very conditions which have always aroused the sympathy of literary men. According to Mr. Babington's theory Dryden, availing himself of the ascription, in a pirated print, of Oldham's satire to "the author of *Absalom and Achitophel,*" deliberately robbed his young friend's fame of what should have been its chief ornament, twice[1] in later years pluming himself upon the merits of *MacFlecknoe.* Had he already decided to claim the work as his own when, the year after Oldham's death, he wrote his lines *To the Memory of Mr. Oldham*? They have heretofore seemed a beautiful and warm-hearted tribute from an acknowledged master of letters to a gifted fellow poet cut off before his prime; but viewed in the light of this new hypothesis they take on a suggestion of sardonic humor:

[1] If Spence's report is to be trusted. The mention of *MacFlecknoe* in the *Essay on Satire* could have been understood only as a claim of authorship; the fact that it would have admitted a different interpretation in case of necessity certainly does not add to the magnanimity of the transaction.

> Farewell, too little and too lately known,
> Whom I began to think and call my own—

convey, the wise it call.

Moreover, it is not easy to see why Oldham, even if the piece was publisht without his knowledge, should have let it go unclaimed. He was no more indifferent to fame than most poets are. He lived fourteen months after the publication of *MacFlecknoe,* and was busy in the last year of his life making up a volume of verses to be marketed on the reputation of the *Satyrs upon the Jesuits.* To this volume he prefixt an "Advertisement"[2] in which he shows himself as solicitous of fame and as ready to defend his work, especially his satires, against criticism as any other self-conscious poet. In another "Advertisement,"[3] speaking of the *Satyr against*

[2] If I have rightly understood the make-up of my copy of Oldham. Babington says that Oldham's works were publisht as follows: (1) *Satyrs upon the Jesuits,* 1681. (2) *Some New Pieces* "by the Author of *Satyrs upon the Jesuits,*" 1681. (3) *Poems and Translations* "by the Author of *Satyrs upon the Jesuits,*" 1683. (4) *Remains of Mr. John Oldham in Verse and Prose,* 1684. "These four volumes (with the addition of two Odes which appeared later) formed Oldham's *Works,* of which editions appeared in 1684, 1686, 1694," and later. My copy seems to be of the 1686 edition, but it does not exactly fit this description. It is made up of four different volumes bound together and supplied with a title-page (dated 1686) and a table of contents covering all four parts. But each part has its separate title-page and pagination, and the last two have their own tables of contents; *The Passion of Byblis* in Book I has also an independent title-page (date 1685), and so has the Pindaric on Morwent in the *Remains* (date 1687), but without separate pagination. The titles and dates of the four parts are: (1) *Satyrs upon the Jesuits:* Written in the Year 1679. And some other Pieces by the same Hand. The Third Edition Corrected. London: Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, at the Black Bull in Cornhill. 1685. (2) *Poems and Translations* by John Oldham. London: Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh, at the Golden Ball in Cornhill. MDCLXXXIV. (3) *Poems, and Translations.* By John Oldham. London. Printed for Jos. Hindmarsh, Bookseller to his Royal Highness, at the Black Bull in Cornhill, 1683. (4) *Remains of Mr John Oldham in Verse and Prose.* London: Printed for Jo. Hindmarsh, at the Golden Ball over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1687. It will be observed that my copy has two volumes of *Poems and Translations.* the first dated 1684, the second 1683. Each of the four volumes has an "advertisement" prefixt, the first three by Oldham himself, the fourth by the publisher. The reference above is to that prefixt to the 1684 volume, which I assume to have appeared originally in 1683.

[3] Prefixt to the *Satyrs upon the Jesuits* in my copy.

Vertue, he says that "at first he intended it not for the publick, nor to pass beyond the privacy of two or three Friends; but seeing it had the Fate to steal abroad in Manuscript, and afterwards in Print, without his knowledg; he now thinks it a Justice due to his own Reputation, to have it come forth without those faults, which it has suffered from Transcribers and the Press hitherto." Is this the man to let his most brilliant piece of work go unclaimed while he is eking out a volume with such stuff as his lines "to Cosmelia" and his translation "out of Voiture"?

Mr. Babington's arguments from internal evidence, viz. (1) from Oldham's admiration for Boileau (whose *Le Lutrin* is the French precursor of English mock-heroics), (2) from the parody of lines in Cowley's *Davideis,* (3) from the allusions to Jonson, and (4) from the "coarseness" of *MacFlecknoe,* may be allowed to stand for what they are worth, with the reminders that (1) Dryden cannot be supposed to have been unfamiliar with Boileau, (2) Cowley, "the darling of my youth," would most naturally afford suggestions for parody to the mature Dryden, (3) the allusions to Jonson are invited by Shadwell's profest imitation of Jonson's dramatic technique, and, even if they were not, are hardly more than the commonplaces of literary criticism in that day, and (4) that to assign *MacFlecknoe* away from Dryden on the ground of coarseness will probably seem strange to those who remember *Absalom and Achitophel* l. 574 and Dryden's expansion of certain passages in *The Nonne Preestes Tale.* His chief point, of course, is the external argument from the Bodleian manuscript. Even that might, conceivably, be met by the assumption that Oldham copied the satire out because he admired it, and affixt the date 1678 as that of the action, *i. e.* the time when Fleckno, dying, bequeathed the realm of dulness to Shadwell. But further consideration of this point must await the fuller account of the manuscript which Mr. Babington will no doubt give in his edition of Oldham. In the meantime, the following observations on the rime technique of the two poets may be in point.

In the lines "To the Memory of Mr. Oldham" prefixt to Oldham's *Remains* in 1684 Dryden, after pointing out that their souls were "cast in the same Poetick mould" but that Oldham, tho younger, had anticipated him in satire ("The last set out the soonest did arrive"), continues:

> O early ripe! to thy abundant store
> What could advancing Age have added more?
> It might (what Nature never gives the young)
> Have taught the numbers of thy native Tongue.
> But Satyr needs not those, and Wit will shine
> Through the harsh cadence of a rugged line.
> . . . . maturing time
> But mellows what we write to the dull sweets of Rhime.

What was it that Oldham's acknowledged poems lacked of the numbers of his native tongue?

The *Satyrs upon the Jesuits* are in pretty regular end-stopt couplets or triplets.[4] There are six incomplete lines; but this can hardly be what Dryden referred to, since, besides the warrant for it in Vergil, Dryden himself uses the same liberty.[5] Of the strained rhythm and difficult sense of Donne's satires, still clearly traceable in Marvell, Oldham has hardly more than Dryden himself. The contrast between "the harsh cadence of a rugged line" and "the dull sweets of Rhime" suggests that it was rather euphony, verbal melody, than the ordering of accents that Dryden had in mind.[6] If we examine the rimes of the two poets we shall find a very markt difference between them. Dryden's rimes are far enough from being exact in some respects. He rimes long and short vowels together regardlessly, *e. g. smiled-filled, abode-God, jet-feet,* and any back-vowel with any other back-vowel before *n*. This is one of the respects in which Pope was more 'correct' than Dryden. Oldham's rimes in this respect are still less exact than Dryden's, but it would not be easy to establish convincing categories of distinction between them on this ground. When, however,

[4] There are 76 triplets in the 1100 lines of the *Satyrs upon the Jesuits*. This is a much larger proportion than Dryden uses in *Absalom and Achitophel* (8 in 1031 lines), and larger than he uses in *The Medal* (14 in 322 lines), but somewhat less than he uses in *The Hind and the Panther* (203 in 2592 lines). *MacFlecknoe* has 5 in 217 lines; a greater proportion than *Absalom and Achitophel*, less than *The Medal*.

[5] *E. g. Abs. and Achit.* l. 87, *Religio Laici* l. 84.

[6] This is borne out by Oldham's use of the word *cadence* in the "Advertisement" already referred to, where, defending his satire against the charge of "roughness," he says: "I confess, I did not so much mind the Cadence, as the Sense and expressiveness of my words, and therefore chose not those, which were best disposed to placing themselves in Rhyme, but rather the more keen, and tuant, as being the most sutable to my Argument."

we turn to consider the consonants we find a clear line of distinction. Dryden practically never misrimes his consonants. Oldham's rimes, on the other hand, are peculiarly slovenly in this respect. Since it is especially the spirants—very common as final sounds in English—that are subject to this abuse, my figures will be confined to them. Oldham's chief work, the four satires on the Jesuits (exclusive of the Prologue), numbers 1034 lines; Dryden's greatest satire, *Absalom and Achitophel,* numbers 1031 lines. The two afford, therefore, a fair basis of comparison.

In *Absalom and Achitophel* Dryden rimes voiced spirants with voiced spirants 77 times (*z* 54, *rz* 7, *nz* 4, *lz* 1, *v* 8, *vz* 3), and voiceless spirants with voiceless spirants 39 times (*s* 20, *rs* 8, *ns* 8, *f* 2, *þ* 1). Similarly Oldham in the *Satyrs upon the Jesuits* rimes voiced with voiced 74 times (*z* 35, *rz* 12, *nz* 6, *lz* 9, *v* 11, *vz* 1), and voiceless with voiceless 41 times (*s* 25, *rs* 3, *ns* 9, *þ* 4). That is to say, both Dryden and Oldham rime voiced spirants together and voiceless spirants together, in the proportion of about two to one and at the rate of about 112 times in 1000 lines. But in addition to this Oldham rimes voiced spirants with the corresponding voiceless spirants 58 times (*s-z* 35, *rs-rz* 4, *ns-nz* 7, *ls-lz* 1, *f-v* 7, *st-zd* 4), whereas Dryden shows no crossing of voiced with voiceless spirants.[7] Oldham, it would seem, was deaf to the difference

[7] In order to forestall the objection that 1031 lines are too few to afford a safe basis of generalization, I have been at the pains to go thru the whole body of Dryden's verse, exclusive of the drama, for voiced-voiceless spirant rimes. There are 52227 lines in the Cambridge *Dryden,* all rimed. Two points about Dryden's pronunciation should first be noted. (1) The monosyllables *is, was, has* and *his* have a voiceless final consonant under the rime-stress in Dryden's practise. According to Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar* 6.63, Butler in 1633 records only *z* in *was, is, his;* but there can be no doubt what Dryden's practise was. In the 52227 lines he rimes *was* 7 times with *pass,* 4 times with *place,* twice with *face, race, space, glass,* once with *mass, surpass, Pythagoras, embrace* and only once with a *z* sound, *cause* (*Sigismunda and Guiscardo* 691-2); he rimes *is* twice with *bliss,* once with *miss, kiss,* and once *flat is* with *Atys;* he rimes *his* twice with *this,* once with *masterpiece, bellypiece;* and *has* once, with *face.* (2) The noun *sacrifice* has a voiced final, riming with *z* 25 times against once with *s* (*this—sacrifice, Aeneis* v, 642-3). With these exceptions, the following figures are governed by modern American pronunciation. In 52227 lines Dryden rimes *s* with *z* 35 times, *st* with *zd* twice, *þ* with *ð* 6 times, besides two cases that I am not sure of, *charges—verjuice* (*Fourth Satire of Persius* 72-3—probably a case of Jespersen's 'new Ver-

between these two kinds of sounds. The number of crost rimes is almost exactly half the sum of his true rimes in the two kinds. Even in his translations of Bion and Moschus, which he said he made "to shew that the way I took [in the *Satyrs upon the Jesuits*], was out of choice, not want of Judgment, and that my Genius is not wholly uncapable of performing upon more gay and agreeable Subjects, if my humour inclined me to exercise it," he rimes *s* with *z* 5 times, *rs* with *rz* once, *ns* with *nz* twice, *f* with *v* three times—voiced with voiceless spirants 11 times in 451 lines.[8]

The 217 lines of *MacFlecknoe* are, of course, too few to make a test of this kind quite conclusive. But the results, so far as they go, point all one way. In *MacFlecknoe* *z* rimes with *z* 5 times, *rz* with *rz* once, *nz* with *nz* once, *s* with *s* 3 times, *rs* with *rs* once, *ns* with *ns* 6 times—in all, voiceless spirants rime together 10 times and voiced spirants 7 times. Nowhere does a voiced rime with a voiceless spirant. Judging by his practise in the *Satyrs,* Oldham would be expected in a poem of the length of *MacFlecknoe* to rime voiced with voiceless spirants 12 times, and even by the standard

ner's Law') and *house—rendezvous* (*Prologue for the Women when they acted at the Old Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields* 5-6—perhaps a comic, perhaps merely an eye rime). He nowhere rimes *ns* with *nz*, *rs* with *rz*, *ls* with *lz*, *f* with *v*, or *fs* with *vz*. In his major satirical and controversial poems—*Absalom and Achitophel*, *The Medal*, *Absalom and Achitophel II*, 301-509, *Religio Laici*, *The Hind and the Panther*, together 4601 lines—there are but two instances of a voiced riming with a voiceless consonant, *The Hind and the Panther*, 1680-2, 2339-41.

[8] In the whole body of Oldham's *Works* exclusive of the Cowleyan odes (which I did not include because, in the case of so faulty a rimer as Oldham, the loose structure of these odes makes it impossible to be sure whether a rime is intended or not), 6635 lines, voiced are rimed with voiceless spirants 192 times—at the rate, that is, of about once in 34 lines. In the *Satyrs upon the Jesuits* he so rimes, on the average, once in 18 lines; in his translation of the *Ars Poetica*, about once in 24 lines. The longest single stretch without such a rime is 174 lines.

Oldham has, of course, other false rimes, among them that of *n* with *ng*. One word, if it occurred in rime in *MacFlecknoe*, would be a pretty satisfactory test for the two claimants to the authorship. Dryden rimes *cause* 83 times in the Cambridge edition—55 times with *laws*, 13 times with *draws*, 12 times with *applause*, and once each with *claws*, *jaws*, and (wrongly) *was*. Oldham rimes it with *foes* 5 times, with *chose* twice, with *oppose* twice, with *repose*, *disclose*, *arose*, *those*, and *engross* once each, with *laws* twice, with *straws* once, and with *prays* once. But the word is not used in rime in *MacFlecknoe*.

of his translations of Bion and Moschus we should expect him to make this kind of false rime 5 times. Dryden, on the other hand, would use no voiced-voiceless rimes; and *MacFlecknoe* has none. If Oldham wrote it, it is the only piece of his writing, early or late, in which he managed to get thru as many as 200 lines without falling into his favorite kind of false rime. If he wrote it in 1678, before the *Satyrs upon the Jesuits,* the absence in it of any trace of this apparently native defect of Oldham's ear, which he could not correct even when he set himself to write melodiously, is still more remarkable.

Certainly if Dryden *did* make up his mind, after Oldham was beyond the bourne from which no contestants return, to take to himself the credit for his young friend's greatest work, it was fortunate for him not only that that work was originally published as "by the author of *Absalom and Achitophel,*" but also that in a quite definite point of verse technique it was like *Absalom and Achitophel* and unlike Oldham's acknowledged work. Otherwise his own lines to Oldham's memory might have betrayed him.

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THE SOCIAL SATIRES OF THOMAS LOVE PEACOCK

Part I

All but the last of the satiric novels of Thomas Love Peacock are compassed within the sixteen years from 1815 to 1831, a time when—although Europe was outwardly given over to reaction—the social ideas, rationalistic and sentimental, of the French Revolution were still smoldering issues, and when most serious writers felt, at least distantly, the tidal waves of the great cataclysm. Born in 1785, twelve years after Coleridge and seven before Shelley, and living on until 1866, Peacock stands between the older generation of Coleridge, Wordsworth and Southey, and the younger generation of Shelley and Keats. During the French Revolution, he was, like his friend Shelley, too young to understand and sympathize with the revulsion against radicalism during the Terror and Napoleon's conquest of Switzerland. This might lead one to suppose Peacock, like Shelley, a radical; but he seems scarcely more in accord with

the "isms" of the day than with the Tory conservatives. Somewhat older than his friend, and of more incisive, analytic temper, he saw many flaws in the doctrines which Shelley and his fellow-radicals championed. Thus is Thomas Love Peacock at once arch-critic of things-as-they-are, and arch-critic of reforms-as-they-are-proposed. This was, perhaps, the thought of Richard Garnett when, in the *Encycl. Brit.*, he wrote of Peacock's "skeptical liberalism," a liberalism skeptical even of itself.

This was sometime a paradox, but criticism gives it proof. Indeed, a brief summary of opinions shows strange contrasts. Saintsbury, in his introduction to *Maid Marian,* finds in Peacock "evidence of that latent conservatism" which turns one into a "stout reactionary." Ingpen, in his edition of Shelley's letters (p. 37) notes: "What views, political and social, Peacock possessed were the very reverse of Shelley's [which were radical]." And Gummere, in *Democracy and Poetry* (p. 12), speaks of "a whole literary life devoted to reactionary prose and verse." Some criticisms, in direct contradiction, term him a radical; among them Van Doren's biography, which speaks of "a reputation for Toryism which cannot be properly said to have characterized his intellect" (p. 275). Freeman, moreover, refers to his contributions to the *Westminster* as "distinctly radical," and characterizes Peacock himself as "notoriously an exposer of abuses and implicitly a reformer" (p. 283). Some writers, however, take neither stand definitely. Hartley thinks that "Peacock has no scheme of regeneration save his own object lesson that he laughingly puts before us" (p. 283-4). And Paul asserts: "Peacock held at the same time, and in reference to the same subject-matter, opinions which the utmost ingenuity cannot reconcile" (p. 654). Thus, satirist of liberal and conservative alike, he has been put now in one camp, now in the other, now adjudged a freebooter.

Peacock could scarcely have chosen a vehicle more exasperating to the expositor of his theories. He invents a puppet to typify each current social theory, packs them all into the geographical confines of one house-party, and lets them talk 'about it and about'; but, unfortunately, the whole discussion merely comes out at the same door 'wherein it went,' having progressed nowhere in particular. Often the reader is puzzled to know where—if anywhere—Peacock's preferences lie; for he often sets the puppets dallying, and then stands aside to watch for broken heads, with the genially

malicious unconcern of the innocent bystander. At times, by comments in his own person, he makes known his point of view; at times, an unwonted partiality for one character betrays a preference; but, even so, one commonly finishes a volume with the wish that Peacock would, like Bernard Shaw, prefix a preface to make certain just what he wants the whole thing to mean. With some pains, however, a fairly accurate interpretation can be attained. In the present study, I propose to discuss his general attitude toward current practices in education, marriage, religion and government; and in a paper to follow, to discuss his criticism of reforms and reformers.

Peacock believed that neither sex was being properly educated. In almost every novel, he rails at the great universities where England's youth had for centuries imbibed its Latin, Greek, and mathematics. In *Nightmare Abbey* (p. 140), he says of Scythrop that college cured him "of the love of reading in all its shapes." And in *Crotchet Castle* (p. 228), when the house-party makes a pilgrimage in a body to Oxford, Peacock tells us: "The Rev. Dr. Folliott laid a wager with Mr. Crotchet that in all their perlustrations, they would not find a single man reading, and won it." The professors, according to Peacock, are quite as bad as the students; for, when Squire Headlong went to Oxford to look for "men of taste and philosophers," he was "assured by a learned professor that there were no such things in the University" (p. 6). If one remember that Peacock had learned his own Greek—which he always wrote in an unorthodox fashion without accents—sans aid or comfort of any university education; and, when one adds to this consequent feeling of independence, the satirist's natural sympathy for the collegiate martyrdom of his friend Shelley, one can, I think, understand the subconscious motives behind his censure of university education.

In the case of woman, however, he finds the situation even worse. In *Melincourt,* he describes Sir Henry as "one of those who maintained the heretical notion that women are, or at least may be, rational beings; though, from the great pains usually taken in what is called education to make them otherwise, there are unfortunately few examples to warrant the truth of the theory" (p. 9). In *Nightmare Abbey,* Scythrop, a humorous caricature of Shelley, declares: "The fault is in their [women's] artificial education, which studiously models them into mere musical dolls, to be set

out for sale in the great toy-shop of society" (p. 131). In a later novel, Peacock describes his heroine as having received "an expensive and complicated education, complete in all the elements of superficial display" (p. 148). In *Maid Marian,* moreover, he ridicules even the household virtues, preferring above them learning and determination. One of the characters ventures to query: "'Has she not . . . learning and valor?' 'Learning!' exclaimed the little friar, 'what has a woman to do with learning? And valor! who ever heard a woman commended for valor? Meekness . . . and obedience to her husband, and faith in her confessor, and domesticity, or, as learned doctors call it, the faculty of stay-at-homeitiveness, and embroidery, and music, and pickling, and preserving, and the whole complex and multiplex detail of the noble science of dinner . . . these are the female virtues" (p. 10). Mary Wollstonecraft, who married the philosopher Godwin, had earlier raised the question of woman's education in her *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792). She saw the inconsistency in Rousseau's *Emile,* that gave Sophie a mere Oriental, sex-education, with submission to father and husband as its final goal, whereas it endowed Emile with individualized selfhood. She demanded equal education for women, and declared them endowed with minds capable of a rational training. Peacock unquestionably knew of her work; for not only was it widely read, but also his friend Shelley, son-in-law to the authoress, was interested in the problems it raised.

Holding so pessimistic a view of the education of both men and women, Peacock could scarcely hope much for their union in marriage. The very attitude of his characters toward it is unhealthy. Two, at least, of his heroes, like so many young radicals of the day, victims of the *Weltschmerz,* are nympholepts: "Scythrop's romantic dreams," says Peacock, "had indeed given him many *pure anticipated cognitions* of combinations of beauty and intelligence" (p. 148); and Forester also is searching for a soul-mate through the purlieus of this degenerate but perfectable universe—a somewhat hazy and impractical concept of marriage! The women, on the other hand, are nothing if not practical; and fare even worse in the satirist's esteem. "Musical dolls to be set out for sale in the great toy-shop of society," most of them can only degrade the married state, and are fit to raise their children to no higher ethical ideal than money for its own sake and for the

things that money can buy. In *Melincourt,* Miss Pinmoney—with her own foreknowledge and consent—is being disposed of by her mother "according to the universal practice of this liberal and enlightened generation, in the most commercial of all bargains, marriage" (p. 14). Older generation and younger are alike debased. Peacock agrees with Mary Wollstonecraft in condemning the practical workings of marriage as an institution, but with this difference: in *Mary* and *The Wrongs of Woman,* she looks upon woman as downtrodden by a false, double standard of sex-morality super-imposed upon her from without. To Mary Wollstonecraft, the fault was in the marriage-laws of England; to Peacock, in the basic nature of woman herself. Godwin also attacks the institution of marriage, and indeed suggests its abolition. Peacock sees men and women mis-educated and mis-allied, sees marriage cankered by false ideals and greed of money, made a thing of mockery, and to that mockery, adds his own Juvenalian laughter.

But even though the marriage-tie be corrupt, optimism has still a chance: society has still the Church and the State, two great potentialities of good. The Church, however, shares in his reproach. He pictures the clergy as given over to good living, brainless gluttons in the earlier novels, in the latter novels refined but quite unspiritual hedonists. In *Headlong Hall* (pp. 9 ff.), the Rev. Dr. Gaster, whose name Peacock derives from the Greek γαστήρ, *i. e.,* 'paunch,' is discovered anxiously awaiting breakfast; he manages to secure the best place at the inn; when his somewhat hearty refreshment arrives, he wishes to have the time for partaking extended (p. 20); he does his intellectual browsing in the *Almanach des Gourmands* (p. 26)—but no more! The worthy Doctor is but the first in a gallery of Peacockian clerics. Through the bibulous symposia of *Melincourt,* the Reverend Mr. Portpipe swims into the reader's ken; *Maid Marian* boasts not only a sort of Friar Tuck, but also the whole vinous fraternity of Rubygill; *Crotchet Castle* limns "The Reverend Dr. Folliott, a gentleman endowed with a tolerable stock of learning, an interminable swallow, and an indefatigable pair of lungs" (p. 148). And the very first line of *Gryll Grange* introduces the inimitable Dr. Opimian genially discoursing upon the virtues of Palestine soup.

But what happens when these gentlemen of the cloth engage in their strictly clerical duties? *Maid Marian* contains several unequivocal suggestions: The Reverend Lord Abbot, upon receiving

a thump on the head, indulges in the "pious and consolatory reflection on the goodness of Providence in having blessed him with such a thickness of skull, to which he was now indebted for his temporal preservation, as he had before been for spiritual promotion" (p. 63). Thus "spiritual promotion" is due to "thickness of skull." Furthermore, Peacock explains of the noble heroine's confessor: "he never ventured to find her in the wrong, much less to enjoin anything in the shape of penance, as was the occasional practice of holy confessors with or without cause, for the sake of pious discipline, and what in those days was called social order, namely, the preservation of the privileges of the few who happened to have any, at the expense of the swinish multitude who happened to have none" (p. 68). If, then, the clergy work merely for a selfish class-benefit, what do this "swinish multitude" think of it? After a satirical description of the oppressions of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, Peacock adds: "The ignorant impatience of the swinish multitude with these fruits of good living, brought forth by one of the meek who had inherited the earth, displayed itself in a general ferment" (p. 72). His iteration of "swinish multitude"—a phrase borrowed from one of Burke's reactionary tirades—is final proof that he intended contemporary satire. The author of *Maid Marian* looks upon the clergy of his day as corrupt worldlings, sunk in luxury, blind mouths, that neither can nor will perform any ecclesiastical function other than the safeguarding of their own petty interests.

Does no purity reside even in the State? Peacock's answer is a derisive negative. It was the fashion for young intellectual bloods of the day to fulminate against the tyranny of kings and the license of their courts; but George IV had been giving England an especially apt occasion; and Peacock was not slow in borrowing revolutionary thunder of his friend Shelley. *Maid Marian* is full of implied criticisms both of the theory of divine right and of the actual practices of the government; for those were the days before the passage of the Reform Bill, and the country was undergoing a period of domestic upheaval: "'Robin Hood,'" says Friar Tuck, "'is king of the forest both by dignity of birth and by virtue of his standing army: to say nothing of the free choice of his people, which he has indeed, but I pass it by as an illegitimate basis of power. He holds his dominion over the forest, and its horned multitude of citizen-deer, and its swinish multitude or peasantry

of wild boars, by right of conquest and force of arms. He levies contributions among them by free consent of his archers, their virtual representatives'." (p. 82). So much for the very un-divine George IV and his rotten-borough Parliament which ruled England by "virtual representation." In foreign affairs, Peacock is equally caustic against the Holy Alliance which had lately dominated Europe, and satirizes it bitterly in *Maid Marian* (p. 71); and, indeed, the criticism is largely justified. Not only royal policies at home and abroad, but also the immediate court, especially the royal bard, probably Southey, who was laureate at the time, receive castigation in almost every satire: *The Misfortunes of Elphin* speaks of the prince's "bard of all work, who was always willing to go to any court with any character or none" (p. 130).

But not only is royalty decayed, but the great aristocracy of England, the great land-owners, are incompetent and vicious. This class is pictured as being recruited from the successful merchants and bankers who have made fortunes chiefly through the fraudulent manipulation of paper currency. They then spread their wings, and acquire nobility and a coat of arms "after proper ceremony (payment being the principal)" (*Crotchet Castle,* p. 144). They carry the petty tyranny of the counting-house into their estates as far as their tastes permit by "game-bagging, poacher-shooting, trespasser-pounding, footpath-stopping, common-enclosing, rack-renting, and all the other pursuits and pastimes which make a country gentleman an ornament to the world, and a blessing to the poor" (p. 145).

In *The Misfortunes of Elphin* (p. 47), he refers to the squires as "our agrestic kakistocracy." Further quotation seems needless: the country gentlemen, like the clergy, are shown sunk in their own selfish motives, a source only of weakness and discord. Yet by the wretched electoral system, they controlled even the House of Commons; and, in fact, in *Melincourt,* a squire actually returns to Parliament from his borough an Angola monkey.

Society, then, is filled with corruption: family, church, and state. None of the parts function properly; for the individuals composing each class are sunk in selfishness. Such a society is disintegrating into anarchy; and, indeed, the problems caused by the rise of industrialism, were at the time, racking England's vitals. The restoration of economic equilibrium in Europe after Napoleon's fall, aggravated the difficulty; and, in 1819, Parliament found it neces-

sary to pass six acts against industrial and agrarian rioting. This movement for reform later became known as Chartism, and, in spite of the Reform Bill of 1832, lasted down into the fifties. Peacock saw the struggle seething within; and, to him, the great English institutions seemed to have become a mockery: he might have written a philosophy of clothes, had his temperament been such; instead, he has left us a series of argumentative house-parties for which he is not without honor. But Peacock's is not an indictment of society merely, but of humanity, not merely of this or that class, but of the individuals that make up every class: for him, human-nature is gone wrong.

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SHAKESPEARE STUDIES

I. SHAKESPEARE'S SUPPOSED REFERENCES TO HIS MARRIAGE

At the close of November, 1582, or a few days later, William Shakespeare, then eighteen years of age, married Anne Hathaway, who was eight years his senior. Nearly six months later, on May 26, 1583, their first child Susanna was baptized.

The dramatist has been thought to have in mind the disparity in the ages of himself and wife when writing a passage in *Twelfth Night*.

> *Duke.* My life upon't, young though thou art, thine eye
> Hath stay'd upon some favour that it loves.
> Hath it not, boy?
> *Viola.* A little, by your favour.
> *Duke.* What kind of woman is't?
> *Viola.* Of your complexion.
> *Duke.* She is not worth thee, then. What years, i'faith?
> *Viola.* About your years, my lord.
> *Duke.* Too old, by heaven. Let still the woman take
> An elder than herself; so wears she to him,
> So sways she level in her husband's heart.
> For, boy, however we do praise ourselves,
> Our fancies are more giddy and unfirm,
> More longing, wavering, sooner lost and worn,
> Than women's are.
> *Viola.* I think it well, my lord.

Duke. Then let thy love be younger than thyself,
Or thy affections cannot hold the bent.
For women are as roses, whose fair flower
Being once display'd, doth fall that very hour.
Viola. And so they are; alas, that they are so!
To die, even when they to perfection grow!

(II, iv, 24-42.)

Malone, Coleridge, White, and Sir Sidney Lee are among those who feel confident that this passage contains an autobiographical reference, "an appeal to the lessons of his personal experience." Furness opposes this view, and then insists on debating in these words the general question involved:

Not only do I not believe that Shakespeare was here referring to his own experience, but I do not believe that Orsino's assertion itself is true. The record of marriages where the woman is the elder will prove, I think, that, *as a rule,* such unions, founded as they are, not on the fleeting attractions of youth, which is 'a stuff will not endure,' but on the abiding elements of intellectual congeniality, have been unusually happy.[1]

Though Shakespeare's own experience may well have contributed to the specific quality and the marked intensity of these lines, there is no need of going beyond the situation itself for a justification of all that is said.

In the opening scene of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* Lysander declares that "the course of true love never did run smooth," and gives as one reason for this that love is sometimes "misgraffed in respect of years." These words necessarily bring to mind the marked disparity between the ages of Anne Hathaway and her boy-husband.

Professor John M. Manly points out that "tradition and the known facts of Shakespeare's marriage attest a wild youth, such as the old shepherd describes in *The Winter's Tale:* 'I would there were no age between ten [emended to sixteen in Globe ed. to nineteen by Manly] and three-and-twenty, or that youth would sleep out the rest; for there is nothing in the between but getting wenches with child, wronging the ancientry, stealing, fighting—[*Horns.*] Hark you now! Would any but these boiled brains of nineteen and two-and-twenty hunt this weather?' [III, iii, 59-65.] As the

[1] Variorum edition of *Twelfth Night,* p. 140.

passage is totally unwarranted by dramatic purpose, it is strongly suggestive of personal reminiscence." [2]

It is strange that no commentator cited by Furness pays any attention to the possibility that a passage in *The Tempest* may contain a reference to Shakespeare's own marriage. Near the beginning of Act IV, Prospero gives Miranda to Ferdinand with these words:

> Then, as my gift and thine own acquisition
> Worthily purchas'd, take my daughter. But
> If thou dost break her virgin-knot before
> All sanctimonious ceremonies may
> With full and holy rite be minist'red,
> No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
> To make this contract grow; but barren Hate,
> Sour-eyed Disdain and Discord shall bestrew
> The union of your bed with weeds so loathly
> That you shall hate it both. Therefore take heed,
> As Hymen's lamps shall light you.
> *Ferdinand.* As I hope
> For quiet days, fair issue, and long life,
> With such love as 'tis now, the murkiest den,
> The most opportune place, the strong'st suggestio
> Our worser genius can, shall never melt
> Mine honour into lust, to take away
> The edge of that day's celebration
> When I shall think or Phoebus' steeds are founder'd
> Or Night kept chain'd below.
>
> (IV, i, 13-31.)

Were these words called out by Shakespeare's bitter memory of the immorality which preceded and forced on his own marriage? It seems probable that they were. I have always felt them to be distinctly inappropriate here. The whole tone of this portion of the play has been idyllic and charming. The love that we have seen spring up between Ferdinand and Miranda has been as pure as it has been frank and natural. Suddenly this intense and bitter admonition breaks the charm. Prospero, who has been universally recognized as at times a mouthpiece of Shakespeare, voices a warning which thrills with a poignance and intensity that are dramatically uncalled for. I feel that Prospero, under the influence of the familiar situation, suddenly becomes Shakespeare, recalling his

[2] "Shakespeare Himself," 25. In *A Memorial Volume to Shakespeare and Harvey*, The Univ. of Texas, 1916.

own wrong-doing and its evil consequences. The hands are the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob.

II. The Choosing of the Caskets

The skill with which Shakespeare has woven together the two main stories of *The Merchant of Venice,* that of the bond and that of the caskets, strikes even the casual reader. Although the bond story has the more intense interest, and the choice of the caskets seems at first sight little more than a fairy tale, yet the latter story speedily discloses striking dramatic qualities. The three successive scenes of choosing are easily made spectacular in presentation. In each there is a prolonged and fateful suspense. The choice of the leaden casket by Bassanio is a telling climax to the series.

Professor R. G. Moulton says:

> The point of the Caskets Story to the eye of an artist in Drama is the opportunity it affords for . . . an idealisation of the commonest problem in everyday experience—what may be called the Problem of Judgment by Appearances.
>
> We have clearly [in the choice of the Caskets] the Problem of Judgment by Appearances drawn out in its ideal form; and our sympathies are attracted by the sight of a process, belonging to our everyday experience, yet developed before us in all the force artistic setting can bestow.[1]

But it is not only the external appearance of the caskets to which attention is called. Each bears also a challenging inscription. The one of gold declares:

> Who chooseth me shall gain what many men desire.

The casket of silver tells us:

> Who chooseth me shall get as much as he deserves.

The leaden casket carries the threat:

> Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath.

The Prince of Morocco dwells upon the motto on the golden casket, and considers Portia to be "what many men desire" (II, vii). Like Sir Willoughby in *The Egoist,* Morocco is eager to carry

[1] *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist,* 3d ed., Oxford, 1893, pp. 52, 54.

off the prize for which many are contending. He also considers gold the appropriate metal to contain Portia's picture:

> Never so rich a gem
> Was set in worse than gold.

It is only this second thought that is a judgment by appearances.

The choice of the Prince of Arragon (II, ix.) cannot be called a judgment by appearances at all. Silver is an unobtrusive middle term between much-promising gold and meagre, unpromising lead. Arragon is entirely concerned with the different inscriptions. His self-satisfied spirit is attracted by the sentiment upon the silver casket:

> Who chooseth me shall get as much as he deserves.

His decision is:

> I will assume desert. Give me a key for this.

When Bassanio faces the choice (III, ii.), his first reflections are wholly concerned with the danger of judging according to appearances. Is he not led into this line of thought by the song which Portia orders to be sung, according to the early texts, "*whilst Bassanio comments on the caskets to himself*"? He says:

> So may the outward shows be least themselves;
> The world is still deceiv'd with ornament.

But the only principle which his words suggest, as an alternative to judging by appearances, is the still more childish one of judging contrary to appearances. He rejects the "gaudy gold," fearing to be "deceiv'd with ornament." He then puts aside the silver mean between the two extremes, giving as the reason simply that silver is the "pale and common drudge 'Tween man and man." In contrast to Morocco and Arragon, Bassanio pays no attention whatever to the inscriptions upon these two caskets. When he turns to the leaden casket, however, there is an allusion to the inscription:

> But thou, thou meagre lead,
> Which rather threat'nest than dost promise aught,
> Thy paleness moves me more than eloquence;
> And here choose I. Joy be the consequence!

Except for this brief reference, Bassanio pays no attention to the threatening words upon the casket of lead. Paleness, which made the silver casket unattractive, has strangely become a charm in the

leaden. The apparent reason for his choice is that he is glad, as an ardent lover, to hazard all for love.

The question arises whether Shakespeare would not have given to this scene an added significance, a finer reasonableness, if he had made Bassanio pay more attention to the different mottoes, and definitely prefer the sentiment upon the chosen casket. The man who makes choice of the inscription, "Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath," is to win the hand of Portia. These words represent the essential, inevitable law of marriage. It is wholly true in this case also, although a penniless gentleman is to wed a wealthy heiress. Marriage is the great venture of life, inherently and necessarily. Only he who knows that he is giving and hazarding all he hath is fitted to marry. If this truth were realized, there might be fewer marriages; there would certainly be fewer divorces.

What an opportunity Shakespeare made for himself here to set forth the essential nature of true marriage! Why does he fail to use this opportunity? Early in his career, in the relations between Antipholus of Ephesus and his wife Adriana in *The Comedy of Errors,* he illustrated the friction and misunderstandings that can disturb married life even when neither person is very plainly at fault. Why then does he put us off here with the cheap moral that man should judge contrary to appearances?

It is not probable that the modern reader sees an opportunity here which Shakespeare failed to discern. It may well be that the whole tone and temper of *The Merchant of Venice* is so idealizing, so romantic, that any realistic grappling with the nature and the dangers of the marriage relation was felt to be out of keeping with the spirit of the play. As in so many of the comedies, every possibility of discord or misunderstanding is supposed to vanish with the sound of marriage bells. Shakespeare has been satisfied to set forth here a very shallow truth, although in the challenging words upon the leaden casket a trenchant, fateful life-lesson was staring him in the face.

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A GERMAN VERSION OF *JOSEPH ANDREWS*

Fielding's influence upon German literature was clearly recognized by contemporary critics, and the great vogue of his novels in Germany is attested not merely by the translations of his genuine works, but also by the imitations which enterprising publishers palmed off on an unsuspecting public.[1] A recently acquired book, ascribed to Fielding, but under an entirely unfamiliar title, seemed therefore at first glance to belong to this category:

Fieldings Komischer Roman in vier Theilen. Mit [6] *Kupfern.* Berlin, bey Johann Heinrich Rüdigern. 1765. 472 pp. + 3 leaves.

Closer examination, however, reveals the fact that we have here not a spurious imitation, but a genuine work of Fielding's concealed under a new title[2]: the text is that of the *Adventures of Joseph Andrews,* apart from the fact that most of the characters have also been disguised under new names. Occasionally, also, literary disquisitions, allusions to unfamiliar English characters, letters, and the like, have been omitted or shortened, but without affecting the continuity of the story proper.[3] The Table of Contents at the end of the book agrees exactly with that of the original. It is probable, therefore, that Rüdiger, seeing the possibilities of a

[1] Compare for example: *Geschichte des Ritters von Kilpar. Aus dem Englischen von Fielding,* Leipzig, 1768 (Goedeke IV, § 224, 29). Even Lessing accepted as genuine a book of the same sort: *Geschichte des Fräuleins Elisabeth Thoughtless, von dem Verfasser der Begebenheiten des Thomas Jones beschrieben, . . .* Leipzig, 1754 (Cf. *Lessings Sämtliche Schriften,* hrsg. von Muncker, V, 431 f.).

[2] This title is doubtless to be traced back to Scarron's *Roman comique,* which was still influencing the literature of the period. Wieland, for example, in the opening chapter of Book V of *Don Sylvio,* classes it with the *Bachelor of Salamanca, Tom Jones, Candide,* and *Gargantua,* while Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* is indebted to it in various places. The title must have acquired a generic sense, for Rüdiger had previously published an edition of *Tom Jones* "in der Sammlung 'Komische Romane,' aus dem Englischen" (cited by Augustus Wood, *Einfluss Fieldings auf die deutsche Literatur,* Yokohama, 1895, p. 21). Wood also cites (p. 23): *Aemilie, Ein komischer Roman, nach der Amelia des Heinrich Fielding,* Leipzig, 1781.

[3] For example, the entire first chapter of Book III, "Matter prefatory in praise of biography," has been omitted. Part III of the German version has therefore but twelve chapters, against Fielding's thirteen.

new book by the famous English author, considered it easier, and just as effective, to bring out a genuine older work in disguise, in preference to having prepared a new, but spurious one.

The changes in the names of the characters can be classified into two groups: in the first, one English name is arbitrarily replaced by another, entirely different one. Thus, Joseph Andrews becomes Jakob Elwes; Abraham Adams, Noel Molesworth; Fanny, Fusby. In the second, more numerous group, the English name has been replaced by a French—or, more rarely, German—one, as a rule intended to give approximately the same connotation: Lady Tittle becomes Lady Babille; Lady Tattle, Lady Caillotte; Touw-wouse, Houspille; Betty, Nanon; Whipwell, Hautlepied; Colonel Courtly, Oberst Deliaur; Mr. Fickle, Herr Papillon; Sir Oliver Hearty, Ritter Boncœur; Lawyer Scout, Sachwalter La Mouche; Thomas Trotter, Thomas Manceau; Didapper, Mylord Fanfrelusche; Mrs. Grave-airs, Die Spröde, or Fräulein Prüdotte; Suckbribe, Tragsweg. Ammyconni, Paul Varnish, Hannibal Scratchi, Hogarthi are replaced by Paul von Verona, Raphael, Titian, Puszin; "Cato and the Conscious Lovers" are rendered "Cato und die Andrienne, die man aus dem Terenz erneuert hat."

Certain names have suffered only slight emendations, generally indicative of French influence: Pounce becomes Ponce; Florella, Flore; Bellarmine, Bellairmine; Lindamire, Lidamire. A few names, finally, have not been disguised at all, *e. g.*, Slipslop, Lady Booby, Trulliber.

There are also further indications that our version goes back to a French source. Thus (p. 14) "the essence, (or, as she pleased to term it, the incence) of matter" is rendered: "die Essenz, oder wie sie zu reden pflegte, über die Encens der Materie." I need hardly point out that *encens* (masc.) is the exact French translation of *incence*. Similarly (p. 37) the sentence "if I admitted you to kiss me" is translated: "wenn z. E. ich dir erlaubte, mich zu umarmen." Here the double meaning of the French *embrasser* fully accounts for the deviation from the original. On p. 33 "wheel-barrow" is translated by "Käutzlein," which may be due to reading *chouette* instead of *brouette;* on p. 46, "eight Pounds" is translated: "zweyhundert Franken"; on p. 132, "our sect" is replaced by "unser Jahrhundert," which may go back to *siècle* instead of *secte*.

Moreover, there are a number of notes and additions to the text

which were evidently intended for a French public, and which the German translator thence took over into his version. On p. 91, for example, is the footnote: "Tillotson ist der englische Bourdaloue"; on p. 97, the words "any farce whatever" are rendered: "des Rousseau wohl übersetzte Sinngedichte." In the opening chapter of Part II, entitled "Of division in authors," Fielding comments on the usage of Homer, Vergil, and Milton, to which the German text adds (pp. 111 f.):

"Ohne Zweifel, bloss dem eingeführten Gebrauche sich gemäss zu bezeigen, hat Voltaire, um den Fusstapfen des wahren epischen Poeten nachzufolgen, seine historische Henriade auch in zehn schöne Gesänge eingetheilt."

Such instances prove with reasonable certainty that the present German text goes back to a French version. Quérard [4] cites three earlier French editions, dated respectively 1743, 1744, 1750, none of which are accessible. The earliest German editions are assigned by Wood (p. 20) to the years 1745 and 1746, while C. H. Clarke [5] gives the dates 1746 and 1761. These are likewise inaccessible, as, indeed, it is probable that neither Wood nor Clarke saw actual copies of them. As these are all said to go back to French sources (cf. Wood, p. 20), the present German text might possibly be based on one of them, instead of going back directly to one of the French versions. As soon as a copy of one of the early German editions is brought to light, it will not be difficult to determine the matter.

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NOTES ON THE WEST-SAXON PSALMS

Our edition of the West-Saxon Psalms [1] was based on a fresh collation of the MS.; and a second copy of the Introductions, discovered by Dr. Ramsay, supplied a notable bit of new material. To facilitate the proper study of the Introductions the Latin text of the *Exegesis* (attributed to Bede) was reproduced in an analyzed

[4] *La France littéraire*, III, 120.

[5] *Fielding und der deutsche Sturm und Drang*, 1897, p. 2.

[1] *Liber Psalmorum: The West-Saxon Psalms, being the Prose Portion, or the 'First Fifty,' of the so-called Paris Psalter.* Edited from the Manuscript, with an Introduction and an Appendix. By James Wilson Bright and Robert Lee Ramsay. Boston and London, D. C. Heath & Co., 1907.

form; but the wide-reaching and intricate problem of the transmission of the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia could not at the time of the publication of our edition be satisfactorily treated. The book was, therefore, given to the public in a limited advance-edition, awaiting the time when we might supply it with the desired Prolegomenon. The suspected relation of the text of psalms to the commentaries that remained to be minutely studied led us also to postpone the publication of our textual notes.

What was next done was to publish "Notes on the 'Introductions' of the West-Saxon Psalms" in *The Journal of Theological Studies* XIII (1912), 520-558, by Bright and Ramsay, which was followed by Ramsay's article on "Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. Columban on the Psalms" in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* VIII, 421-497. When these articles were in process of preparation, in the preceding year, 1911, we also had corrections made in the plates of our edition, in the hope of being allowed by our publishers to proceed with a second edition,—a hope that was not sustained by the book-market.

In making these changes in the plates we considered suggestions privately communicated by Dr. Otto B. Schlutter, and others offered by Mr. J. H. G. Grattan in *The Mod. Lang. Review* IV (1909), 185-189. We shall now have to add to these obligations what is to be gleaned from a review of our edition (a review that betrays narrow pedantry and a failure to recognize the character of the edition) by Dr. Karl Wildhagen, in *Englische Studien* 45 (1912), 101-103, and especially the notes submitted, some time ago, for publication in this periodical by Mr. Kenneth Sisam,—notes that are now published in immediate connection with the present article.

In the following paragraphs we are now giving a report of the principal changes made in the plates in the early summer of 1911. It is to be added that our aim has been to introduce as few changes as possible into the text, and to discuss questions of various character, including such as are raised by Mr. Sisam, in our final notes.

To construct these final notes satisfactorily one should have a critical modern edition of the various medieval Latin versions of the Psalter, particularly, of course, of the Roman and Gallican types. Otherwise it is not possible to determine the translator's probable original. There is also required the publication in accessible form of the copious material recently brought to light by Mercati, Lietzmann, and other scholars, to enable one to reconstitute the commentary on the Psalms of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and thus to have at hand the most significant source for the translator's distinctive interpretations.[2]

[2] An illustration of the light that may be turned on the text by an accurate edition of the original Latin may be observed in the emendation of 23, 9 (cf. 23, 7), offered below; and the helpfulness of the new Theo-

2, 2. *Hlāforde* > *hlāforde.*—4, I. *besōne* > *be sōne.* The meaning is 'according to the music,' or perhaps 'antiphonally.' In the *Benedictine Rule* (ed. A. Schröer), p. 41, *forðrihte būtan sōne* describes the singing of a psalm by a small congregation in contrast to the antiphonal singing of a large congregation. In the *Rule of St. Benet* (ed. H. Logeman), p. 48, *būton sōne* = *sine antiphona.*

7, I. *wyrgde* > *wyrde.*—9, I. *ðæt ylce* > *þā ylcan.* That *gerād* may be fem. is shown in *Greg. Dialog* 172, 29.—9, 6. *ceastra* > *byrig* (Grattan).—9, 15, note. "*Insert* cūð *before Drihten* (cf. XLVII, 3)." Sisam: "We must supply [*oncnāwen*] after *byð.*"—9, 24. *eal nēh* > *ealneh.*—X, 1, note. "*Ms. om.* gē [*after* lǣre], *Grattan* gē.—13, 10. *mīnes* > *mīne.*—16, 13. *tōstencte* > *tōstenc.* Sisam: "Read *tōstence* or *tōstenc;* either form of the imperative will pass in this text."—17, 11. *betwux* > *betwuh* (Grattan); [wæs] > [*næs*].—17, 15. *gehrōpen* > *onwrogen;* but better may be *gehroren,* or even *geopenod.*

18, 3. *gyrre* > *gehȳre* (Grattan).—*his hēafod* > [*on*] *his hēafod.*—18, 4. *Hē bæd* > *Hē þē bæd* (Tanger and Grattan).—21, 10. *fēaras* > *fearras.*—21, 15. *gerīmde* > *gerīmdon* (Grattan).—23, 9. *Gedōð* > *Undōð; ēowre* > *ēow, gē.* Grattan suggests *eowru* or *ēower;* but the MS. reading correctly translates *elevamini, portae aeternales.* In 23, 7 the translator's original was apparently (as in Thorpe) *elevamini postes aeternales,* and *postes* was mistaken for an accusative.

24, 8, note. "*For þīnre gōdnesse . . . and ēac rihtwīs* is a separate verse in the MS. and, according to the Latin, should precede verse 7.—27, 1. *hopige,* Grattan would read *cleopige* because of the Latin *Ad te domine clamabo;* but Sisam observes: "Note the converse at 33, 8, *þe tō him cleopað; qui sperat in eum.* Both are such common phrases of piety that the substitution may be original."—27, 5, *answincað* > *on swincað.* Sisam suggests *an swincað,* regarding "*an* as a by-form of *on* common in the text," and correctly translates: 'according to the wickedness in which they labour.'—27, 7. Supply [*ne*] before *getimbrast* (Schlutter); Sisam conjectures that "*nā* has fallen out after *and.*"

28, 5. *on wæstmas* > *ōwæstmas* (in preference to *onwæstmas*) = *vitulamina.* The translator mistook *tanquam vitulum* for *tanquam vitulamina,* or perhaps found the latter reading in his Latin text. For the same confusion see the commentary edited by G. I. Ascoli, *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* V (1878).—28, 8. *folce* > *flōde;* so also Wichmann and Sisam.—29, 11. *hwite hrægl* > *wītehrægl* (Grattan, and Schlutter, comparing 68, 11); cf. also 34, 13;

dorean material is shown at 28, 5. Here the commentary ascribed to St. Columban, edited by Ascoli, reads as follows (p. 177): pro uitulaminibus. uitulatamina (*sic*) enim dicuntur parua uirgulta quae se subiecunt sub ingenti huius modi arboris umbra, et est sensus tanta facilitate magnæ moles hostium conciderunt quia nullius operis est exigua haec uirgulta deterrere.

bebyrgdst > *begyrdest* (Grattan, comparing 17, 37).—30, 4. *on þīnum* > *and on þīnum.*—30, 8. *dēmdest* > *demedest: conclusisti;* cf. *for-demman.*—31, 7. *þā weardan* > *þā tōweardan;* so also Sisam, who compares 48, 12.—32, 15. *Hē* > *þī;* so also Wildhagen, and Sisam who remarks: "*þi* 'therefore' makes good sense, and the writer constantly inserts such connections."

34, 13. *hwīte hrægl* > *wītehrægl* (Grattan and Schlutter, as in 29, 11).—34, 17. *āgnan* > *āngan;* so also Wildhagen, and Sisam who comments thus: "*āngan* is a normal translation of *unicam;* cf. the *Vesp. Ps.* and its cognates, *ad loc.*"—36, 12. *grīstbīteð* > *grīstbātað;* so also Wildhagen and Sisam.—36, 32. *hopað* > *hāwaþ* (Schlutter). The Latin is *considerat peccator iustum;* Sisam conjectures *hogað.*—37, 22. *lātað* > *tēlað* (Grattan); Schlutter, *wlātað* or *tēlað.*—40, 2. *anweald* > *handa and anweald: in manus inimici;* MS. *hanweald* (*han* at a line-end) warrants this change.—41, 11. *mysceað* > *hysceað* (Grattan); but cf. *gemyscan : deformare,* Napier, *OEG.* p. 183 (17, 45).—44, 18. *cnēoresse* > *cneorisse;* so also Grattan.—49, 18. *fēarra* > *fearra;* so also Wildhagen.

From the preceding paragraphs we have excluded minor changes in punctuation and in the indication of vowel-quantity. Several of these may here be reported in corrected form. Delete comma after *āwehte* (3, 4), *mearce* (7, 6), *nū* (16, 7), *mē* (42, 1). Read *yfel-* (5, 4); *rīxian* (9, 25); *broc* (9, 34); *forrotian* (15, 10); *ārētte* (27, I.); *rotung* (29, 8); *onhyredon* (36, I.) *onhyriað* (36, 1); *forsēariað swā fileðe* (36, 2); *onhyre* (36, 7); *gebrȳsed* (36, 23).

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NOTES ON THE WEST-SAXON PSALMS[1]

The external problems raised by the prose part of the *Paris Psalter* are so intricate that they have rather distracted attention from the text itself, which still repays reading. In the following notes I take the edition by Bright and Ramsay (B-R.) as a base, occasionally referring to Thorpe's text (Th.), and passing over points successfully dealt with by Grattan in *Mod. Lang. Review* IV, 185 ff. [cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXIV, 77 f.], and by Wildhagen in *Englische Studien* 45, 101 ff. Omission is a characteristic of this MS., but I mention those cases only in which the sense, the style, or the Latin original makes the loss of a single word seem probable.

3, 5. *þeah hi me utan ymbþringen,* 'circumdantis me': *ymb-*

[1] In a few instances, as noted in the preceding article, Mr. Sisam's suggestions had been anticipated in the corrected plates. His notes already thus dealt with will not, therefore, be repeated here.—J. W. B.; R. L. R.

þringan heightens the sense, and the regular rendering of 'circumdare' is *ymbhringan* e. g. at 16, 9; 17, 4; 17, 5; 21, 10; 21, 14; 31, 8; 31, 12; 39, 13; 48, 5. Probably we have here an instance of the common confusion of þ and *h*.

7, 6. *Aris drihten of þinum yrre and sær(?) on minra feonda mearce* 'exurge domine in ira tua' &c. The change of *of* to *on* is necessary, even if we had not the Latin, and instances of the confusion have often been noted, e. g. in *E. St.* XIII, 363.

13, 1. *Se unrihtwisa cwyð,* 'Dixit insipiens.' Probably an error for *unwisa,* although it occurs again in 38, 10 below, and also in the *Cambridge Psalter* at 38, 10.

16, 12. *ahrede mine sawle æt þam unrihtan wisan,* 'eripe animam meam ab impio.' Surely we must read *þam unrihtwisan?*

17, 12. *And þa urnan swa swa ligetu* &c. *þa* can be defended as referring to the previous verse, but it is perhaps more likely that [*wolcnu*] has fallen out after it, 'præ fulgore . . . *nubes* transierunt.'

17, 18. *ahredde me . . . for eallum þam þe me hatedon,* 'ab his qui oderunt me': *for* cannot stand. Read *frō* = *from* = *fram.*

23, 10. *Hit is se wuldorfæsta, se þe god fore wyrcð swylc wundru,* 'dominus uirtutum, ipse est rex gloriae.' Although *se wuldorfæsta* is good Old English, it is not in the manner of the translator. Perhaps [*hlaford*] has dropped out, cf. v. 8 above.

24, 1. *ic hæbbe:* read *ic hebbe,* 'leuaui.'

24, 10. *Hwa hwylc mann swa drihten ondræt* &c. Read *Swa hwylc;* the initials are often confused.

24, 12. *Drihten is mægen and cræftig ælces þæra* &c. Read *cræft,* and for the coupling of these nouns cf. 17, 31; 17, 37.

26, 7. *and þær offrige on þinum huse þa offrunga* 'et immolabo in tabernaculo eius hostiam iubilationis.' We expect some such word as *lofes* after *offrunga* to render 'iubilationis.'

34, 14. *hy me gedydon swa unrotne and swa wependne, swa se byð þone þe he lufað.* I do not understand the *swa* clause. Are we to insert *ne* before *lufað,* and render 'as he is whom He (God) does not love'?

37, 16. *þy læs hi mægen sprecan gemetlico word ongean me* 'Nequando . . . in me *magna* locuti sunt.' I suppose [*un*]*gemetlico* was the reading—for the word cf. 10, 7—and the first letters were absorbed in *-an* of *sprecan.*

41, 3. *þonne ic gehyrde mine cweþan,* 'Hwær is þin God?' &c. The change of *mine* to *to me* in B-R. is not easy, and the alternative suggestion, *mine sawle,* does not fit the sense. Grattan takes *mine* 'absolutely,' a counsel of despair. It is quite clear from verses 11, 12 below that *mine* [*fynd*] is the true reading.

44, 3. *forþam he gebletsode god on ecnesse,* 'propterea benedixit *te* deus in aeternum.' Read *þe* for *he,* and cf. note to 3, 5.

46, 9. *he oferswiðde þa strangan kyningcas ofer eorðan, þa þe wæron up ahæfene swa þas godas.* The demonstrative *þas godas*

is peculiar, since they are not otherwise mentioned. But in similes of this form the word following *swa* is a constant source of trouble in the text. Thus we have at 21, 12 *swa þær weax;* at 36, 19 *swa ðer smec;* at 45, 3 *swa þær muntas,* which are variously emended, because *þær* cannot be retained without damage to the sense. But I note also the more intelligible *swa þes spearuwa* 10 Introd. and *swa þes wyrm* 21, 5, which are also odd: the sparrow for instance, is only casually mentioned in the psalm following. As it is difficult to believe in the regular corruption of a phrase as common as *swa swa,* it seems possible that the author used a form of the demonstrative *þes* in all these cases, and scribes, puzzled by the lack of an antecedent, have patched the phrase. Note *þær* for *þæs* at 23, 3, and the converse in 48, 19.

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MADAME DE STAËL'S LITERARY REPUTATION IN AMERICA

Madame de Staël-Holstein's treatise *De l'Allemagne* is a work of such high historical importance that in our day it completely overshadows her earlier productions. Some of us cannot help feeling that her great book about Germany must have astonished the literary world and instantly and abruptly brought its author glorious renown. As a matter of fact, however, few even among the romanticists awoke to find themselves grown famous over night, and the Baronne de Staël was far from being one of those few. From her cradle she was a person of distinction. Her progress toward artistic eminence was steady and gradual over a period of more than twenty years. Even in America, where according to some authorities her *De l'Allemagne* introduced the glaring culture of Middle Europe, her name was known and respected long before the appearance of her most pretentious work. Indeed it seems likely that the *Germany* owed no small part of its vogue with American readers to the established renown of its author.

In America as in England Madame de Staël's fame was partly due to her influential friendships. Her acquaintance with Jefferson, for example, must have tended to encourage the distribution of her books in the United States, for he held and expressed a high opinion of her literary ability. Of this fact we have proof in a letter which he wrote to her in 1807: "I shall read with great pleasure whatever comes from your pen, having known its powers

when I was in a situation to judge, nearer at hand, the talents which directed it." [1]

While her literary reputation in America was no doubt considerably affected by her friendships with Americans, it may be estimated fairly accurately from the evidence which is to be found in the impersonal pages of contemporary magazines and reviews. Though writers for American periodicals in the first decade of the nineteenth century looked somewhat askance at the emotional extravagances of the eloquent *Parisienne,* they described her in no unsympathetic fashion. In the *Port Folio* for August, 1808, for instance, there was a long letter from Geneva concerning the Necker family and especially the financier's daughter.[2] The correspondent declared that Madame de Staël lacked the modesty of her mother, Madame Necker, but in the succeeding sentence he presented facts by way of extenuation of the defect: "Like her parents, Madame de Staël has always been attracted to literary pursuits, and to the company and conversation of men of letters; her mind, however, had not been formed in the walks of private life, nor tried by adversity, and her wit, her love of amusement, a flow of spirits, and the pride of knowledge, have borne her away as the horses of the sun did Phæton." The sketch is not without quaint details: "Placing herself very much at her ease, with her feet resting upon an opposite chair, she ran on in a flow of lively conversation. She speaks, I think, even better than she writes, and is never at a loss for the happiest expressions, colouring everything after a manner peculiar to herself, and deviating, at times, into anecdotes and descriptions, which might offend your chaster ears on the other side of the Atlantick." Although the letter was written in 1804, at a time when *Delphine* was still "her principal work," its criticism was in general commendatory: "The writings of Madame de S. bespeak an ardent imagination, a warm heart, and a considerable fund of various literature: she writes, in general, from accurate observation, or where her means of information fail, she guesses more happily than most people." The anonymous critic prophesied with remarkable clearness Madame de Staël's next literary production, the important novel, *Corinne:* "Her intended

[1] *North American Review,* vol. CCVIII, No. 752 (July, 1918), p. 65; letter dated July 16, 1807, in "Unpublished Correspondence of Madame de Staël with Thomas Jefferson," by Marie G. Kimball.

[2] N.[2d]s., vol. VI, pp. 113-121.

tour in Italy, next winter, too, will probably furnish her with material for an interesting work, and particularly so, if she submit to what she supposes a very inferior department of literature, and would simply convey to her readers, the impressions made upon her cultivated mind, but the probability is, that some Italian romance, at best, will be the fruit of all those means and opportunities of information, which high rank and a splendid fortune so easily procure this somewhat whimsical lady, who, as a writer, prefers fiction to sober truth, and the imaginary crosses and intricacies of an idle love story, to all the beauties of history, or the interests of courts."

This characterization of Madame de Staël as primarily a fanciful writer of fiction did not accord with the typical American view of her. Long before the appearance of this gossiping letter, though not before it was written, she was known as the editor of the *Manuscrits de M. Necker.* This decidedly serious book was reviewed rather extensively in the *Monthly Anthology* for December, 1805.[3] Not only was the work reviewed, but under the title of "Character of Necker by his daughter Madame de Staël" several pages of a translation of her prefatory essay were printed in the *Literary Magazine and American Register.*[4] When *Corinne,* her best novel, found its way to America, as it did only a few months after its publication, she was so well known that the author of "Observations on Madame de Staël's Corinna" for the *Monthly Anthology* could begin by remarking: "The name of Madame de Staël has long been familiar in French Literature." And although he kept the American prejudice against prose fiction as an immoral genre, he was willing to declare that "Corinna is a novel engrafted on a journey and description of Italy, and the licentious fashion of blending fancy and reality is more innocent and justifiable in this kind of work than in any other."[5]

Like her *Corinne* (1807), her edition of the *Lettres et pensées du Maréchal Prince de Ligne* (1809) apparently did a great deal to spread the good report of her in America. In the *Port Folio's* review of the work, she is merely mentioned as "the ingenious

[3] *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review,* II, 615-621.

[4] Vol. IV, pp. 421-428 (July-Dec., 1805); vol. V, pp. 120-128, 278-292 (Jan.-June, 1806).

[5] *The Monthly Anthology,* V, 465-470 (September, 1808).

editor." [6] But the editor of *Select Reviews* took from the *Literary Panorama* an article whose author has rather more to say of her.[7] He asserts that "some over cautious criticks, knowing the lady's extraordinary turn of mind; her romantick democracy; her subtle metaphysicks, and her *perfectability of melancholy,* might pause a while, thinking it likely that, notwithstanding her acknowledged talents, the work she has thus ushered before the public, might be a stupendous production of the genuine German school." From this it would seem that some at least of her readers dreaded and feared the production of just that work upon which her fame is commonly supposed to be almost exclusively founded. In spite of this appearance of foreboding, a reason for the generous reception accorded the *De l'Allemagne* when it finally appeared is suggested by the same critic in another sentence of his review of the *Lettres et pensées:* "The name of the fair author which graces the title page of this publication might, alone, accord a strong presumption in its favour."

The *De la Littérature* (1800) exerted a belated influence upon the growth of its author's fame in the New World. In the *Port Folio* for April, 1812, appeared this notice: "Madame de Staël's work de la Litterature Ancienne et Moderne, which has been suppressed on the continent, will shortly appear." [8] The efficiency of even such confused and primitive advertising is suggested by the fact that in the following year a translation of the *De la Littérature,* after going through two editions in England, was reprinted in Boston, Massachusetts.[9] To this edition there was prefixed a biographical essay by the translator, M. Boileau, from which the *Universal Magazine,* and from the *Universal Magazine* the editors of *Select Reviews,* borrowed an interesting gossipy selection of "Memoirs of Madame de Staël-Holstein." [10]

In 1813, the year of the publication of *De l'Allemagne,* the *Analectic Magazine* contributed in three ways to the spread of Madame de Staël's fame in America. In the first place, it published

[6] Ser. 3, vol. II, No. IV, pp. 444-451 (October, 1809).

[7] *Select Reviews and Spirit of the Foreign Magazines,* II, 217-225.

[8] Ser. 3, vol. VII, No. 4, p. 393 (April, 1812). The title mentioned is that of Part I of the treatise.

[9] *The Influence of Literature upon Society* translated from the French of Madame de Staël-Holstein, to which is prefixed a memoir of the Life and Writings of the Author (Boston, 1813).

[10] Vol. VIII, pp. 151-162 (Philadelphia, 1812).

an article by Madame de Staël herself, a rather extensive essay on Female Literature, reprinted from the *Universal Magazine*.[11] It reprinted also an article on British literature "from the Edinburgh Review of Madame de Staël."[12] But more important than either of these was a long original review of *De la Littérature*.[13] Like other early American critics of Madame de Staël, the reviewer deprecated her writing of romances and the low popular taste which made her romances successful. He remarked the fact that the work before him, "on the whole, the best and least exceptionable of all Madame de Staël's publications," was not a new one but had been "brought back into notice by the happier fortune of the novels with which its distinguished author has since condescended to favour this frivolous generation." He praised her intelligently as "beyond all comparison the first female writer of her age." And he perceived the true aim of her critical endeavor: "We are not acquainted, indeed, with any writer who has made such bold and vigorous attempts to carry the generalizing spirit of true philosophy into the history of literature and manners."

A conservative conclusion from the evidence presented in these few pages is that Madame de Staël, the author, was known, understood, and appreciated in America before the publication of her *De l'Allemagne*. It is not unfair to assume that the general esteem for her earlier works made American readers favorably inclined toward her monumental opus. Certainly it was heralded very favorably in the spring of 1814. For the *Analectic Magazine* reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review* Sir James Mackintosh's two most commendatory essays concerning Madame de Staël, the review of her *Réflexions sur le suicide* in January, and in April the more widely known review of the *De l'Allemagne* itself.[14] The *Germany*, then, far from being the work exclusively responsible for its author's fame in America, owed much of its own success there to the reputation which she had previously achieved.

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[11] *The Analectic Magazine*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1816), vol. I, pp. 313-321 (Jan.-June, 1813). This was a translation of "Des femmes qui cultivent les lettres," the fourth chapter of Part II of *De la Littérature*.

[12] *Analectic Magazine*, II, 314-322.

[13] *The Analectic Magazine*, II, 186-208.

[14] *The Analectic Magazine*, III, 37-44, 284-308.

Il Libro dei Cinquanta Miracoli della Vergine. Edito ed illustrato da Ezio Levi. Bologna, Romagnoli-Dall' Acqua, 1917. 8vo., pp. clxviii + 183. (*Collezione di Opere inedite o vare.*)

I Miracoli della Virgine nell' Arte del Medio Evo. Ezio Levi. Roma, 1918. (*Estratto dal Bollettino d'Arte, del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Anno* xii, *Num.* 1-4, *Gennaio-Aprile,* 1918.) 8vo., pp. 32.

All students of Italian literature have been grateful to the Italian Government for the splendid collection of *Opere inedite o rare* published at Bologna under the direction of the Royal Commission for Italian Texts. The first volume was published in 1863, and Levi's work is volume ci of the series, and it has been followed in January of the present fateful year by another, containing *Rime inedite del Cinquecento,* edited by Ludovico Frati. The series of *Testi di Lingua* was supplemented by the *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare,* of which two hundred and fifty-seven volumes were issued between 1861 and 1894, when it ceased publication. To the above must be added the twenty-six volumes (1868-1893) of the periodical *Il Propugnatore,* devoted to brief texts and discussions. It would have been deplorable but natural had the *Collezione di opere inedite o rare* been suspended during the war; that the Government is continuing it is a wonderful tribute to the indomitable spirit of the Italians and their sense of responsibility for handing down to future ages the magnificent inheritance of the past.

The work of Signor Levi, who is professor of Italian in the Royal Naval Academy at Leghorn, is worthy of inclusion in the monumental *Collezione.* In brief, it is an edition of fifty miracles of the Virgin found in an Italian manuscript of the fourteenth century acquired by the National Library of Paris in 1892. The manuscript is of Venetian *provenance,* and the dialect in which it is written is Venetian also. The author was probably a monk of the Cistercian order. The work will be welcomed by the students of the Italian dialects, who will find in it all the necessary linguistic apparatus.

The work is, however, far more than a text of philological

interest; it is, as the editor says, perhaps the first collection of miracles made in Italy. Another feature of interest is that the fifty miracles are disposed in a certain order to illustrate the five prerogatives of the Virgin expressed in words beginning with the initials of her name: M.—memoraris; A.—aydatris; R.—remuneratrix; I.—illuminatrix; A.—advocata. In the numberless collections of miracles of the Virgin found in all the libraries of Europe no logical order is observed, but the stories are given pell-mell.

The editor's work is extensive and valuable. He has given an outline of the history of the miracles of the Virgin in mediæval literature, and examined the Latin collections. Then he passes in review the miracles of the Virgin in the various countries of Europe, and discusses in Chapter IX (pp. cviii-cli) the sources of the fifty miracles. In connection with this chapter, although placed later in the book, pp. 85-107, is a convenient list of the principal collections containing miracles of the Virgin and their relations to the Fifty Miracles edited by Levi. It is impossible to speak too highly of Levi's excellent work, and all students of this fascinating subject will be grateful to him for his erudition. The few additions which I shall offer are not in the way of criticism, but for the sake of completeness.

In the editor's survey in Chapter I of mediæval legendary literature should have been included Joseph Klapper's second and larger collection of *exempla,* Breslau, 1914, reviewed by me in *Mod. Lang. Notes,* Jan., 1917. Other works pertaining to this part of the subject may be found in my article "Recent Collections of Exempla," *Romanic Review,* VI, No. 2. In Chapter V, "I Miracoli nelle letterature germaniche," might have been mentioned the forty-six miracles of the fifteenth century edited by Johannes Bolte in *Alemannia,* XVII, 1-25, and Unger's *Mariu Saga,* Christiania, 1871. In Chapter IX, "Le Fonti dei Cinquanta Miracoli," it would be possible to add largely to the parallels from sources not at the editor's disposal or overlooked by him. I shall mention only a few of the most important. In No. 5, a monk thinks of his ass while praying; to punish himself for his fault, he sells the ass and gives the price to the poor. Levi remarks that he does not know the origin of this story. It is, however, one of the most popular of mediæval tales, going back to Odo of Cheriton (see Herbert, *Cat.,* pp. 64, 419, 460, 490, 530, 658; *Scala Celi,* f. 37 vo., and Étienne de Bourbon, p. 177). Herbert remarks, p. 419, that these versions

are probably all derived from Petrus Cantor, who tells the story of an Archdeacon Amandus, and refers to *Journal des Savants,* 1886, p. 681.

Another miracle for which Levi finds no source or parallel is No. 30: A widow takes great pleasure in the angelic voice of her son, a monk, when he sings in the choir. He dies and the disconsolate mother implores the mercy of the Virgin, who grants her to hear the voice of her son whenever she enters the church to pray. This beautiful story is found, so far as I know, in none of the great collections of miracles of the Virgin, nor have I found it in the miscellaneous collections analyzed in Herbert's *Catalogue.* A similar story, however, is in the *Legenda Aurea,* Chapter CXLI, but, instead of the Virgin, it is St. Mauritius who answers the widow's prayer. I have a faint recollection of having seen the story told somewhere of the Virgin, but I cannot now find the place.

There are a few incorrect attributions; *e. g.,* No. 38, in which the Virgin appears to a sinful but devout knight and offers him dainties in a foul dish, symbolical of the knight's welcome prayers but wicked life, is credited to Étienne de Bourbon, No. 397, and is said to be in Jacques de Vitry. This is incorrect, and Welter, *Speculum Laicorum,* p. 139, is also mistaken as to Étienne de Bourbon. For the story in general see Ward, *Cat.,* II, pp. 651, 665, 669, and Herbert, *Cat.,* pp. 394, 657.

In an appendix, "Rielaborazioni moderne dei miracoli medievali," the editor refers to the performance of "The Miracle" (the 41st of Levi's collection) by Reichhardt and Volmöller, music by Humperdinck, at Olympia in London in 1911, and afterwards as a "movie picture" at Covent Garden Opera House. Levi could also have mentioned Maeterlinck's "Sœur Béatrice," performed in this country by Madame Bernhardt. The same miracle is the subject of a poem, "A Ballad of a Nun," by John Davidson (*Ballads and Songs,* London, 1894). Another miracle, not in Levi's collection, has been made known to operagoers by Massenet in *Le Jongleur de Notre Dame.* The literary use of *exempla* (including miracles) furnishes a broad and fascinating field of study, and has hardly been touched by previous investigators.

In conclusion, it may be said that the *Cinquanta Miracoli* contain some of the most famous stories of this class, and they are sometimes narrated with dramatic force, but the editor does not claim

great artistic worth for his miracles, "non sono un capolavoro nè un prodigio."

Besides influencing literature, the mediæval miracles of the Virgin had considerable effect on painting and engraving. A number of illustrations from early printed editions of miracles of the Virgin were reproduced by Levi in the *Cinquanta Miracoli* besides two miniatures from manuscripts in the National Library of Florence. In a valuable article published in the *Bollettino d'Arte,* Levi has illustrated more fully the influence of the miracles of the Virgin on mediæval art. After some general remarks, with miniatures from the Spanish manuscripts of the *Cantigas* of King Alfonso X, Levi devotes considerable space to the pictorial representations of the miracle in which the Virgin releases from the clutches of the devil the child whose angry mother had consigned it to the demon. The "Madonna del Soccorso," as she is technically termed in this connection, is represented wielding a big stick, with which she drives away the devil. Some twenty-three paintings and frescoes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are described, and some of them reproduced. All are in Italian churches, except one which has found its way to the museum of Montpellier in France.

The miracles of the Virgin play also an important part in the history of Italian engraving, on both wood and metal. Levi gives lists of these engravings, which will be of great value to the collector. In an appendix a list is given of the engravings in the collection of Doctor Achille Bertarelli of Milan. In a second appendix Signor Umberto Gnoli gives a supplementary account of some further representations of the "Madonna del Soccorso" in churches of the Peninsula.

The two works of Levi are admirable specimens of the erudition and good taste which mark Italian scholarship. They also enable us to realize the treasures of imagination contained in mediæval legendry and transmuted more often than we think into literature and art.[1]

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[1] Students of this extensive field of mediæval literature will be interested to learn that I have procured after many vain efforts a copy of the forty-

El Hispanismo en Norte America. Por M. Romera Navarro. Madrid, Renacimiento. xii + 451 pp.

La labor benemérita de los hispanistas norte-americanos, y especialmente de los investigadores en los campos de la filología y la literatura, es el asunto del libro que acaba de publicar el señor Romera Navarro, de la Universidad de Pensilvania.

Deuda de gratitud tenemos contraída cuantos hablamos español con este haz de hombres escrupulosos en sus métodos de trabajo, llenos de generoso entusiasmo por nuestras cosas y que tanto contribuyen a la moderna renovación de los estudios hispánicos. El ensayo del Sr. R. al mostrar a un público no formado de especialistas el balance de esta fructífera tarea, no puede menos de merecer sinceras alabanzas.

Divídese el libro del Sr. R. en dos secciones de muy desigual amplitud. La primera, que consta de unas ochenta páginas, trata de los precursores y en ella incluye los claros nombres de Washington Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, Lowell, y termina ocupándose de la Hispanic Society. En la segunda sección—los contemporáneos—aparecen casi todos los trabajadores que laboran en la reconstrucción de nuestro pasado, entusiastas que siguen la evolución de las letras y el arte, interesándose en sorprender el genio de la raza.

Paréceme evidente exageración su idea de que se conoce muy bien en este país la historia de España—si se exceptúa, naturalmente, un grupo reducido de gentes de superior cultura—pero es innegablemente cierto que tratadistas y viajeros han procedido, en general, en el estudio de los asuntos españoles de un modo más leal que el término medio de los otros extranjeros. Y puede encontrarse tal carácter aún en personas que no se preocupaban especialmente del hispanismo. Y vaya como ejemplo, por su alto prestigio y lo caluroso de la simpatía expresada, el nombre de Walt Whitman, que escribió sobre la historia de España unos nobles párrafos que se leen en sus *November Boughs.*[1]

two miracles of the Virgin published by Bernhard Pez in 1731, and attributed, incorrectly, to a certain Potho, priest and monk of Priefling near Ratisbon. Only a few of these miracles have been reprinted since then (*e. g.*, eight in Pfeiffer's *Marienlegenden*, Wien, 1863). The original work, owing to its suppression by the Imperial Government, has become one of the rarest of books. It is my purpose as soon as an opportunity offers to edit these miracles, indispensable to all students of the subject.

[1] *The Spanish Element in Our Nationality.* Complete Prose Works, Putnam, 1902, III, 116 s.

Podrían discutirse buen número de ideas que el autor manifiesta en el curso de su obra, p. ej., la gracia de Rodriguez Marin, la alta consideración en que tiene a Cejador, su concepto del valor estético de una obra en razón directa de la popularidad que goza, el considerar a Campoamor como el mejor poeta moderno, tener a Berceo como precursor de los grandes místicos del Siglo de Oro, etc.

Expone el Sr. R. sus juicios, a veces algo ligeros, de un modo que tiene en algún momento tonos agridulcemente zumbones, que pudieran calificarse de irrespetuosos.

Pero conviene señalar reparos de un caracter más objetivo.

Tratando, p. 205, del estudio de Ford, *English Influence upon Spanish Literature in the Early Part of the XIXth Century,* cita el Sr. R. como literatos que no estudia Ford, a Cadalso, Samaniego, Meléndez, Cienfuegos, etc. Alguno de ellos muere dentro del siglo XVIII (el Sr. R. mismo pone las fechas). Otros alcanzan los primeros años del XIX, pero el calificarles de *románticos* es inadmisible, aunque indicios o gérmenes de vaga inquietud romántica se hayan señalado en éste o aquél. Dice que Meléndez tradujo a los ingleses del francés. Acaso los haya conocido directamente. A lo menos trató de estudiar la lengua inglesa " con un ahinco y tesón indecible,"[2] aunque realmente parece que no hizo muchos progresos.[3] Me parece que quien le negó el conocimiento de este idioma fué Tineo, lo que hace poner la afirmación un poco en cuarentena, y recuérdese que hubo quien dijo lo mismo nada menos que de Voltaire.[4]

No le parece bien al Sr. R., pp. 197-8, que el propio catedrático de Harvard, en otro de sus trabajos, considere el poema de Alexandre (el Sr. R. dice Alejandro Magno) como obra de Berceo. Podría citar en su apoyo a Menéndez Pelayo, que se basaba en la diversidad de cualidades y cultura que revela, o a Menéndez Pidal y a Staaff, por las razones lingüisticas que han presentado, pero el Sr. R. prefiere argumentar con la autoridad de las *Orígenes* de Velázquez, lo que, dado el estado actual de los problemas, no puede admitirse mas que como simple pasatiempo semi-erudito. Me extraña que en cualidad de fantástica atribución no haya señalado

[2] Carta a Jovellanos, *Bib. de aut. esp.*, LXIII, 73.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 82.

[4] *V.* Texte, *J.-J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire.* Paris, 1895, p. 77.

la del Arcediano Loaysa de la misma manera que habla del Rey Sabio.

Injusto sobremanera se muestra al tratar de Schevill. No hay paridad entre las apasionadas y mortificantes palabras con que da cuenta de la crítica que este erudito había hecho de la tesis sostenida por Cejador acerca del Arcipreste de Hita, y la realidad de las frases mismas del Profesor de California, que eran bien comedidas, fundamentadas y ponderadas. Pero hay algo peor. El Sr. R. afirma que Schevill sostiene que Juan Ruiz absorbió los carácteres de Ovidio y esto le sirve de base para una áspera censura. Ahora bien lo que en *Ovid and the Renascence in Spain* se lee es:[5]

His *Libro de buen amor* . . . is, with all its originality, much indebted to Ovid. . . . Indeed, [it] represents the high-water mark of borrowings from Ovid in Spanish literature of the Middle Ages. The full extent to which Juan Ruiz is indebted to . . . [Ovid] . . . has never been determined, and can be ascertained in a satisfactory way only with difficulty. What follows is not intended as a definite study of the relations of Ovid and Juan Ruiz, but a beginning sufficiently convincing to justify the assertion that *El Libro de buen amor* betrays a thorough acquaintance on the part of its author with the Latin poet, and thus to invite further study of the subject.

No hay motivo, pues, para la exaltación emotiva que estas páginas revelan, apasionamiento injustificable y más extraño todavía si se compara con un elogio de la tolerancia, bien plausible, que en otro lugar del libro se lee.

Al estudiar a Chandler, p. 265, dice: "Creo recordar que el libro de Chandler está traducido al castellano por Gil y Robles. No estoy seguro." La traducción es de P. A. Martín Robles. Esta traducción apareció primero en la *España Moderna* (los tres primeros capítulos en 1911, los cuatro siguientes en 1913), sin indicación de procedencia, según mala costumbre de la fallecida revista, lo que ha dado lugar a una confusión ejemplar de Cejador, que al estudiar la picaresca en su *Historia de la Literatura* cita en la bibliografía primero el libro de Chandler con el título en inglés y, pocas líneas después, añade entre las autoridades a consultar: "Revista *España Moderna,* 1913 . . . ; donde hay un concienzudo estudio sobre *La Novela picaresca en España,* de Wadleigh Chandler (Frank)," porque toma por un trabajo especial la traducción de los

[5] Págs. 28 y 29.

cuatro últimos capítulos de esta afamada tesis de la Universidad de Columbia.

En la p. 320 sorprende grandemente una afirmación que hace al rectificar a Caffin, diciendo que Antonio del Rincón es el primer pintor español *conocido*—y pone esto en itálicas. Sorprende tanto más cuanto cita el erudito libro de Sanpere (no Sampere). Pintores conocidos son Ferrer de Basa, del siglo XIV, Borrassá, Martorell, Dalmau y tantos otros de quienes largo y tendido hablan Sanpere en su mamotretillo, y Bertaux, Tramoyeres, Tormo, etc. Por otro lado, la frase de Caffin podría aceptarse en el sentido de que Rincón es el primer pintor que deja la tradición de las escuelas del Norte. Berruguete, Jorge Inglés, Fernando Gallegos son, con algunos más, pintores conocidos de la escuela castellana y anteriores a Rincón. Y basta con consultar el manual de Dieulafoy.

Discreta reserva muestra el autor, p. 21, al tratar del origen judeo-español de Colón, cuando usa un cauteloso "al parecer"; pero, al mismo tiempo afirma esta teoría aun muy discutible. Los argumentos de D. Celso G. de la Riega, aunque interesantes, no llevaban al ánimo el convencimiento; además, el buen señor cometió la debilidad de retocar algunos documentos.[6] Ahora aparecieron nuevos elementos de juicio, y para estudiar el asunto se ha nombrado una comisión por la Academia de la Historia, pero con todo creo que en esta materia conviene, ya que no un sistemático escepticismo, por lo menos una cuidadosa discreción.

No todos los autores que presenta como norte-americanos lo son. Así: H. Butler Clarke, bien conocido miembro de la Universidad de Oxford y autor de un popularísimo manual de literatura española. Lo mismo le ocurre a Robert B. Cunninghame-Graham, no menos conocido literato inglés.[7]

En cambio, faltan nombres de interés y títulos de publicaciones importantes. Tratar de hacer una lista complementaria alargaría esta nota de un modo enfadoso. Sirvan de comprobación unos casos, que entre otros, pueden apuntarse.

A la bibliografía de Marden habría que añadir *Notes on the Text of the Libre d'Apolonio* (*Mod. Lang. Notes,* XVIII, 18-20); a la del Prof. de Haan su trabajo sobre Barlaam y Josaphat (*Mod. Lang.*

[6] *V.* la recensión hecha por Serrano y Sanz en la *Revista de Archivos,* XXX, 326-31.

[7] *The Literary Year Book,* XX, London, 1916; *Who's Who,* 1918, p. 579.

Notes, x, 11-17, 69-73), estudio de que se ocupó con elogio Menéndez Pelayo, también *El Decamerón en castellano, Manuscrito de el Escorial* (*Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott,* II, 1-235) y un trabajo sobre Cervantes (*De Gids,* Amsterdam, 1905).

Deben incluirse entre las publicaciones de Schevill sus *Studies in Cervantes,* que vieron la luz en el volumen IV de *Modern Philology* (pp. 1-24; 677-704), que el Sr. R. no cita, aunque sí el tercero de la serie, que apareció en *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy, Some Forms of the Riddle Question* (*Univ. of California Pub. in Modern Philology,* II, 183-237), *Theobald's Double Falsehood* (*Mod. Phil.,* IX, 269-285) y *On the Influence of the Spanish Literature upon English in the Early 17th Century* (*Romanische Forschungen,* XX, 604-634). Con las de Morley debían tener cabida *The Use of Verse-Forms* (*Strophes*) *by Tirso de Molina* (*Bull. Hisp.,* VII, 387-408), *Some Considerations on Modern Spanish Fiction* (*The Univ. of Colorado Studies,* VIII, 141-145), *El Uso de las combinaciones métricas en las comedias de Tirso de Molina* (*Bull. Hisp.,* XVI, 110-116), *Are the Spanish Ballads Written in Quatrains* (*Rom. Rev.,* VII, 42-82) y *Notes on Spanish Sources of Molière* (*PMLA.,* XIX, 270-291).

De Luquiens no cita *The Roman de la Rose and Medieval Castilian Literature* (*Romanische Forschungen,* XX, 284-320[k]), tampoco de Lincoln *Golondrino y Calandria* (*Rom. Rev.,* I, 41-50).

Me extraña que, apareciendo Ober por su *Ferdinand de Soto,* no indique la existencia de sus otros libros sobre Hernán Cortés, Pizarro, Balboa, y Ponce de Léon.

No se encuentra con los trabajos de Burnam indicada su edición de la vida del fundador de Benevivere (*Rom. Rev.,* II, 279-301; III, 391-403), ni con el nombre de Keniston la suya de *Las Treinta* de Boscán, ni entre los trabajos de Lea varios publicados en la *American Historical Review,* uno de ellos sobre Molinos (XI, 243-63), ni de Kenyon *Color Symbolism in Early Spanish Ballads* (*Rom. Rev.,* VI, 327-40).

Me fijo en Kuersteiner. La obra más importante que esperábamos de este hispanista, lamentablemente fallecido hace poco, no era su edición de *El Mágico prodigioso,* que se trataba de una simple edición para la enseñanza, sino la del *Rimado de Palacio* que vendría a librarnos de la de Janer, y que ya en 1913 daba Fitzmaurice-Kelly como a punto de publicar (*Hist. Lit. Esp.,* 70). Añádase a la lista de sus publicaciones *The First Cantica sobre el*

fecho de la Yglesia in Ayala's Rimado (*Studies in Honor of A. M. Elliott,* II, 237-256).

Menciona el autor el libro de Josselyn, *Etudes de phonétique espagnole,* aunque dice que no tiene fecha ni lugar de impresión. En el ejemplar que tengo a la vista se lee: "Paris. H. Welter, Editeur. 4, Rue Bernard-Palissy, 1907." No se ve en cambio citado el nombre de Colton, a quien se debe *La phonétique castillane,* publicada en París con fecha 1909, aunque en realidad no vió la luz hasta 1911.

Otros nombres de autores que no incluye:

Bradford, a quien se debe el Indice de las notas del Quijote de la edición de Clemencín, que vió la luz en Madrid, 1885.

Cronan, Urban.—Refranes que dizen las viejas tras el fuego. Mateo Alemán and Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (*Rev. Hisp.,* XXV, 134-219; 468-475).—Teatro español del siglo XVI. Madrid, 1913.

Flack, H. E.—Spanish-American Diplomatic Relations Preceding the War of 1898. Baltimore, 1906.

Flaten, N.—The Personal Pronoun in the Poema del Cid. (*Mod. Lang. Notes,* XVI, 33-36).

Gould, W. E.—The Subjunctive Mood in Don Quijote. Baltimore, 1905.

Jaccaci, A. F.—On the Trail of Don Quixote, que Ramón Jaén acaba de verter con tanto cariño al castellano.

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Entre las traducciones habría que señalar la del *Nuevo arte de hacer comedias*, hecha por W. T. Brewster, publicada con una introducción de Brander Matthews en 1914.

La lista de ejemplos podría alargarse copiosamente. Fuera, pues, de desear en todo una mayor exactitud. Observo que a veces el autor traduce *ballad* por *balada*, lo que complica un poco el sentido. Laméntase el Sr. Romera de no haber podido corregir las pruebas, y ciertamente es de sentir, porque el número de erratas alcanza proporciones considerables.

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The Cambridge History of English Literature. Volumes XIII and XIV. *The Nineteenth Century,* II and III. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917.

After a full decade of conscientious work this truly monumental *History of English Literature* was brought to a close last year. Not only is it impossible within the limits of space here provided to attempt any general summary and estimate of the *History* as a whole, but these last two volumes must be considered in a more cursory fashion than the present writer did in the case of the two volumes that immediately preceded them. Otherwise he would be lost in the multitudinous detail of the work.

In a final note the editors contrast with their general plan the method of former generations of tacking on chapters on the history of literature to "the political history of the same divisions of time." They then continue:

"Equally unsatisfactory—any brilliant attempts to carry it out notwithstanding—is the other more seductive method of simply treating the course of a nation's literary history as an organic part of its political and social experiences, which accompanies their movement from stage to stage, as though it were a resultant of the same causes and subject to the same curves of progress or reaction."

The soundness of this observation is open to question. The writers had doubtless in mind the late Professor Courthope's *History of English Poetry.* Certainly the method there employed can be carried to an indefensible extreme, as in Courthope's chapter on the earlier eighteenth century, in which the effort is made to account for the characteristics of Augustan verse by the growth of the Whig Principle in politics and society. But the bonds between literature and various phases of society cannot be so disregarded as they are in these volumes. Genius is not always "above the age"; never less so than during the Victorian period. It is not very profitable to read of Tennyson's "effort to understand and sympathize with his own age," of Carlyle's "optimism, tossed fitfully on a vast ocean of pessimism," of Arnold's distinct utterance of "the cry of the *maladie du siècle*" and find nowhere any reasoned statement of just what influences, social, political, philosophic, scientific, went to the making of that unrest, that "strange disease of modern life," that gulf between the two worlds, "one dead, the other powerless to be born," in which the nineteenth

century wandered. The meaning of the vogue of such a poem as Fitzgerald's version of Omar becomes clear only when it is interpreted in relation to current thought and is set alongside of the poetry of doubt (Arnold and Clough) and of despair (Thomson). Yet the *Rubaiyat* here finds place in the chapter that treats of the Rossettis, Morris, and Swinburne. Cory, too, should stand close to Arnold; *Mimnermus in Church* (which Saintsbury says is "a little overdosed with modernity") is the expression of that eternal conflict between dogmatic "otherworldliness" and the appeal of this world—a conflict that presented itself with peculiar force in the mid-last-century. But Cory is huddled by Saintsbury along with other lesser poets who chanced to be born in the same decade with him. The real appeal of all this poetry to all but those who depend solely upon "æsthetic" appreciation is that it quintessentializes for us the thoughts and feelings of religiously-minded people who were wistfully discarding the robes of dogma that could no longer shield them from the bleak winds of science. This the *Cambridge Literature* is far from making plain.

Because of the same lack of any stress upon contemporary thought the significance of "The Literature of Science" (a subject to which a chapter is devoted) is passed over. The page devoted to Sir Charles Lyell, for example, contains various titles and dates, but no indication of the large importance of *The Principles of Geology* in pressing forward the theory of uniformitarianism and thus helping the overthrow of the compromise between geology and *Genesis* that had been temporarily effected by the "catastrophic" theory of Cuvier. There is a bare hint of Lyell's relationship to Darwin, but the general subject of the growth of evolutionary theory before *The Origin of Species* is hardly suggested; to Robert Chambers three lines are devoted. An even more remarkable omission is the total neglect of anthropological investigations, especially in the field of the comparative history of religions; Tylor and Robertson Smith are not mentioned. The spirit of rationalism entered too deeply into the literature—and not only into the scientific and philosophic writings—of the era to be thus lightly set aside. Moreover, the development of science and of scientific writings is essentially a subject that transcends the boundaries of nationality; to treat of English writings in this field by themselves leaves each branch of the theme incomplete. Thus, there is no reference to the revolutionary discoveries and in some cases total

readjustment of our ideas of the cosmos that have proceeded from Kirchhoff's systematic development of spectrum analysis (1859). And it was impossible to present a survey that was representative even of English achievements without the inclusion of the names of illustrious men yet living.

Why should a history of literature omit all mention of living writers, as though the mere incident of death raised an author to a dignity to which, living, he was not entitled? It is only necessary to point to the analogy of political history to see how arbitrary is the distinction that divides the two worlds. Imagine a history of modern England with no reference to Mr. Asquith, or of France with no mention of "the Tiger," or of Germany without William II. The editors, assuming the risk of making invidious distinctions, should have included certain writers. Mr. Bennett or Mr. Wells could not have been offended had place been made for Mr. Hardy. For how can the history of the English novel in the nineteenth century be regarded as complete with no account of the Wessex Novels, in which artistically that division of our literature reaches perhaps its highest point? And what of essay and biography without Lord Morley, of history without Mr. Bury, of poetry without Mr. Bridges and Mr. Blunt (to cite only a few obvious and famous names)? When we come to the sketch of the drama the arrangement results in a chapter that serves merely as a historical introduction to the subject, with no reference to Jones, Pinero, and Shaw. As for "Anglo-Irish Literature," we rub our eyes and wonder. "Was *The Wanderings of Oisin* written nearly thirty years ago? Is there such a person as A. E.?" If inclusion in a history of literature is a wished consummation, how fortunate for Synge that he happened to die! And the arbitrary plan is not even followed consistently. The history of English philosophy would have been so manifestly incomplete without some discussion of Mr. Bradley's work that room has been found for him; and into the chapter on Prosody Mr. Saintsbury, with less obvious necessity, has admitted a brief reference to Mr. Bridges's investigations in that field.

The difficult problem of the arrangement of such bulky material has been in the main happily solved. How classify the crowd of lesser stars that have not yet sunk so far below the horizon as to be invisible from the editorial watch-tower? Sir Adolphus Ward continues his account of writers of history and biography from

former volumes, and deals weightily with the Political and Social Novel. To Professor Walker was assigned the arduous task of the chapter on "Critical and Miscellaneous Prose," in which the presence together of such men as Hannay and Stephen, Borrow and Pater, Doran and Hearn, and many more effect us, if not as though we looked in upon odd bed-fellows, at least as though we were visiting a hospital ward where comparatively humble persons, not able to afford a separate room, receive kindly but indiscriminate treatment. Not that Professor Walker does not employ ingenious devices for throwing his material (we drop, of course, the simile) into groups. No one who has attempted collegiate courses in modern prose can be ignorant of his immense difficulties; yet he might have avoided certain errors in proportion, especially in the case of Pater, who receives consideration utterly inadequate to his importance as an influence during the period 1880-1900. Professor Saintsbury is on the whole less successful in the chapter on "Lesser Poets" in which he discusses a full hundred writers and is weighed down (though characteristically he gives no sign of consciousness of being so weighed) by his materials. His curious chronological grouping (aside from a few comparatively famous names), not by decades in which the writers' chief books were published (for which something might be said) but by the decades in which the writers chanced to be born, results in a hodge-podge. Yet a simple logical classification was for the most part easily possible.

Oscar Wilde, the most discussed and the most famous writer of the last decade of the nineteenth century, is referred to in passing in various parts of the work but is given no adequate notice at all, probably because each of several contributors relied on a colleague to include him in his section of the work. Another extraordinary omission is that of J. C. Mangan (save his bare last name;—an account of Irish literature without *My Dark Rosaleen!*). Stephen Phillips (referred to in the bibliography to the drama only) and John Payne both died quite lately; but not too recently to be included in at least the bibliography of lesser poets.

To comment in detail on individual chapters is impossible within the limits of a review. By far the most interesting is Mr. Young's brilliant study of Meredith, Butler, and Gissing. The posthumous vogue of the latter two (though Meredith's vogue was almost posthumous) is illustrated by the amount of space correctly allotted to them. Mr. Young's summary of Meredith's teaching and his

outline of the connection between his novels and poetry is specially noteworthy, as is his discussion of Butler's views on evolution. Another excellent and authoritative chapter is Mr. Phillips's on "The Growth of Journalism." Mr. Rendall on "University Journalism" is less satisfactory. *Undergraduate Papers* to which Swinburne contributed and *The Eagle* to which Samuel Butler contributed should have been mentioned. Other excellent chapters are those on "Caricature and the Literature of Sport" and "The Literature of Travel." One questions the appropriateness of the inclusion as an appendix to the chapter on the Brontës of a "modern language note" on a possible source of *Jane Eyre.* Professor Warren evidently had difficulty in spinning out a chapter on "South African Poetry" and wastes valuable space in quotations from rather uninspired verse. A sketch of "Anglo-Indian Literature" minus Mr. Kipling is in the proverbial condition *manqué.* The writers on the greatest authors of the period—Carlyle, Tennyson, and the Brownings—had evidently little novel to say on their respective subjects. Professor Grierson is not able entirely to get rid of the tone of apology with which it has been fashionable to mention Tennyson. He discusses him sympathetically in so far as he is an artist, as a reproducer in verse of various moods and dreams. But he does not see in him the representative of his age. Professor Saintsbury contributes a lively chapter on Dickens, as usual rather bare of fact but stimulating and pleasant.

The bibliographies need considerable revision. Once more one notes the absence of any general bibliography, which results in such an absurdity as the inclusion of Professor Walker's *Literature of the Victorian Era* under Browning but not under Tennyson, Arnold, etc. From the authorities on Robert Browning I miss Berger's illuminating little study. To those on James Thomson, Mr. P. E. More's essay should be added. Among various striking *lacunae* in the Rossetti list note only H. C. Marillier's *D. G. Rossetti: An Illustrated Memorial,* 1899, which contains two hundred reproductions of his works. To the authorities on Morris add Pater's suppressed essay, *Æsthetic Poetry.* The bibliography of Swinburne is shockingly inaccurate. That to Fitzgerald does not include the seven-volume definitive edition of 1902, an almost incredible omission. The bibliography to the chapter on "Lesser Poets" contains many errors and there are numerous omissions, such as Austin's *Poetry of the Period,* the collected edition of Lionel

Johnson's poems, Francis Thompson's *Poems* of 1893, and Lee-Hamilton's *Mimma Bella*. The list of authorities on Ruskin lacks Harrison's *Life* and even Cook's *Life!* Under John Addington Symonds one finds no mention of Horatio Brown's *Life* of him. There is a similar *lacuna* in the bibliography of Shorthouse which lacks the *Life, Letters and Literary Remains*. To the bibliography of Gissing should be added Morley Roberts's *The Private Life of Henry Maitland*, which is a biography of Gissing under the thinnest of disguises.

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WORDSWORTH'S KNOWLEDGE OF PLATO

Before writing upon Wordsworth's knowledge of Plato, Mr. Elliott A. White (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII, pp. 246-248) should have consulted Lienemann, *Die Belesenheit von William Wordsworth*, Berlin, 1908 (pp. 213-4). Not only does Lienemann identify a larger number of direct references to Plato in the writings of Wordsworth, prose and verse, but he gives them more exactly. For the verse, however, my *Concordance to the Poems of William Wordsworth* (1911) should be of some assistance; see, for example, the quotations *s. v.* Academic, Academus, Form, Forms, Idea, Ideal. According to Mr. White, there are 'five specific places where Wordsworth mentions Plato in his poetry': *Prelude* 'I, 404'; *Prelude* 'VI, 294'; *Chiabrera* 'IX, 8'; *Dion* 'V, 9'; *Ecc. Sonn.* 'III, iv, 6.' (See the *Concordance s. v.* Plato, Platonic, Plato's.) These references should read: *Prelude* 9. 409; *Prelude* 6. 298; *Chiabrera* 9. 8; *Dion* 9; *Ecc. Sonn.* 3. 4. 4. If Mr. White's '*Dion*, V, 9' means *Dion*, verse 9, he has two references right out of five; if not, he has one. I have not tried to read proof for him after the fact, but have casually noted the following. J. A. Stewart does not call Wordsworth 'the Platonic poet *par excellence*'; he speaks of 'any one who takes Wordsworth as the Platonist Poet *par excellence*.' A. C. Bradley's *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, pp. 97-148, is wrongly cited as '*Oxford Lectures on English Poetry*, pp. 99-150.' The translation of Plato (1793) in Wordsworth's library was not by 'Thomas Tyler,' but by Thomas Taylor. And what shall we say of the next? 'Mr. Shorthouse thinks it "not impossible" that Coleridge talked to Wordsworth about Plato, and cites Mr. Frederick Pollock as finding some traces of the conversations.' The allusion is to the well-known work of Sir Frederick Pollock on Spinoza, Shorthouse having written in 1881 (*Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*

6. 120-1) : ' It is not impossible that Coleridge may have talked to him upon the matter [of the Platonic Dialogues]. We know he discoursed at length to him upon Spinoza, and Mr. Frederick Pollock fancies that he can trace the effect of those conversations in the Poet's work.' Sir Frederick, however, is not very convincing in regard to Wordsworth and Spinoza. As for passages betraying the influence of Plato upon Wordsworth that escaped Lienemann, I do not believe my own list of them complete, or likely to be so until the problem is attacked with the help of all the available works of reference, including the *Lexicon Platonicum* of Ast and the *Index Graecitatis Platonicae* of Mitchell. The citations of James Adam in *The Vitality of Platonism, and Other Essays,* 1911 (not noted by Mr. White), are unsatisfactory because the author does not adequately discriminate between Platonism and Neoplatonism in Wordsworth. But we may add two prose excerpts which Lienemann caught and Mr. White has missed. The first is from Wordsworth's *To the Editor of ' The Friend,'* an essay published in 1809 (Wordsworth, *Prose Works,* ed. Knight, 1, 89-90) : ' Such is the inherent dignity of human nature that there belong to it sublimities of virtues which all men may attain, and which no man can transcend; and though this be not true in an equal degree of intellectual power, yet in the persons of Plato, Demosthenes, and Homer, and in those of Shakespeare, Milton, and Lord Bacon, were enshrined as much of the divinity of intellect as the inhabitants of this planet can hope will ever take up its abode among them.' The second is from a report of a conservation with Wordsworth preserved in the *Journals* of Caroline Fox (2. 40-41), the date being Oct. 6, 1844: ' Talked of the effect of German literature on the English mind. " We must wait [said the poet] to find out what it is; my hope is that the good will assimilate itself with all the good in the English character, and the mischievous element will pass away like so much else." The only special criticism which he offered on German literature was that " They often sacrifice truth to originality, and, in their hurry to produce new and startling ideas, do not wait to weigh their worth. When they have exhausted themselves, and are obliged to sit down and think, they just go back to the former thinkers, and thus there is a constant revolution without their being quite conscious of it. Kant, Schelling, Fichte; Fichte, Schelling, Kant; all this is dreary work, and does not denote progress. However, they have much of Plato in them, and for this I respect them. The English, with their devotion to Aristotle, have but half the truth; a sound philosophy must contain both Plato and Aristotle." My inquiries respecting the curriculum at St. John's College at the time of Wordsworth's residence have not established the fact that he read Plato there; yet it may fairly be thought that a discursive reader, as he describes himself, could not have escaped the chief traditional influence in a literary way at Cambridge, the

home of Platonic and Neoplatonic studies. But he had doubtless made acquaintance with the conceptions of Plato before he went to Cambridge, at the school in Hawkshead. Indeed, the earliest allusion to Plato in Wordsworth is the earliest there could be. It is, in fact, his first literary allusion of any sort, being found in the *Lines Written as A School Exercise at Hawkshead, Anno Aetatis 14* (*School Ex.* 5 ff.):

> While thus I mused, methought before mine eyes
> The Power of Education seemed to rise;
> Not she whose rigid precepts trained the boy
> Dead to the sense of every finer joy;
> Nor that vile wretch who bade the tender age
> Spurn Reason's law and humor Passion's rage;
> But she who trains the generous British youth
> In the bright paths of fair majestic truth:
> Emerging slow from Academus' grove
> In heavenly majesty she seem'd to move.

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DEFINITIONS WANTED

While working on an edition[1] of the Middle English *Death & Liffe,* in collaboration with Professor J. H. Hanford, I have met with many difficulties in determining the meaning of certain passages in the poem. These difficulties are of two kinds: those occasioned by the presence of rare words in the poem, and those incidental to a study of the effect of the revisions and emendations made by editing copyists. Some of the most important of these difficulties are here presented in the hope that students of Middle English will be able to make suggestions as to the meaning or occurrence of rare words and to criticise the tentative suggestions offered in these notes.

(1) *bine.*

> but if thou blinn of *that* bine. thou buy must full deere;
> they may wary the weeke, *that* euer thou wast fformed, 254-255.

The Hales-Furnivall edition of the Percy Folio MS. suggests no meaning for *bine.* I have found only one other occurrence of the word in Middle-English, *Floris and Blauncheflur,* Trentham MS. 1010,

> Blancheflour seide byne,
> þe gilt of our dedes in moyne.

Byne is obviously an adverb here. If it is *bȳne,* it may be connected with O. N. *beinn,* 'direct,' 'straight,' *nu beint,* 'just now.' But the rime *byne : moyne* (mine?) points rather to *bȳne.* Could

[1] *Studies in Philology* (Univ. of North Carolina), July, 1918.

this word be connected with O. E. *būn*, M. E. *boun, bowne,* the umlauted from of which would be M. E. *bīne, bȳne* < O. E. **bȳn* < **būni?* This possibility is unfortunately not supported by the further occurrence of such a word in Old or Middle English. If we regard *bine* as a late writing for *bene,* 'well,' the passage in *Floris* would still be left unexplained, for this meaning does not fit the context of the passage quoted above.

(2) *boolish.*

there ouer *that* oste. Estward I looked
into a boolish banke. the brightest of other, 57-8.

Skeat says: "Perhaps 'tumid,' 'swelling,' 'rounded.' Thus *bole* in l. 32 from Old English *bolne,* to *swell;* see Partenay, s. v. *bolned.* Cf. The flax was *bolled.* Bible." [2] *Boul, bowl, bool* are common verbs in Middle English, but I have not been able to find *boolish.* The meaning 'rounded' would rather be derived from connecting the word with O. E. *būgan,* 'bend,' 'curve,' dialect English *bowl, bowle,* 'curve,' 'crook.' The meanings 'swollen,' 'tumid,' would connect the word with O. E. *bolne,* as Skeat suggested.

(3) *breuelye, breemlye, breenlye, or breitlye?*
Death says to Liffe:

thy blisse is my bale. breuelye of others, 283.

Percy [3] suggested that this word should be *bremely,* as in line 365. Furnivall [3] queries the word as *breuely,* 'briefly.' I do not feel that this meaning fits the context perfectly. Nor does Percy's reading give a satisfactory explanation. This word in the MS. is almost identical in form with *breeulye,* or *breenlye,* in line 365,

thou hast blowen thy blast. *breemlye* abroade.

Breemlye in the text is an emendation, for Furnivall's note says that he reads the MS. as *breenlye* or *breitlye.* There is no dot for the *i* in the MS.; the word is therefore *breenlye* or *breeulye,* not *breitlye.* It is impossible to decide with certainty whether the word is *bremely* in both passages, as Percy suggested; whether it is *breuely, breeulye,* 'briefly,' in one or both lines; or whether we have *breenlye,* an unrecorded word.

(4) *leake.*

& thou lett them of their leake. with thy lidder turnes, 249.

Percy's note refers to *lake* in line 301. Furnivall connects both of these words with O. E. *lāc,* 'play,' 'sport,' and implies that they are merely variant spellings of the same word. O. E. *lāc* appears in Middle English as *lāc, lāk(e), layke, laik, leik.* I have not been

[2] Hales-Furnivall edition of Percy Folio MS. III, 58, note 9.
[3] *Op. cit.,* III, 68, note 5.

able to find the spelling *leake* for this word, however, in Bradley-Stratmann, in the *N. E. D.*, or in any of the E. E. T. S. glossaries.

(5) *sayed.*

> in my seate where I sate. I sayed a sleepe,
> lying Edgelong on the ground. list all my seluen, 36-37.

Since the expression *said* (*sade*) *asleep,* 'sound asleep,' occurs frequently in Middle English, it is possible that *sayed* is the preterit of M. E. *sade,* 'to become heavy,' < O. M. *sadian.*

(6) *vuulye, vunlye.*

> methought walking *that* I was. in a wood stronge
> vpon a great Mountaine. wheer Mores were large,
> *that* I might see on euerye side. 17 miles . . . .
> parkes and Pallaces. & pastures ffull many,
> all the world full of welth, vuulye to behold, 39-45.

"Forte *winlye,* i. e. pleasantly, jucunde. Lye."—Percy. "Viewlye"?—Furnivall. The MS. may be read as *vuulye* or *vunlye.* It is impossible to decide whether the third letter is *u* or *n.*

(7) *winne.*

> all the world full woe. winne to behold, 140.

"Winn, woe to"?—Percy. "The word *woe* is the difficulty; may it be A. S. *wo, woh,* in the original sense of *bent, inclined?* Or rather, it's put for *wo*[*d*]*e* mad. *Winne* is joy, pleasure."—Skeat. Is *woe* an adjective, like *woe,* 'sorry' in *The Bruce?* Is *winne* a noun or an adverb?

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Molière and Corneille

The opening lines of Thomas Diafoirus's first speech in *le Malade Imaginaire,* II, 5, are commonly given as a possible imitation of Cicero. Thus a note in the edition of Despois and Mesnard, following those of Moland (1884) and of Auger (1825), reads: "Thomas Diafoirus connaît ses auteurs. . . et il les met à contribution. Ce début . . . semble imité d'un passage du discours de Cicéron *ad Quirites post reditum:* A parentibus, id quod necesse erat, parvus sum procreatus: a vobis natus sum consularis. Illi mihi fratrem incognitum qualis futurus esset dederunt: vos spectatum et incredibili pietate cognitum reddidistis."

These commentators go too far afield. There is another author whose work contains a passage resembling that of Molière quite as closely, and with whom Molière was more familiar. This author is Corneille. Before writing *le Malade,* Molière had parodied Cor-

neille on more than one occasion. He had taken over verbatim into *l'Ecole des femmes* (II, 5) the last line and a half of *Sertorius,* V, 6; in the *Avertissement* of the *Fâcheux,* he had made fun of the *Discours* and *Examens* published two years earlier; and critics have not hesitated to see other hits at Corneille and his work in the "cèdre" of *l'Impromptu* (scene 5) and the apparent disparagement of tragedy in *la Critique* (scene 6).[1]

It would seem, however, that Molière knew not only Corneille's plays and theoretical utterances, but his dedicatory epistles as well. One of these, that of *Cinna,* published in 1643, had aroused considerable comment,[2] and Molière's friend Boileau seems to refer to it in his *Satire VIII.* As far as I know, we have no traces of this particular *épître* in Molière's works; but in the following year Corneille published another, whose affectation lent itself admirably to his satire. Dedicating *Pompée* to the Italian Mazarin, Corneille wrote: "Je présente le grand Pompée à Votre Eminence, c'est à dire le plus grand personnage de l'ancienne Rome au plus illustre de la nouvelle. Je mets sous la protection du premier ministre de notre jeune roi un héros qui dans sa bonne fortune fut le protecteur de beaucoup de rois . . . . Il espère de la générosité de Votre Eminence qu'elle ne dédaignera pas de . . ." It is after some sixteen lines of this literary contortion that Corneille, still keeping up the same figure, continues: "Il a su d'elle [3] les obligations que vous a la France de l'avoir *choisie* pour votre *seconde mère,* qui vous est d'autant *plus redevable,* que les grands services que vous lui rendez sont de purs effets de *votre inclination* et de votre zèle, et non pas des devoirs de votre *naissance.*"

Now, if we compare these words with those of Thomas Diafoirus, we find a striking resemblance of both thought and expression: "Monsieur, je viens saluer, reconnoître, chérir et révérer en vous un *second père;* mais un *second père* auquel j'ose dire que je me trouve *plus redevable* qu'au premier. Le premier m'a *engendré;* mais vous m'avez *choisi.* Il m'a reçu par nécessité; mais vous m'avez accepté par grâce. Ce que je tiens de lui est un *ouvrage de son corps;* mais ce que je tiens de vous est un ouvrage de votre *volonté.*"

It is true that there appears here one expression found in Cicero and not found in Corneille [4]; Molière may have hit upon it independently as the natural result of developing a similar idea, or this may be a direct echo of Cicero. But his passage as a whole was

[1] *Œuvres de Molière,* 1873-1900, III, 208, 28, 138, 351.

[2] V. Guéret's reference to Corneille when explaining the "panégyriques à la Montoron," and Scarron's allusion to the "marchands poétiques" who sought "dans les Finances" patrons for their works; *Œuvres de Corneille,* 1862, III, 369, 371.

[3] *I. e.,* la voix publique.

[4] Il m'a reçu par nécessité = id quod necesse erat.

certainly inspired not by the Latin writer, but by Corneille. It contains a number of expressions appearing in the *épître* and not found in the Latin [5]; and all the work of this merciless satirist of contemporary foibles leads us to believe that he was far more prone to take off a prominent writer of his own day whom, as it happens, he had already ridiculed before, than to parody the writings of a dead author, however well known that author might be.

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Flowers from Blood in Old French Literature

On pages 121 and 122 of the current volume of this periodical, Professor Johnston comments on a passage of Froissart's *Dittié de la Flour de la Margherite,* according to which the tears shed by Herés at the tomb of her lover produced the daisy. He mentions in a footnote[1] a surprising passage in which Mr. Bédier (*Légendes Épiques,* IV, p. 416) shows that he thinks that, in the time of the pilgrims, the fields where the Saracens and the Christians fought were red with flowers and that these flowers owed their origin to the blood shed. Such a conclusion does not seem to me at all warranted, either by the passage or by any similar passage in the early epic literature of France.

The passage in question (*Chevalerie Vivien,* edition Terracher, 1784-90) says that never since the birth of the Christ had there been such slaughter as there was that day in Aleschans, that the meadow was red "clear into the earth" and that the pilgrims who follow the way of St. Jacque (or Saint Gile) can still see it—that is, the evidence that blood was shed there. At the time when this passage was written, the scene of the battle had been definitely located at the great cemetery of Aliscans at Arles. Now, much of the soil of this region (La Crau) is reddish, as can still be seen. This would explain the "clear into the earth" of line 1788.

[5] Choisi= choisie; second père (used twice) = seconde mère; redevable = redevable; volonté = inclination.

[1] Mr. Bédier speaks of the "fleurs vermeilles nées du sang de Vivien:

Encor le voient li pelerin assés
Qui a Saint Gile ont lor chemins tornez."

It may be said in passing that one is not sure what MS. Mr. Bédier is citing. The lines as cited agree most nearly with MS. 24,369 of the Bib. Nat., which, with that of London, mentions Saint Gile, while others which include the passage name Saint Jaque. The latter reading is the one given by Mr. Terracher (line 1700, *Chevalerie Vivien*). The MS. of Berne is the oldest one that mentions Saint Gile. It does not speak of the crimson fields, but of the miraculous sarcophagi. It is these that are seen by the pilgrims to Saint Gile.

Again, to ascribe crimson flowers to the shedding of heroic blood may suit a modern poet, but runs counter to the sterner taste of a composer of *chansons de geste*. I recall no passage in the French epic where such an origin is given to flowers, altho some such passage may exist. It is much more after the fashion of the early poets to see the trace of blood preserved in stone. Such a stone is mentioned by Aimery Picaud (*circa* 1140), in the *Codex de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle*,[2] in the chapter of his guide where he speaks of Arles. The chapter is entitled: "De corporibus sanctorum, quae in itinere sancti Jacobi requiescunt, quae peregrinis ejus sunt visitanda." On page 21 we read: "Est igitur vicus iuxta Arelatem inter duo Rhodani brachia, qui dicitur Trenquatalla, in quo est columna quaedam marmorea optima valde, excelsa, super terram erecta, scilicet retro eius ecclesiam, ad quam perfidi populi beatum Genesium, ut fertur, alligantes decollarunt; quae etiam usque hodie roseo eius cruore apparet purpurea."

At Martres-Tolosanes a spring was shown as late as 1636, red stones of which were said to owe their color to the blood of Saint Vidian, that is, Vivien, of whom the legend says[3]: ". . . ad quemdam fontem qui hodie dicitur Fons sancti Vidiani, accubuit, sanguinem suum de vulnere suo perfusum aquis illius fontis profluens, atque detergens, in tantum quod saxa ibi circa fontem posita ex profluxu sanguinis ibidem decurrentis, virtute divina, posteris exemplum dante passionis suae martyre, usque ad praesens tempus remaneant rubricata."

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NOTE ON LODOWICK BRYSKET

In the *American Journal of Philology*, XXXV, 192-195, I pointed out that Lodowick Brysket's poem *The Mourning Muse of Thestylis* is a paraphrase of Bernardo Tasso's *Selva nella morte del Signor Aluigi da Gonzaga*. Almost in the same month an Italian scholar quoted a simile from this English poem,

> The blinded Archer-boy, like larke in showre of raine,
> Sat bathing of his wings, and glad the time did spend
> Under those cristall drops which fell from her faire eies,

as a reminiscence of Ariosto, *O. F.* XI, 65,

> E come il rosignuol dolci carole
> Mena nei rami allor del verde stelo,
> Così alle belle lagrime le piume
> Si bagna Amore, e gode al chiaro lume

---

[2] Published by Fita and Vinson, Paris, 1882.

[3] *Vid.* the article by Louis Saltet in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1902, p. 50.

(Anna Benedetti, *L' 'Orlando Furioso' nella vita intellettuale del popolo inglese,* Firenze, Ramella, 1914, p. 131). This simile is not taken from Tasso's *Selva,* and it may have been suggested by the passage of Ariosto. But perhaps it should be compared rather with Ercole Strozzi's *Epicedium* on the death of Cesare Borgia (d. 1507):

> Stellantem vero ad nimbum puer ignifer alas
> Pandit, uti longos volucris perpessa calores
> Excipit æstivum pennis gaudentibus imbrem.

Here, as in Brysket's poem, the tears are a sister's tears.

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A Note on the Shakespeare First Folio

Since the individual history of copies of the Shakespeare First Folio is of some interest, it may be worth while to correct a slight error that has crept into Sir Sidney Lee's *Census of Extant Copies.* Number xx in this *Census* (p. 22) is of considerable importance. Until a second exemplar was discovered not long ago (now in the library of Mr. Morgan) it occupied a unique position among copies of the folio through the peculiarity of its having the concluding passages of *Romeo and Juliet* and the opening passages of *Troilus and Cressida* printed twice over in different parts of the volume. An account of the peculiarity is printed in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (iv, 148-150). In tracing its ownership the compiler of the *Census* says: "At the sale of the Sheldon library at Long Compton in 1781, it was purchased by Mr. King, a bookseller of Moorfields, with two other unnamed books, for £2 4*s.*, somewhat dubious practices being attributed to the book-selling bidders." I am unable to discover the authority for the last statement, and Sir Sidney is, as he informs me, unable to recall it. But the statement that the purchaser was a Mr. King is evidently a mistake. The library was sold by Christie and Ansell, and from information supplied by the present firm of Christie, Manson, and Woods it appears that the name of the purchaser was Vanderberg. It may be of some interest to add also that one of the two books sold with it in the lot (523) was Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

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BRIEF MENTION

Paul Gerhardt as a Hymn Writer and his Influence on English Hymnody. By Theodore Brown Hewitt (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918). The Hymn-Books perpetuate the frequent error of accrediting a hymn to a mere translator of Gerhardt. The correction of this error in its various applications is offered in this dissertation, which is also to supply "some contribution to the subject of the relation of English and German hymnody in general, and in particular to show the great debt which the hymnody of England and America owes to the poetry of Paul Gerhardt."

A fresh interest in the hymns of Gerhardt, who has been called the David of German hymnody, was awakened in 1907 by the observance of the three hundredth anniversary of his birth. This occasion evoked biographical sketches and various monographs,[1] and Professor Hewitt's study is to be attributed to the same influence. He has selected for investigation an aspect of the subject that concerns a well-defined place of the poet in the mind of those interested in the source of some of the hymns most widely used in the English churches.

The principal portion of this treatise is, therefore, Part II, Chapter II, entitled "English Versions of Gerhardt's Hymns." It is found that eighty-four of these hymns have been variously translated into English, frequently in the form of centos, and these versions have been sought out and arranged in the order of Goedeke's text of the originals, with an indication of the hymn-books in which they were first adopted. The method of exhibiting the result of this investigation with reference to the larger number of the original hymns (pp. 36-81) is expanded in a manner conceived to be demanded by "the ten most widely translated hymns (Goedeke, nos. 10; 13, vii; 15; 16; 20; 43; 55; 68; 82; 85. Incidentally, it is to be observed that Professor Hewitt refers to Goedeke's text by page-number, not, as he should have done, by hymn-number. He does this also in a confusing manner, using 'number' to designate page, and leaving page-numbers without designation). After the completion of the list of versions, supplementary pages

[1] A previous event should also have been mentioned, for the observance in 1876 of the bi-centennial of Gerhardt's death also stimulated a new interest in his 'life and works'; indeed Goedeke's indispensable volume is significantly dated 1877. An incidental reference to the influence of this celebration is made by Samuel W. Duffield in his *English Hymns: their Authors and History* (N. Y., Funk and Wagnalls, 1886, p. 24; see also p. 166).

(135-143) are added to register "Hymns showing Adaptations of Ideas and Expressions from Gerhardt's Poems."

The outline of the plan and purpose of the treatise may be made complete. An Appendix is added consisting of "Short Biographical Sketches of Translators"; of "Tabulations," in which Gerhardt's elements of style are in part analyzed: the first 'table' shows the poet's use of alliteration, his "traditional fondness" for this Germanic feature; his use of assonance supplies material for a second table, which is followed by a third, entitled "Doubtlets of Exact or Approximate Synonyms"; still other tables are given: one to give an indication (not a complete tabulation) of Gerhardt's repetition of words and phrases, his "Juxtaposition of Words Derived from the Same Root, and Play on Words." Gerhardt's hymns are then indexed by subject (pp. 158-160), and alphabetically, with designation of place in Goedeke's text, of subject, of number of English versions, and of treatment in the treatise (pp. 167-169); and there is an "Index of English Versions" (pp. 160-167) noticed in the treatise, versions numbering two hundred and seventy-one.

Most of what precedes the principal portion of the treatise must be pronounced to be of a rather perfunctory character. The Bibliography of writings pertaining to Gerhardt (pp. xi-xiv) is of course inevitable and serviceable, but the sketch of "Gerhardt's Life and Times" (pp. 1-5) is too scrappy and restricted for a representation of the spirit and the problems of a complex period of history; and "Gerhardt's Relation to Earlier Hymnody of Germany," with respect to the Medieval and Reformation periods (pp. 6-12) bears marks of an introductory discussion hastily designed to serve an unavoidable but subordinate purpose.

Nothing new, but at most a sympathetic restatement of accepted judgments, is to be looked for in a chapter on the "Characteristics of Gerhardt as a Hymn Writer" (pp. 13-26). The subject has been so often and so competently handled that even a Trench or a Neale might despair of finding lapses of interpretation. The construction of this chapter has therefore required special care in keeping the source and transmission of accepted judgments clear and sufficiently complete. Slight inadvertencies in this matter have escaped the care of Professor Hewitt. Thus, Miss Winkworth's words have run into his second sentence on p. 13; and one might wish to have additional reference in the second and fifth foot-notes to her *Ch. Singers*. The essentials of the subject are, however, brought together with good intelligence, and the chapter offers preparation for the sympathetic understanding of the principal division of the treatise. The fundamental difference of aim between Luther and Gerhardt in composing hymns is well reported. A summarizing statement may be quoted: "We see, then, that

while the one is concerned with the congregation of God's church, the other treats of life's experiences." The 'devotional' poet, it is observed, is the more concerned with personal experience, making notably free use of the first personal pronoun. The greater strength is Luther's, the greater art is Gerhardt's, but the contrast is not treated with satisfactory fulness.

Introductory discussion is continued in a rapid survey of the literary relations of England and Germany from the early sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, with special reference, of course, to the use of hymns. In his survey of topics like the shifting relation between choir and congregation, and the rivalry between psalm and hymn, Professor Hewitt has not been diverted from compilation into an emotional interest, nor by a skilful articulation of historic movements has he made subjects freshly attractive. However, as he comes into contact with his chosen subject, his thoroness of treatment keeps pace with his assumed accountability. After carefully marking off the periods in which German hymns have had greatest influence on English hymnology, he takes up his task to "discuss those of Gerhardt's hymns (84 in number) which have been translated into English, and cite in most cases the hymn-books which have been among the first to recognize the excellence of the English versions" (p. 35).

The hymns of the churches have a peculiar place in lyric poetry. If the high poetic quality of the *Psalms* has been the chief influence in maintaining an exalted and imaginative note, this quality has also thru feeble and mechanical translations been depressed so as to contribute to the wide acceptance of hymns devoid of literary character. In the close association of words and music, the 'tune' has obscured and rendered negligible the 'poetry.' As a class hymn-writers have, therefore, not been poets to be critically estimated by the vogue of their compositions. The hymn has a value that is not commensurate with its conformity to the canon of the art of poetry. This special value lies in the expression and power of stimulating religious emotion, and has also a more or less definite relation to religious dogma. Obviously these qualities of a hymn are not strengthened but rather weakened by too narrow reference, in the literary and intellectual sense, to personal authorship. And so it has come to pass that the devout uses of the text have blurred strict observance of the rights of authorship. It is, perhaps, better to say that in the transmission of hymns, in adapting them to various forms of 'worship' and of doctrine, the rights of authorship are to be interpreted, by general consent, in a manner that is not applicable to other forms of literature. Protest against this differentiating law is, naturally, a measure of the hymn-writer's sense of proprietorship, which is strongest and most appropriate in poets of distinction, who cannot be expected to submit to such

infringements on most cherished rights as are made manifest in the standardized hymn-books. John Wesley protested against the 'mending' by other hands of the text of his hymns, and then set about practising the same privileged offense against other authors. This "Tinkering of Hymns," as it is called by J. Cuthbert Hadden in an article that is worthy of notice in this connection (*The Nineteenth Century* XLVII (1900), 139 ff.), is a characteristic aspect of the subject of hymns as differentiated from other lyrics.

In a strictly artistic sense the literary lyric, say of Heine, is untranslatable; for the reason implied in the foregoing paragraph, this judgment is not applied to hymns. Professor Hewitt has industriously brought together a surprising exhibit (pp. 36-143) of what in English hymn-books has been derived from Gerhardt during the last two centuries, by more or less direct 'translation,' by adaptation, by the acceptance of mood, of theme, and minor turns of thought, and by figures of expression. The results of this wide and detailed study are admirably arranged for ready reference and for general use; for want of space, the complete texts are, of course, not supplied here. Professor Hewitt's historical notes and critical comments are brief and pointed, revealing the scholarly judgment with appropriate emotional sympathy. To add one of the notes that a reader may put on Professor Hewitt's margins, reference on p. 91 to Mrs. Charles's translation of the *Salve caput cruentatum* would have been significantly helpful in the discussion of Gerhardt as a translator. J. W. B.

The Greek Genius and Its Influence; Select Essays and Extracts. Edited by Lane Cooper (Yale University Press, 1917). An interchange of courtesies between the students of modern literature and the students of the classics, like the spectacle of brethren dwelling together in unity, is something always pleasant to behold. Classical scholars have never been behind in their interest in modern literature. In the hands of men like Livingston, Butcher, and Sir Gilbert Murray, the analysis of the Greek genius has become the vehicle for acute and stimulating criticism of the products of modern times. This is only natural, for, in a sense, we are all Greeks. Half of modern literature is unintelligible without a knowledge of Greek story; and the Greek genius is the type and standard of the genius of western Europe. It is quite fitting, therefore, that the first collection of the most significant utterances concerning the nature of the Greek genius should have been made by a student of modern literature, and should be especially designed to supply students of English in an American university with the

background of classical thought and feeling which too often they lack. Those instructors in English who seek no further than the pleasant pages of the *Atlantic Monthly* and the last rimes of Masefield for literary sustenance for their students may consider *The Greek Genius and Its Influence* rather strong meat for babes. But all genuine students of modern literature must welcome a collection, so catholic and so scholarly, which brings into their hands material, in many cases, not otherwise readily accessible.

The choice and the arrangement of the material are such as to give the book something of the value of an original contribution to the subject. There are utterances by French and German scholars here translated for the first time. These include lucid and highly readable remarks by Maurice Croiset and Ernest Renan, and a more ponderous—and more valuable—selection from that wisest and least translatable of volumes—Boeckh's *Encyclopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften.* This Professor Cooper regards as the most authoritative of his selections. In sheer intellectual weight and power, and a kind of philosophical accuracy in analysis, there is not its equal in the volume. Reading it is a good setting up drill for the mind. Among the less readily accessible utterances which Professor Cooper here brings forth into the light of day are two or three articles from classical journals and popular magazines, and an interesting selection from Professor Osgood's study of the *Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems,* which originally appeared as a doctoral dissertation among the Yale Studies in English. The more sober and strenuous scholarship represented in many of these selections is relieved by the literary grace and vivacity of essays like Newman's charming description of the social life of Athens, in *Attica and Athens,* and Chesterton's characteristic animadversions on the opinions of Mr. Lowes Dickinson. Among these more literary extracts, Professor Gildersleeve's delightful discovery of the similarity between the American genius and the Greek genius is particularly interesting.

Professor Cooper's arrangement of his material is as thoughtful and skilful as his choice of it. Beginning with the more general characterizations of the Greek genius in its relation to its environment, he passes, by a natural sequence, through more specific studies of the Greek ideals, to a series of extracts emphasizing the relation of Greek culture to the development of European civilization and the life of the present.

The editor's personal conception of the Greek genius, in accordance with which he has made his selection and arrangement, is set forth in a thoughtful introduction. This includes some rather clever dialectic, showing the fallacy of the popular division between the "dead languages" and the "living languages," together with illustrations, from Greek literature, of that scientific interest in

human conduct which was one of the distinguishing characteristics of Hellenic thought. In short, the introduction is just another study of the Greek genius, by the editor himself, and is not the least interesting of those in the volume. We might question, however, his suggested application of Greek ideals to modern problems of labor and "femininism." Versatile and practical as the Greeks were, they never arrived at any working solution of their own problems of manual labor and feminine activity in the state; and, failing in this, their political organism could not survive its first brilliant and hopeful promise in the oligarchical democracy of Athens. Professor Cooper, however, very wisely suggests the application in the form of questions, without irrevocably committing himself to doubtful assertions.

The volume includes an excellent bibliography for those who seek further light on the subject. There is throughout the book a certain finish in editing and execution, and its sober distinction of form and appearance make it a worthy addition to the library of the scholar and the man of culture. M. L. B.

Professor William A. Hervey's *Syllabus and Selected Bibliography of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller* (New York, Lemcke & Buechner, 1918) is a compact and handy compilation of data which the beginner in the field of German literature often has difficulty in finding in *Goedekes Grundriss.* "The material is intended for undergraduates of at least two grades, as well as for elementary graduate students who have not had similar preparatory training. Many of the topics will be found suitable for proseminar reports (but the difference between such a report and an essay should be emphasized) and a limited amount of such detailed guidance is not harmful" (p. 4). For each author there is a preliminary bibliographical note giving the important editions, bibliography, sources, biography, general criticism and the like, upon which follows a program of the topics for essays. Finally there is a general bibliography, together with several very useful chronological tables dealing with contemporary characters and events. The topics, which constitute the bulk of the book, are chronologically arranged and suitably subdivided. The current editions in which the work discussed may be found are first indicated by volume and page, then the sources, criticisms, etc., are similarly cited. The student's way is thus made very easy—so easy, in fact, that he may be tempted to continue too long in leading-strings. But the author cannot be held responsible for the possible misuse of his book, which, within its limits, will doubtless prove a convenient and helpful tool. The one

fault to be found with it is that the author has not brought his material up to date. And this charge does not concern minor, out-of-the-way publications, but the fundamental editions on which such a syllabus is necessarily based.

For example, the Lachmann-Muncker edition of Lessing is described (p. 5) as consisting of 21 volumes: "An index vol. is to follow; in its absence the most convenient 'working edition' is H." Now Vol. 22 appeared in 1915 (Berlin, G. J. Göschen, 314 pp.; cf. *MLN.* XXXI, p. iii). Similarly we are informed (p. 27) that Goethe's works proper in the Weimar edition comprise 52 volumes, with "supplementary and index vols. in progress." Actually, however, Vol. 53, with all the supplementary material (579 pages) appeared as far back as 1914 (cf. *MLN.* XXXI, 63). According to the accompanying announcement it is the final volume of the text proper, and only three index volumes, two for Section I and one for Section III, remained to be published. The first of these (I. Abt., 54. Bd., Register A-L) actually appeared in 1916, and the other two may possibly have been published since then. Another fundamental edition, the *Ausgabe letzter Hand,* is likewise incorrectly described (p. 28) as having appeared in the years 1828-1833. The genuine edition appeared 1827-1833, whereas volumes 1-10 with the imprint 1828 are merely a publisher's reprint without any critical value whatsoever (cf. Weimar ed. Vol. XIII, 2, pp. 139 f.). Even more serious are the antiquated references to *Goedekes Grundriss.* For Lessing the student is referred (p. 5) to Vol. IV, pp. 132-154 of the second edition, 1892. As a matter of fact, the successive fascicles of Vol. IV, 1 of the third edition have been appearing since 1907 (Heft 1), Lessing being contained in Heft 2 and 3 (1910, 1911), while Heft 4 and 5 appeared in 1913 and 1916. The second edition has 26 pages devoted to Lessing, the third has 170. Further comment is unnecessary. In the same way, the publication, in 1913, of Vol. IV, 4 of the *Grundriss* is entirely ignored. The importance of this, the last of the Goethe volumes (cf. *MLN.* XXXI, 382) lies in its most comprehensive Goethe Index of 210 pages—as compared with 7 pages in the older edition—which makes possible, even for the tyro, the immediate finding of every contribution bearing on a given name, title, or topic. W. K.

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